

New attributions to the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop

A group of black-figure kyathoi reconsidered

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Abstract*

This paper proposes to attribute, for the first time, three Attic kyathoi to the Sappho Painter and gathers together other vases that may belong to this late black-figure workshop (end of the 6th- beginning of the 5th century BC). It further confirms through the study of figured decoration and shape that an important part of Attic kyathoi manufactured in this workshop was a legacy left by Psiax, a hypothesis already suggested for a few pieces by C. Jubier-Galinier. A study of shape makes it possible to group vases which would not be comparable on stylistic grounds alone, and it reinforces previous stylistic comparisons of figured decorations. It also points out the importance of the potter's work in the organization and understanding of Attic ceramic workshops.

À la mémoire de mon ami Jérôme Andronikos

INTRODUCTION**

From the 19th century onwards, stylistic studies of Attic figured vases have been the main approach for understanding and defining Athenian workshops. However, another methodology based on vases' morphology and potter work has already shown its efficacy in the pioneering works of C.H.E. Haspels and then of H. Bloesch. Later, this methodology has been developed by D.C. Kurtz on *lekythoi*, H.A.G. Brijder on Siana cups, J. Euwe on Nolan amphorae and E.A. Mackay on Exekias' production.¹

This approach, based on the analysis of drawn profiles, combined with the classical stylistic and iconographic study, allows for the first time the attribution of *kyathoi* to the Sappho Painter and his workshop. Though archaeological finds of Greek pottery workshops are lacking for the archaic period, it has been shown that this combination of stylistic, iconographic and morphologic studies enable us to detect craftsmen connections and to approach their organization in different workshops (intended as physical places), where several painters could work around one or several potters, or where craftsmen were processing the entire *chaîne opératoire* of their production.²

According to Kurtz, Psiax was among the best and most influential painters of Attic *kyathoi*.³ This is often obscured by the 'fame' attributed to Nikosthenes' *kyathoi* production, primarily in M. Eisman's important work on Attic *kyathoi*.⁴ Never-

theless, it seems now possible to dissociate several Attic *kyathoi* from Nikosthenes' workshop and therefore, explain the important typological difference between the distinctive Nikosthenic profile and the rounded shapes of the later products.⁵

The Sappho and Diosphos Painters were late black-figure craftsmen, whose workshop flourished at the end of the 6th century BC, at a time when the new red-figure technique was already dominant in the Kerameikos. They are usually considered to be the disciples of Psiax. Their products share similar shapes - *lekythoi*, *alabastra*, *mastoi*, *skyphoi* and plates - as well as a preference for the white-ground technique and other stylistic and iconographic features.⁶ J.D. Beazley originally defined the workshop as based on the cooperation of two painters, the Sappho and Diosphos Painters, as two distinct painting styles can be recognized on *lekythoi* of very similar shapes. Therefore, Beazley inferred that these two painters were working for a common craftsman, identified as the Diosphos potter, the maker of the *lekythoi* of DL and of Little-Lion Classes.⁷

More recently, C. Jubier-Galinier has shown that a minute analysis of the *lekythoi* (the most significant shape of the workshop) and their profiles demonstrates the involvement of two potters' hands, which coincide with the two painting styles already identified by Beazley.⁸ For both classes of *lekythoi*, it is possible to observe coinciding morphological features (articulation, pro-

portions, etc.), secondary decoration and figured style. Jubier-Galinier concludes that the workshop was composed of two main craftsmen who controlled the entire *chaîne opératoire*: the Sappho and Diosphos Potters-Painters. At the same time, secondary craftsmen, the so-called ‘companions’,⁹ also manufactured and decorated *lekythoi* of the same types (Little-Lion Class, Group Hound and Hare).¹⁰ With the disappearance of the Sappho Painter, the workshop became dominated by the Diosphos and Haimon Potters-Painters, until the former disappeared and the latter took over the workshop.¹¹ The study of the shape of other vases such as the *kyathoi* further confirms this framework and points to several connections between potters and painters within the Athenian Kера-meikos.

1. NEW ATTRIBUTIONS TO THE SAPPHO PAINTER (plate 1, table 1)***

An Attic *kyathos* in the Vatican Museums, recently published by M. Iozzo, inspired the present study (Cat. 1, pl. 1).¹² While close to productions from Psiax’s circle, the vase combines morphological features from both Psiax’s *kyathoi* (Cat. 4-5, pl. 2) and from later examples of the shape which seem to enter in the productions of the Sappho-Diosphos Painters’ workshop.

Although the handle and several fragments of the wall are missing, the profile of the Vatican *kyathos* (Cat. 1, tbl. 1,) is well preserved.¹³ The wall of the upper part is concave, while a delicate bulge swells the lower part. The convex bottom narrows to a ‘bottleneck’ shape with a clear articulation separating the bowl from the foot. The conical foot is made of a flaring ring (with a slight convex undulation) and a thick vertical section.

The secondary decoration is standard for a *kyathos*: the lower part of the bowl is black glazed and highlighted by two reserved lines where the wall is bulging. The upper spreading part of the foot is black, while its vertical edge is reserved. Underneath the foot, the resting surface and the bottom of the bowl are reserved but the oblique section between them is painted black. On the bottom, a black dot within a circle appears, inscribed within a larger black circle (same under-foot type as pl. 2, c).

The figured decoration follows a standardized scheme: two figures flanking the handle, large male eyes (with an external white circle, a black circle and a central red dot for the pupil) and a frontal scene. Between the eyes, some dotted branches adorn the background of the scene. The

technique is black-figure on white-ground with details in added white and red paint.

The central scene represents a woman sitting and playing the lyre in front of a dancing woman who holds *krotala*; while under the handle two doves are painted with unfolded wings. The numerous and careful incisions as well as the polychromy of the painting and the detailed ornamentation, recall Psiax’s style. However, as already noted by Iozzo, the *kyathos* is not painted by Psiax himself,¹⁴ the drawing of the faces and hair being much different from his usual style, with simpler and thicker incisions.

On the basis of stylistic and morphological analyses, it is possible to associate this vase with two other *kyathoi*: an unpublished *kyathos* in Munich (Cat. 2, pl. 1) and the fragments of another vase (Cat. 3, pl. 1), recently found among unpublished fragments of the Castellani Collection.

The *kyathos* in Munich (Cat. 2, tbl. 1) is not well known, since only one image is available in Eisman’s dissertation.¹⁵ It shares several elements with the Vatican *kyathos*: the white-ground technique, the style, the big eyes decoration of circles, the conical foot and a similar size. Yet, the general profile of the bowl is only slightly different. The wall is broadly open and oblique, slightly flaring at the rim. The profile bulges delicately towards the base and the bottom narrows towards the foot. The lower part does not have the ‘bottleneck’ shape of Cat. 1. The foot spreads directly from the bowl. It is composed of a slightly concave conical part and a thick vertical section. The handle is lost.

The secondary decoration on the lower part and the foot is similar to that of the Vatican *kyathos*. The reserved bottom under the foot shows a central black dot surrounded by a thick black ring.

The figured decoration follows the standard scheme: two handle figures, two big eyes (with the same circles as on Cat. 1) and a central scene. Unlike the previous vase, no vegetal branches decorate the background of the scene.

At the front, Theseus attacks a kneeling Minotaur, holding a sword in his right hand. Three parallel blood spatters drop from the sword. The beast tries to defend itself, brandishing a stone with the left hand. In an attempted escape, its legs are turned to the right. The hero wears a short chiton, an animal skin, and his hair is tied in a *kyboulos*.

The Munich *kyathos* features an element rarely found on Attic black-figure *kyathoi*:¹⁶ an inscription. Indeed, *ho παῖς ἀγλῶς* is painted with black glaze along the rim, on the frontal side of the bowl. Behind Theseus’ head, above the large eye,

we can read: $\text{ho } \pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$. Then, above the Minotaur's head we can easily guess the word $\kappa\alpha\lambda\tilde{\omicron}\varsigma$, though the alpha, lambda and sigma are slightly erased.¹⁷

Two black-skinned sphinxes surround the handle. Their shoulders are decorated with red dots, while a row of small white dots runs down the median band of the wings. A red headband is painted in the hair.

Beazley has associated this vase to the large (and somewhat vague) Group of Vatican G57, because, in his opinion, it is close to the style of the Group's name piece, a white-ground *kyathos* with a seated Dionysos in front of a satyr and two sphinxes at the handle.¹⁸ Eisman compared the style and iconography of the Munich vase to a *kyathos*, which is now in Karlsruhe, and which shows the same scene with Theseus and the Minotaur (CL2.2, pl. 6).¹⁹ This comparison seems more convincing since the figures on both vases present the same thick earlobe and incised lines for the hair, thighs, calves and shinbones.

The Castellani white-ground fragment (Cat. 3, pl. 1) was unknown until now. Since only three joining shards are preserved, only a partial reconstitution of the shape was possible. The profile matches perfectly that of Cat. 2 (tbl. 1), with a wider diameter. However, the loss of the lower part makes it impossible to know if the bottom had the swelled and 'bottleneck' shape of Cat. 1 (tbl. 1) or the sinuous profile of Cat. 2.

The remaining secondary decoration of the lower part shows the standard ground line, followed by two reserved lines.

The decorative scheme appears to be standard, but the handle figures are missing. The big eyes show the same circles as on the other two vases: the external circle is white, the other one black, and a central red dot is used for the pupil. As on Cat. 1 (pl. 1), the white-ground background is decorated with dotted branches.

The scene is almost a copy of Cat. 2, from which it only differs in the Minotaur's legs position, which are turned towards Theseus. The hero's dress is the same, except for the red dots that appear on his torso, and the three incised lines for his short *chiton* drapery.

Cat. 3 strengthens the stylistic link between Cat. 1-2, since Theseus' head is fairly similar to that of the dancing maenad on the Vatican *kyathos*, and the bodies' incisions correspond exactly to those of the figures on Cat. 2. The undulated line marking the edge of Theseus' *chiton*, the Minotaur's jaw and the hook-like hand under the Minotaur's breast are further parallel features between the two vases.

The three kyathoi within the production of the Sappho Painter (plate 1, table. 1)

There is no doubt that the three *kyathoi* described above are painted by the same hand and, in the following paragraphs, I propose to attribute them to the Sappho Painter.

The three vases share several elements: the white-ground technique; a similar use of added colors, with thick rounded stains of red paint, barely filling the incised or black-glazed limits; the lyre red strings and the Minotaur's blood spatter, which are rendered with three parallel red lines on Cat. 2-3 (pl. 1). Further, the three vases display the same big eyes and they are stylistically alike both in shape and secondary decoration (tbl.1, Cat. 1-3). Actually, the three sinuous and small bowls as well as the quite high conical foot of Cat. 1-2 were most probably shaped by the same potter (tbl. 1).

The stylistic features find close parallels in the production of the Sappho Painter. Let us turn to a white-ground *alabastron* in Leiden (pl. 3, fig. 1), attributed to the same painter and decorated with a maenad playing the lyre for a dancing woman with *krotala*.²⁰ Although the drawing is poorer and the added colors are lacking on the *alabastron*, the details on the head (ear, hair on the forehead) and the folding tails of the *himatia*, incised by two vertical lines with a serpentine rounded zigzag below, are strikingly close to those on Cat. 1 (pl. 1). Besides, it is worth noting the way the *chiton* of the musician on the *alabastron* is incised with vertical incisions and hemmed with an uneven wavy line, then comparing these details to Theseus' short *chiton* on Cat. 3 (pl. 1). The fine incisions for the dancer's left hand are another detail shared by the *alabastron* and Cat. 1. The arched incision for the hair limit on the forehead and temple is a common trait in Cat. 1-3 and this *alabastron*.

In the following paragraphs, this specific incision for the hair limit will be referred to as 'the Γ incision', according to its shape.

Another parallel is the white-ground *lekythos* in the Louvre,²¹ which shows more details and care. The scene depicts Apollo playing the *kithara*, a deer, dancing muses with *krotala* and another muse playing the lyre.

The similarities between this *lekythos* and the three *kyathoi* are as follows:

- For Cat. 1, the straight and strong vertical incisions of the *himatia* with thick and rounded zigzag marking the folding tail;
- Apollo's round shoulder is very similar on the musician maenad of Cat. 1, as are the thin inci-

sions for the small hands and the long narrow black feet;

- Whereas hairstyles differ, the red headbands and incised hair on the forehead and temples are similar on the *kyathoi*, above all on Cat. 2's sphinxes (pl. 1);
- Ears are rendered in a small c-shaped pattern that extends to form the nape of the neck. This internal c-element is surrounded by a larger curve, forming a bold ear lobe. Eyes are small and oval (like a rounded almond), topped by a short arched eyebrow. Chins and noses are protruding.

Similar elements appear on a white-ground *lekythos*, also attributed to the Sappho Painter, decorated with three dancing maenads (pl. 3, fig. 2).²² The piece, today in a Swiss private collection, features strikingly similar faces and hairstyles. The last maenad (pl. 3, fig. 2: drawing), with her 'witch' nose and chin, and the Γ incision for hair limit, is particularly remarkable. The maenads have oblong eyes with the pupil represented by a horizontal curve as on Theseus' face on Cat. 2-3. This vase is also more ornate and polychrome. *Chitones* and *himatia* are spotted with white dots, and large red stripes mark the arching folds around the collar, exactly as on Cat. 1. The hair, tied in a high bun and separated by a *tainia*, rendered by two incised lines and/or a red added band, is very common in the Sappho Painter's work.²³

The Swiss *lekythos* displays dotted branches adorning the background as in Cat. 1 and 3. This *lekythos* is the only vase attributed to the Sappho Painter that presents this element.²⁴ However, the pattern is almost omnipresent on Attic *kyathoi* of which it constitutes a strong feature. The combination of dotted branches and big eyes on the Attic *kyathos* may be seen as a transfer from Attic cups: the Greek drinking shape lent one of its decorative schemes to the Etruscan drinking vessel. This can explain why the Sappho Painter, while adopting the *kyathos*, also used the pattern specifically adapted to the shape.

Finally, among other similar *lekythoi* attributed to the Sappho Painter, the white-ground vase in Karlsruhe (pl. 4, fig. 3), offers another interesting parallel to the Vatican maenads (Cat. 1, pl. 1).²⁵ The Nereid flanking the frontal scene shows the *himatia* wrapped around the neck and shoulders and the patterned *chiton*.

Regarding the naked bodies, the features on Cat. 2-3 (pl. 1) match well with Jubier-Galinier's description of the Sappho Painter's style: stocky bodies with rounded and protruding buttocks,

large thighs on thin legs, angular knees (Theseus) and muscles poorly enhanced with long stiff incisions, arched for the calf. However, unlike the painter's common work, the Munich and Castellani figures do not offer bifid knees or a hook incision to terminate the thighs' muscle.²⁶

As far as the iconography of the three *kyathoi* is concerned, Cat. 1 with the dancing women shares a similar theme with the alabastron in Leiden (pl. 3, fig. 1) and the Louvre *lekythos* with Apollo.²⁷

These stylistic and iconographic elements suggest that the three *kyathoi* were produced in the same workshop and painted by the same hand. However, some parts of the decoration, such as the handle figures, are to be compared to a group of Attic *kyathoi* in order to find elements of comparison. As shown in the next section, these other *kyathoi* can also be linked with the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop. Some examples are gathered in the catalogue, at the end of this paper.

Although the two handle doves on Cat. 1 (pl. 1) find no parallel in the Sappho Painter's work, very similar birds exist on other *kyathoi* decorated by different painters, and it is obvious that these doves are copied from the same model. Among them, two *kyathoi* are very close to Psiax in their figured style, secondary decoration and shape; one is in a private collection in Lugano,²⁸ the other is in the Vatican (CL1.3, pl. 5).

Three other *kyathoi* among which CL2.6 (pl. 6) and CL3.1, attributed to the Group of Vatican G57, show similar doves at their handle sides.²⁹ These birds suggest that we are faced with a 'workshop schema', which seems to have been transmitted directly from Psiax's circle to the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop. The mechanism of this kind of schema transmission, which is observable among different painters (different styles) and is often linked to a shape and a workshop, has been explained by A. Tsingarida for Euphronios' representations of Sarpedon. The motif with which we are dealing here, the handle doves on *kyathoi*, is much simpler, but I think that the transmission process is alike.³⁰

The same observation applies to the sphinxes on Cat. 2 (pl. 1), for which no parallel could be found in the Sappho Painter's work. However, such black-skinned sphinxes with red ornaments on shoulders and a middle line of white dots on the wing appear on many *kyathoi*. These vases are generally attributed to the large Group of Vatican G57. The Group's name-piece itself shows such a black sphinx.³¹ They usually appear in the same position: seated with a raised paw and the face looking back.

Only one vase with the representation of Theseus fighting the Minotaur, a *lekythos* in Six technique now in Athens, is attributed to the Sappho Painter (pl. 4, fig. 4).³² This *lekythos* is more detailed and hard to compare stylistically to the *kyathoi*. However, the figures have their legs in the same position as on Cat. 2 (pl. 1), while the Minotaur's legs on Cat. 3 (pl. 1) more closely resemble the previously cited *kyathos* in Karlsruhe (CL2.2, pl. 6). This third *kyathos* with Theseus is attributed to the Group of Vatican G57 but, as will be shown, it can be included in the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop. Another *kyathos* in the Villa Giulia, CL3.6 (pl. 7), offers the same iconography and in spite of the different style, it can be attributed to the same workshop.

Among Theseus' deeds, the fight with the Minotaur is the most represented in Attic figured pottery, and it is dominant in black-figure.³³ Among the different scenes of the Minotaur's myth, the moment of the fight is the most represented, as on our four *kyathoi* (Cat. 2-3, pl. 1, CL2.2, pl. 6, CL3.6, pl. 7). Two standardized versions of the theme were identified by C. Servadei and correspond to what has been observed: either the two enemies are facing each other (Theseus is on the left, his sword in his right hand) or the Minotaur tries to flee, his legs turned to the right and the head turned back towards Theseus. These two schemes can vary as the hero grabs the beast by the horn (CL2.2 and 3.6), the head/neck (Cat. 2-3) or the arm.³⁴

While mainly depicted on amphorae and cups during the 6th century, the theme becomes common and is perpetuated on late 6th-early 5th century black-figure *lekythoi*. The makers of these *lekythoi* are to be found mainly in the two workshops of the Sappho-Diosphos Painters and of the Theseus-Athena Painters.³⁵ Thus, Theseus and the Minotaur, a rare iconographical topic on *kyathoi*, offer a further link between *kyathoi* and *lekythoi* made in the Sappho-Diosphos Painters workshop. The conservative representation of Theseus wearing a short *chiton*, an animal skin and his hair tied in a *krobylos*, is typical of this late black-figure *lekythoi* production.³⁶ The *kyathoi* show the same archaic features, even if CL3.6 (pl. 7) shows Theseus as a naked ephebe, which is more characteristic of the contemporary red-figure and new styles. All the *kyathoi* show the Minotaur with a red collar, and a white muzzle (not the muzzle on CL2.2, pl. 6), bleeding three parallel red spatters (different on CL3.6). As for the handle doves and the black sphinxes, we are facing an iconographical schema used by different painters working in

the same *milieu*, certainly the same workshop and using the same shapes.³⁷

If he scarcely used branch patterns, the Sappho Painter drew a remarkable range of inscriptions, both real and fake.³⁸ This is the case on Cat. 2 (pl. 1) with the exceptional *kalos* inscription crowning the heroic deed. The written form of the inscription fits well with the Sappho Painter's characteristics. Letters are square and small, painted with a kind of bold assurance. Alpha and êta are squared; the horizontal stroke of alpha leans to the right; the stems of kappa and sigma are not straight, but rather curved as the painter drew them quickly.³⁹ The Athens *lekythos* in Six technique mentioned above (pl. 4, fig. 4) shows a similar acclamation, though *ho paĩs* may be written retrograde. The Karlsruhe white-ground *lekythos*, also mentioned above (pl. 4, fig. 3), is supposed to bear the same inscription as on the *kyathos*, but no photograph of it could be found.⁴⁰ The only similar *kyathos* presenting a comparable *kalos* inscription is attributed to the Philon Painter (CL3.4), who certainly took part in the workshop.

All the stylistic observations drawn in this first part concur with the attribution of the three *kyathoi* (Cat. 1-3) to the Sappho Painter.

2. OTHER KYATHOI CLOSE TO THE SAPPHO PAINTER AND HIS WORKSHOP

If the three vases Cat. 1-3 (pl. 1) can be assigned to the Sappho Painter's hand with a high degree of certainty, other *kyathoi* are very close in terms of style and shape.

As already mentioned, examples of these vases are gathered in the catalogue and divided into three Classes (I-III) according to their shape.⁴¹ In these classes, similarity of shape usually goes together with stylistic closeness. Class I (pl. 5) includes vases that are close to Cat. 2 and Psiax's *kyathoi* (Cat. 4 and 5, pl. 4). Class II (pl. 6) is closer to Cat. 1 and brings together the *kyathoi* produced in the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop. Class III (pl. 7) is the continuation of the former, and announces the Haimon Painter's workshop.

Class I (plate 5, table 1 see CL1.2)

Class I was mostly influenced by Psiax, although only two *kyathoi* in Milan and Würzburg (Cat. 4-5, pl. 2) were firmly attributed to him. Their shape and secondary decoration announce the standardization of Attic *kyathoi*. Like Cat. 1-5 (pls 1-2), the *kyathoi* of Class I are white-ground and, as Psiax's *kyathoi*, they all have a plastic head inside

the bowl and a handle decorated with a plastic cone and a string ending in a palmette. Although the relief heads are less frequent on *kyathoi*, the plastic handle decoration is standard. Typical of the *kyathoi* closest to Psiax, the underside of the foot (except the resting ring, *pl. 2, b*) and the handle on the vases of Class I are entirely black-glazed. Cat. 4 is unique for several reasons (*pl. 2*): the plastic male head is extremely rare on *kyathoi*,⁴² the palmette assumes a unique heart shape and the vertical part of the foot, with a double large groove, is a hapax too. The complex secondary decoration of the lower part is exceptional on *kyathoi* but commonly found on Psiax's vases (the foot's underside is also unique, *pl. 2, a*).⁴³ On the other hand, the vase in Würzburg is almost completely standard (*Cat. 5, pl. 2, b*): it has a female plastic head, handle figures, big eyes and a central scene. The secondary decoration of the lower part is almost equal to the pattern of Cat. 1-2 (*pl. 1*); the only difference consists in the double reserved line. Therefore, it is possible to relate the origin of this standard scheme (one ground line and two reserved lines) to Psiax.

The vases of Class I are also stylistically close to Cat. 1-2 and to some *lekythoi* attributed to the Sappho Painter.

CL1.1 in Cambridge (*pl. 5*) is the closest to the Sappho Painter's style on *kyathoi*. The pattern of rings in the big female eyes (white, then black with a central dot) is the same on Cat. 1-2, although the female eyes are quite unique on the shape. The handle sphinxes are of the same type as Cat. 2 and they present the 'witch profile' described for the Sappho Painter's *kyathoi* and the Swiss *lekythos* (*pl. 3, fig. 2*). The satyr's leg muscles recall the Minotaur's left leg on Cat. 2. However, the satyr's breast and hands, as well as the branches in the background with large E-shaped leaves make an attribution uncertain.

The last two vases of Class I represent an important series of *kyathoi*, both from a stylistic and from a morphological point of view. These white-ground vases bear a special type of big eyes, with a red circle surrounded by a white one. CL1.2 (*pl. 5*), in Munich, has black sphinxes with raised paw. The dancing maenad can be compared to the heads on Cat. 1 and CL2.1-2 (which are very close to the Sappho Painter's *kyathoi*, *pl. 6*). However, the satyr's muscles and the vine branches differ from the previous vases.

CL1.3 (*pl. 5*) is fragmentary but another incomplete vase in a Lugano private collection helps to understand the original appearance,⁴⁴ as the two pieces seem to be almost exact copies. Both were

already discussed in part 1 for the dove motif decorating the handle. They also present a double ivy frieze along the rim, a double ground line and a double reserved line below. These elements recall Psiax's Cat. 4-5 (*pl. 2*), where the rim frieze is a meander reserved on a black band. However, Cat. 4 also has a similar ivy frieze, painted in the lower part. These geometrical patterns really are Psiax's features, as on his alabastron in Saint-Petersburg.⁴⁵ Furthermore the handle on CL1.3 (*pl. 5*) shows that the plastic decoration above the female head was reserved in the black glazed handle. This detail, which does not appear on CL1.2, derives directly from Cat. 4-5. The dancing maenads and Dionysos on the Lugano vase recall CL1.2 in Munich (*pl. 5*) and Psiax's *kyathos* in Milan (*Cat. 4, pl. 2*).

The influence of Psiax on Class I is direct, as is reflected in the attributions. However, sphinxes, doves and some stylistic elements bring these vases closer to the Sappho Painter's *kyathoi* (Cat. 1-3). If the vases of Class I might have been manufactured outside the Sappho Painter's workshop they remain close and strengthen the connection with Psiax.

Class II (plate 6, table 2)

Class II contains only a few examples of a large morphological group. The figured decoration of these *kyathoi* is stylistically homogeneous and the figures features resemble those on the three *kyathoi* attributed to the Sappho Painter (Cat. 1-3). However, their attribution to the same painter remains uncertain, the figures' profiles being somewhat smoother and rounder.

Kyathoi CL2.1-3 (*pl. 6*) are the closest to the Sappho Painter's style and they were probably painted by someone close to him. CL2.1-2 further have the same big eyes as Cat. 1-3 (*pl. 1*). The pattern of dotted branches decorating the background is similar to Cat. 1 and 3, spreading in two or four simple branches with medium dots.

The only obstacle in the attribution of CL2.1 (*pl. 6*) to the Sappho Painter is the dissimilar realization of the figures' contours, which exhibit smoother head profiles and better proportioned limbs. The dancer to the right takes up exactly the same position as Cat. 1's dancing maenad (*pl. 1*), and the identical rendering of their himatia further supports this impression. The black sphinxes flanking the handle's sides are reminiscent of the same animals on Cat. 2. The incisions for the muscles resemble the fighters painted on Cat. 2-3.

CL2.2, in Karlsruhe (*pl. 6*), has already been

discussed in the section dedicated to Cat. 1-3, in which I showed that these *kyathoi*'s iconography is close to that of late black-figure *lekythoi*, especially in the Sappho-Diosphos Painters workshop. Here the stylistic distance is more obvious in the muscles' incisions, and the Minotaur's hairy body is unique on *kyathoi*.⁴⁶ However, Theseus closely resembles Cat. 2-3.

The Herakles on CL2.3 (*pl. 6*), in Philadelphia, recalls both Theseus (prominent red buttocks, rounded nose) and the Minotaur (red collar) of CL2.2 and Cat. 2. The satyr on CL2.4, a white-ground fragment, displays the same proportions and legs as the left-hand boy on CL2.1. The preserved part of the big eye demonstrates the same ring pattern as Cat. 1-3 (*pl. 1*).

The last fragment in Philadelphia, G.2.5 (*pl. 6*) is slightly different. The satyr's upper limbs are more delicately rendered, in a manner closer to red-figure style. However, the legs and proportions of the body resemble CL2.1. The satyrs on CL2.4 and 5 are both handle figures, which is common among several types and painters of Attic *kyathoi*.

The figured decoration on CL2.6 (*pl. 6*), in Oxford, is careless and it is difficult to compare the schematic reclining Dionysos to that on the former vases. However, such a pattern of a reclining figure, with its legs and waist covered with drapery, does appear in the workshop, for example on a *lekythos* in Palermo, attributed to the Diosphos Painter.⁴⁷ The doves flanking the handle's sides are more revealing since they follow the same pattern as the previously studied vases (*Cat. 1, pl. 1 and CL1.3, pl. 5*).

The vases belonging to Class II, except for CL2.5 (near Psiax by Eisman) and CL2.3 (unattributed), are attributed to the Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley. Their stylistic closeness with Cat. 1-3 makes them likely to have originated in the Sappho Painter's workshop. CL2.5 stands in Psiax's circle as a reminder of his crucial influence.

Class III (plate 7, table 3)

Class III helps to demonstrate that the *kyathos* production studied in this paper, was not only marked by the Sappho Painter's influence, but can also be related to the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop, as it has been defined by other scholars (see the introduction).

The Attic *kyathoi* variants, represented by Classes II-III in the catalogue, can join the productions of small vases (*lekythoi*, *alabastra* etc.) manufactured in this late black-figure workshop and influenced

by Psiax, even though no *kyathos* has been attributed to the Sappho and Diosphos Painters before. Jubier-Galinier already attributed examples to some 'companions' of the workshop, for example the Group Hound and Hare, and also proposed the integration of the Philon Painter's *kyathoi* to the same circle.⁴⁸

Beazley further attributed a one-handled *kantharos* to the Diosphos Painter.⁴⁹ This peculiar vase shape is, as the Attic *kyathos*, an imitation and an adaptation from the Etruscan bucchero *répertoire*, made in the Kerameikos only to be exported to Etruria. Beazley also attributed another one of these special shapes to or near the Sappho Painter: a white-ground amphora in Vienna, belonging to the Class of the Cabinet des Médailles 218.⁵⁰ This Class is a later reinterpretation of the Nikosthenic amphora, while, according to V. Tosto, the Vienna vase was made both outside Nikosthenes' workshop and outside the main workshop producing the Class.⁵¹

The one-handled *kantharos* and the Vienna amphora show that the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop was involved in the production of these special shapes aimed at the Etruscan market.

CL3.1, in Naples, forms a link between Classes II-III and demonstrates continuity in the workshop, since it displays the 'new semi-ovoid' profile of Class III and the same doves pattern that we can observe on Cat. 1 and other *kyathoi* of Classes I and II.⁵²

Jubier-Galinier attributes the two other vases, CL3.2-3 (*pl. 7*) to different painters of the Group Hound and Hare, decorators of the *lekythoi* of the Little-Lion Class.⁵³ She compares CL3.2 to a *lekythos* in Athens, the decoration and style of which resembles many *kyathoi* of the Group of Vatican G57,⁵⁴ with Dionysos, sitting and holding a *rhyton*, surrounded by vine branches and grapes. The style of both CL3.2 and this Athens *lekythos* (rounded eyes, semi-circular calves, the figures positions) recalls the vases of Class II (*pl. 6*). When this *lekythos* is considered, it seems obvious that many *kyathoi* and *lekythoi* were manufactured in the same workshop. The painters assembled under the appellation 'Group of Vatican G57' concerning *kyathoi* are often identical to the craftsmen designated by different 'groups labels' for other shapes, such as the 'Group Hound and Hare'. Jubier-Galinier compares CL3.3 (*pl. 7*), in Munich, to another *lekythos* in Leiden (*pl. 4, fig. 5*) which is commonly attributed to the Group Hound and Hare.⁵⁵ Indeed, the two vases appear to have been decorated by the same painter, who used long undulating incisions for the muscles, a single

curved Γ line to separate the forehead from the hair, and several straight incisions for hair locks. Likewise, the *kyathos* CL3.6 (pl. 7) can be attributed to the same painter or one close to him. The young men depicted on the Leiden *lekythos* (pl. 4, fig. 5) also recall the boys on several *kyathoi* attributed to the Group of Vatican G57 and they can be easily compared to the decorations of the Little-Lion Class.⁵⁶ The Philadelphia fragments CL3.7 (pl. 7), displaying symposiasts and attendants with long rounded noses, circular eyes and a kind of smiling face, belong to this 'symposiasts group'. The shape of the reclining figure's hands on CL3.7 (stump-like), the incisions of draperies with red stripes and the remaining face of the attendant are incredibly close to the Leiden boys (pl. 4, fig. 5, right image, left boy). The same hands are operating.

The *kyathoi* decorated or influenced by the Philon Painter present a semi-ovoid profile, the main characteristic of Class III (tbl. 3). Beazley already suspected a link between him and the Diosphos Painter, regarding the *kyathoi* CL3.4-5 (pl. 7) and a *kyathos* in Mannheim.⁵⁷ Jubier-Galinier questions Eisman's assumption that the Philon Painter produced his *kyathoi* in Nikosthenes' workshop, since the shape of his *kyathoi* appears to be closer to Psiax's work than to Nikosthenes'. Instead, she favours the hypothesis that the Philon Painter belonged to the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop, which in turn could explain his connection to Psiax. The figures painted on Cat. 2 (pl. 1), are very close to those on CL3.4 (faces incisions, short *chitones*) and the use of the rare *kalos* inscription further strengthens this connection.⁵⁸

3. SHAPES & WORKSHOPS

In the previous paragraphs, it has been shown that the painted decoration of several classes of *kyathoi* could be stylistically related to the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop, proving its involvement in their production. The following section will demonstrate how further links between the workshop and *kyathoi* can be highlighted through a study of shape.

The three classes defined in the catalogue confirm Eisman's classification.⁵⁹ Class I (pl. 5 and tbl. 1, CL1.2) includes only some variants of the "caliciform" shape which derives directly from Psiax's *kyathoi* (tbl. 1, Cat. 5).⁶⁰ Class II (tbl. 2) joins Eisman's 'transitional type' and,⁶¹ from this paper's point of view, it should be considered the typical shape of the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop. Class III represents a part of the 'semi-ovoid type' (tbl. 3).⁶² The three *kyathoi* attributed to the

Sappho Painter, Cat. 1-3 (tbl. 1), belong to Class II and constitute its beginning, Cat. 1 and 3 revealing some analogies with Class I.

Psiax and Class I (plates 2 and 5, table 1)

Psiax's caliciform *kyathoi*, Cat. 4-5 (pl. 2, tbl. 1), succeed Nikosthenes' tronco-conical examples and an other early type.⁶³ They present a considerable change of proportions and morphology. The bowl is now small and delicate, slim and tall, slightly flaring at the rim. The profile is sinuous, and more convex towards the narrow bottom. The foot seems small in comparison with the bowl. The exceptional character of Cat. 4 has already been mentioned.

The typical secondary decoration on the *kyathoi* painted by Psiax and his circle has already been described. However, Cat. 5 introduces a small sub-class, which was certainly fashioned by the same potter and which presents some peculiarities.⁶⁴ The lower part does not present the standard decoration (one ground line and two reserved lines), as the reserved lines are double. However, the pattern is similar, as it respects the principle of a ground line and reserved parts, separated by a larger black band. The patterned frieze along the rim, the reserved handle decoration, the painted head as well as the use of special technique (white-ground and Six technique) are other important features of that variant closest to Psiax. CL1.3 (pl. 5) follows this scheme but its foot is lost, making it impossible to gauge whether it had Cat. 5's echinus shape or a double moulding on the vertical section like its Lugano 'twin'.⁶⁵ CL1.2 (tbl. 1), belongs to a close class deriving from Cat. 5,⁶⁶ but is squatter in proportions, with a larger diameter of rim and foot. The foot, again, has the vertical section articulated in a double moulding. Some of these *kyathoi* also present multiple lines in the lower part and a patterned frieze along the rim.⁶⁷

CL1.1 (pl. 5) presents a lower and larger bowl and a moulded foot. The bowl's profile is the closest to Psiax's *kyathos* in Milan (Cat. 4, pl. 2) and this resemblance is strengthened by the existence of a string between the foot and the bowl in both cases. Compared to other examples, the plastic female head shows unusual hair locks on the forehead, made with thin brush strokes, and plaits that only separate at the end. However, the fact that the curls are painted on the forehead - instead of being executed in relief - recalls Psiax's female head on Cat. 5 (pl. 2).

Among the *kyathoi* that I attribute to the Sappho Painter, Cat. 2 (tbl. 1) most resembles Psiax's

products, with its delicately sinuous walls, swelling a little bit higher than the profiles of Class I (*tbl. 1*, CL1.2). The bottom of the bowl is narrow, as is the case on Cat. 5. The small dimensions agree with Psiax's two *kyathoi*, Cat. 4-5. Yet, the conical shape of the foot, which incorporates a thick vertical smooth section, is much heavier. This is a characteristic of later *kyathoi* such as the pieces of Classes II-III (*tbls 2-3*). Its secondary decoration corresponds to these later variants too, with the vertical section on the foot reserved and the reserved underside of the foot featuring a black circle and dot (*pl. 2, c*).

Class II and the Sappho Painters' influence (plate 6, table 2)

From a morphological point of view, Class II is the most interesting set and it is central to this paper (*tbl. 2*), as this *kyathos* shape is considered typical of the workshop. If Cat. 2, in Munich, still demonstrates features that are close to the previous class, Cat. 1 and 3 (*tbl. 1*) provide early examples of the new shape, Eisman's transitional type.⁶⁸ However, the profile's delicacy and the small dimensions still betray Psiax's influence. CL2.5 in Philadelphia (*pl. 6, tbl. 2*) shows the same delicate profile as the three vases attributed to the Sappho Painter.

With Class II, the dimensions are slightly increased. The 'swelled-bottleneck' profile appears: the lower part of the bowl swells, creating a kind of smooth carination, and the bottom narrows in a bottleneck shape. This constitutes the main characteristic of Class II, together with the conical unmoulded foot that includes the thick vertical section. The handle is flat and large, usually with faded plastic decoration. The secondary decoration diverges from Cat. 4-5, as the handle is generally black only on the outside, the foot's underside is reserved (except for the oblique band) and a black dot in a circle decorates the centre, surrounded by another wider circle (*pl. 2, c*). The underside of Cat. 1, slightly different, heralds this new scheme. The lower part is standard and shows a ground line and two reserved lines.

As previously noted, the vases included in the catalogue are typical but not exhaustive examples.

The profile of CL2.1 (*tbl. 2*) has straight and tall walls and bulges quite low. Two Philadelphia fragments CL2.3-4 (*tbl. 2*) follow the same model. CL2.1 displays a thick red string at the junction of the bowl and foot (*pl. 6*). Some other vases have the same red string, which might recall the brown-reddish glaze painted on the plastic string

on Psiax's *kyathos* in Milan (Cat. 5, *pl. 2*). It is interesting to note that most of the *kyathoi* showing such a red string are attributed to the Caylus Painter (see *tbl. 3, fig. A*) and that their bowl sometimes shares the 'swelled-bottleneck' profile of Class II, only somewhat smoother.⁶⁹

CL2.2 and 6 (*pl. 6, tbl. 2*) are two examples of a large sub-class of vases sharing specific characteristics. The bowl is lower than CL2.1, with slightly concave walls. The handle is very flat, topped by a rough plastic cone, prolonged with a string terminated by a triangular leaf (see CL2.2, *pl. 6*), not the more common palmette (see CL1.2, *pl. 5*). This triangle sometimes takes the shape of an ivy leaf, roughly recalling the early *kyathos* type.⁷⁰

The Philon Painter's association with the workshop was discussed in part 2, focusing on the painting style.

Even though the style of the Caylus Painter is quite distant from Class II, his *kyathoi* shapes (see *tbl. 3, fig. A*) show such strong links with the workshop studied in this paper that it seems likely that he was associated with it. The Caylus Painter's shape offers a morphological link between Classes II-III. This can serve as a good example of the value of morphological studies.

Class II presents a good opportunity to put forth some observations on the methodology of shape analysis. In fact, if the *kyathoi* of Class II can be related stylistically to the *lekythoi* of the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop, a similar conclusion can be reached by studying morphological features.

As stated above, while Cat. 1 (*tbl. 1*) is stylistically connected to Psiax, its shape is closer to later vases, such as Class II (*tbl. 2*). Recognizing the Vatican *kyathos* as the Sappho Painter's work helps to explain both Psiax's influence and the new shape. When observing Haspels' ABL and Jubier-Galinier's plates, it becomes obvious that the 'swelled-bottleneck' profile looks similar to many *lekythoi* attributed to the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop.

In the introduction, I explained that two different potters could be recognized as producers of the *lekythoi* decorated by the two painters. The most important *lekythos* shape of the workshop is the DL Class (which Jubier-Galinier divides into DL and SL Classes, according to the potter's features).⁷¹ The common characteristic of the DL/SL *lekythoi* is the smooth angle in the wall's lower part, narrowing the profile towards the foot.⁷² This feature is equivalent to the 'swelled-bottleneck' profile of Class II's *kyathoi*.

The characteristic is so recurrent that the Karls-

ruhe *lekythos* (pl. 4, figs 3) suffices to exemplify the closeness to Class II. The 'swelled-bottleneck' profile can be considered as a workshop feature, typical of the Sappho and Diosphos Potters-Painters and their 'companions'.

These considerations offer a first step towards the recognition of potters' hands and workshop characteristics, on different vase shapes. Regarding the secondary decoration, the three *kyathoi* attributed to the Sappho Painter (Cat. 1-3, *tbl. 1*) present, in their lower part, a black ground line followed by two reserved lines. As already stated by Haspels, and more recently noted by I. Algrain, the *alabastra* (pl. 3, fig. 1) and *lekythoi* (pl. 3, fig. 2) of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters share, with several variants, this general scheme of lower secondary decoration.⁷³ It is interesting to note that this pattern appears also in the Theseus Painter's work and, with less regularity, in the Haimon Painter's workshop (*tbl. 3, fig. B*); and both craftsmen also decorated *kyathoi*. On *alabastra* and *lekythoi*, this decoration is enhanced by added red lines which almost never occur on the *kyathoi* variants discussed in this paper. This secondary pattern is a further link between *kyathoi*, *lekythoi* and even *alabastra* produced in these workshops of late black-figure.

Tosto showed in his work on Nikosthenes' *kyathoi*, that their shape was so different from the rest of the production that it is impossible to tell if they were fashioned by Potter N, the producer of the Nikosthenic amphora. However, Tosto favours the hypothesis that the *kyathoi* should be attributed to Potter N and that the craftsman was Nikosthenes himself. Indeed, the two shapes 'share a certain stiffness and angularity, most noticeably in the relation between the handles and the rest of the shape, which give them, so to speak, a slightly disjointed appearance.'⁷⁴ Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be verified.

The observations about 'swelled-bottlenecked' *lekythoi* and *kyathoi* are so far mere suggestions and need to be further explored. These two shapes were strongly interrelated in the Sappho Painter's workshop, a phenomenon which also seems to apply to the Haimon Painter's production. These craftsmen specialized in late black-figure productions during the heyday of the red-figure technique, working on specific shapes such as *lekythoi* and *alabastra*. They seem to share the same dual identity of potter-painters. Could this situation explain a certain standardization of similar shapes?

Class III and the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop (plate 7, table 3)

Class III (*tbl. 3*) continues the tradition of Class II and is characterized by the disappearance of the 'swelled-bottleneck' feature as well as the creation of a semi-ovoid profile. As shown above, some *kyathoi* decorated by the Caylus Painter show transitional traits linking both types (see *tbl. 3, fig. A*).⁷⁵ Still from a stylistic point of view, many *kyathoi* of Class III can be easily attributed to painters of the Little-Lion Class and of the Group Hound and Hare (see part 2).

Concerning morphology, the secondary decoration and the foot are equal to Class II. In addition to the smooth and round profile, the *kyathoi* of Class III are defined by the direct articulation of the bowl with the foot, without any plastic string, and a larger base. The handle, drawing a round and large loop, is narrow and the plastic decoration is usually flat. Often, a plastic strut fastens the handle to the bowl, some centimeters below the rim. This strut is typical of later *kyathoi* and can also appear in Class II. One of the first vases showing this element belongs to the symposiasts *kyathoi* discussed above and it is linked to the Group Hound and Hare.⁷⁶ Apparently, the plastic strut was an innovation of the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop.

The Philon Painter's *kyathoi* CL3.4-5 (CL3.5, *tbl. 3*) tend to have a high bowl with nearly straight walls. The bowl's base is quite large and the foot is massive and flattened, its spreading part divided by a groove. The black glaze of the lower part extends very far upwards, shortening the figured scene. The ground lines, as well as reserved lines, are often irregular. It is reasonable to think that these *kyathoi* were shaped by the same hand.

The continuity of shape and painters' hands places Class III (*tbl. 3*) in the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop or in their circle. This impression is reinforced by the resumption of Class III's features in the Haimon Painter's workshop which originated in the Diosphos and Haimon Painters' collaboration.⁷⁷ Many *kyathoi* close to or by the Haimon Painter (*tbl. 3, fig. B*) present a semi-ovoid profile and a narrow handle with a strut, as observed for Class III. The bowl, however, is taller and deeper. Further, the handle draws a narrower loop and the strut is often at the rim's height, not lower. The plastic decoration is more developed than previously, with new patterns. The foot, finally, takes the shape of a thin and sharp disc with a small bevelled section.⁷⁸ This very specific sub-class of *kyathoi* was quite obviously manufactured by a single potter.

CONCLUSIONS

By combining a stylistic and morphological method, three new vases have been attributed to the Sappho Painter (*Cat. 1-3*), thus showing for the first time that he also painted, and probably potted, *kyathoi*. This analysis has also shed some new light on three iconographic models: Theseus versus the Minotaur, which is used as central scene; the doves with unfolded wings; and the black sphinxes with raised paws, framing the handle. The first scheme derives from late black-figure *lekythoi*, the two others are characteristic of the Attic *kyathos*. These iconographic schemes, together with other features, such as the big eyes or the vine branches in the background, were used in this study to recognize and gather *kyathoi* classes within the same workshop.

Besides their morphological similarity, the three vases attributed to the Sappho Painter constitute a link between the *kyathoi* made by Psiax and his circle (*Cat. 4-5, pl. 2; Class I, pl. 5*) and later *kyathoi* (Classes II-III, *pls 6-7*). Here, the shape is used to confirm what had been already noted regarding the figured decoration and the use of special techniques. Indeed, Psiax's potter(s) started the standardization of the Attic *kyathos* by using different Etruscan models from those employed by Nikosthenes and by subjecting this foreign shape to more significant adaptations. Psiax or his potter(s) produced a first model for secondary decoration and for bowl and foot shapes. Class I strongly drew on this influence, as did other *kyathoi* of the caliciform type.

Yet the shape study reveals even more. If the three *kyathoi* attributed to the Sappho Painter really display Psiax's influence, they constitute a decisive turn in the Attic production of *kyathoi*. They stand at the beginning of a series characterized by a painted decoration of lower quality and a simpler style of vase construction. The new bowl shape (swelled in the lower part) and the thick conical and unmoulded foot (*Cat. 1, tbl. 1; Class II, tbl. 2*), are very different from Psiax's vases and they are simpler than the *kyathoi* of caliciform shape with moulded foot (Class I, for example: *CL1.2, tbl. 1*), all of which are of remarkable quality. The radical change undergone in the secondary decoration of the foot's underside (from *pl. 2, b* to *pl. 2, c*) further indicates that a change of workshop (or of the main potter in the workshop?) must have taken place. The vases created by the Sappho Painter and developed in his workshop gain in a more 'popular' character, which results from a quicker production, what

they lose in elegance. The contemporary simplification of both shape and painted decoration continues with the semi-ovoid type of Class III (*tbl. 3*), which demonstrates that the manufacture of *kyathoi* was well established in the workshop.

By identifying the role of the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop in the production of the Attic *kyathos*, we now have a bridge between the *kyathoi* of Psiax and those of the Haimon Painter, as his shape derives directly from Class III (*tbl. 3, fig. B*). Several *kyathoi* have been attributed to him and his Group and even Eisman, who tends to attribute the entire *kyathos* production to Nikosthenes' workshop, considered the Haimonian *kyathoi* as a separate production.⁷⁹

It is then safe to dissociate the *kyathoi* of the Sappho-Diosphos Painters' workshop (Classes II-III) from Nikosthenes and to place them in the context of late black-figure workshops producing *lekythoi*, *alabastra* and other shapes, following in the footsteps of Psiax.

CATALOGUE

Catalogue abbreviations:

Hh: height to the handle⁸⁰

Hr: height to the rim

Dr: rim diameter

Dp: foot diameter

WG: black-figure on white-ground

BF: black-figure

The Sappho Painter

Cat. 1: Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 34978. Astarita fr. 29 (*pl. 1, tbl. 1*).

Hr: 8.3. Dr: 10.7. Df: 5.

Iozzo 2002, n. 147, pp. 116-117, tav. 73. BAPD: 9025218.

See text for description. WG

Near Psiax by Beazley (not published in *ABV* and *Para*).

New proposal: Sappho Painter.

Cat. 2: Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv. 1988 (*pl. 1, tbl. 1*).

Hr: 7.9. Dr: 10.4. Df: 5.1.

Jahn 1854, n. 1311. *AKP*, pl. 34. BAPD: 306168.

See text for description. WG

Group of Vatican G57, by Beazley.

New proposal: Sappho Painter.

Inscription: $\text{ho } \pi\alpha\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\delta\varsigma$.

Cat. 3: Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Castellani fragment without number. Unpublished (*pl. 1, tbl. 1*).

Dr: 11.

See text for description. WG

Proposal: Sappho Painter.

Psiax

Cat. 4: Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli inv. 482 (*pl. 2*).

Hh: 14.5. Hr: 7.5. Dr: 10.5. Df: 5.

BAPD: 320361.

Psiax by Beazley.

WG, added red, plastic male head. Dionysus reclining, two dancing satyrs, two maenads. Luxurious grapevine with expanding branches and triangular leaves.

Cat. 5: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum inv. L436 (HA507) (*pl. 2, tbl. 1*).

Hh: 13.5. Hr: 7.2. Dr: 9.9. Df: 5.1.

BAPD: 320362.

WG, added red and white, plastic female head. Black sphinxes; big eyes; Dionysus holding a *rhyton*, dancing maenad. Abundant vine branches with triangular leaves.

Class I

CL1.1: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum inv. GR.9.1937 (*pl. 5*).

Hh: 15.1. Hr: 8.2. Dr: 11.2. Df: 5.2.

BAPD: 306132.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley, near Psiax by Haspels (Menon Painter) and Eisman.

WG, added red and white. Plastic female head. Black sphinxes, big female eyes; Dionysos seated and holding a *rhyton*, a dancing satyr. Invading grapevine with trifold leaves.

CL1.2: Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv.1987 (*pl. 5, tbl. 1*).

Hh: 14. Hr: 7.1. Dr: 9.9. Df: 5.4.

BAPD: 306178. AKP, n. 112. Lau/Krell 1877, pl. 19.1.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley, near Psiax (Menon Painter) by Haspels.

WG, added red and white. Plastic female head. Sphinxes; big eyes; satyr and maenad dancing. Dotted branches.

CL1.3: Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 20721 (*pl. 5*).

Dimensions unknown.

BAPD: 320376. Roncalli 1980, 260, figs 55-56.

Near Psiax by Beazley.

WG, added red and white. Incomplete. Inside the bowl under the handle: red braids painted (belonging to the lost plastic head). Doves with unfolded wings; part of a big eye. Dotted branches.

Class II

CL2.1: Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 17725 (479) (*pl. 6, tbl. 2*).

Hr: 8.7. Dr: 11.2. Df: 5.4.

BAPD: 306167. AKP, n. 90.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley.

New proposal: close to the Sappho Painter.

WG, added red. Black sphinxes; big eyes; lyre player, dancer with *krotala* (both naked with *chlamys* wrapped around the shoulders), a *diphros* between them. Dotted branches.

CL2.2: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum inv. 70/11 (*pl. 6*).

Hh: 13.8. Hr: 7.8. Dr: 11.2. Df: 5.2.

BAPD: 4678.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley.

BF, added red and white. White sphinxes; big eyes; Theseus killing the Minotaur. Dotted branches.

CL2.3: Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.2 (*pl. 6, tbl. 2*).

Dr: 11.

AKP, n. 214, pl. 54.a2.

Proposal: close to the Sappho Painter.

Rim and wall fragment. BF, added red and white. Herakles fighting an Amazon; part of a big eye. Dotted branches.

CL2.4: Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.22 (*pl. 6, tbl. 2*).

Dr: 12.

BAPD: 306136. AKP, n. 64.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley.

Rim and wall fragment. WG, added red and white. Dancing satyr (handle figure); part of a big eye. Small parts of dotted branches.

CL2.5: Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.8 (*pl. 6, tbl. 2*).

Dr: 10.

AKP, n. 191, pl. 55.a.1.

Circle of Psiax by Eisman.

Rim and wall fragment. BF, added red and white. Kneeling satyr (handle figure); a big eye. Parts of dotted branches.

CL2.6: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. AN1879.150 (V244) (*pl. 6, tbl. 2*).

Hh: 13. Hr: 7.9. Dr: 11.2. Df: 5.2.

BAPD: 306144. Gardner 1893, 16, n. 244.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley.

BF, added red and white. Doves with unfolded wings; big eyes; bearded man (Dionysos?) reclining and holding a *kantharos*. Dotted branches with grapes.

Class III

CL3.1: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. STG 122A.

Hh: 14.4. Hr: 8. Dr: 11.

BAPD: 306147.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley.

BF, added red and white. Doves with unfolded wings; big eyes; Dionysos riding a mule. Dotted branches.

CL3.2: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles inv. 356 (*pl. 7*).

Hh: 14.5. Hr: 8.5. Dr: 10.7

BAPD: 306138.

Group of Vatican G57 by Beazley, Group Hound and Hare by Jubier-Galinier.

BF, added red and white. Satyrs; big eyes; Dionysos reclining, satyr. Dotted branches and vine grapes.

CL3.3: Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv. 1966 (pl. 7).

Hr: 8.5. Dr: 8.5. Df: 4.

AKP, n. 327. Jahn 1854, n. 121. Jubier-Galinier 1996, 147, n. 107.

Group Hound and Hare by Jubier-Galinier.

BF, added red and white. Hunt with horseman, wild boar, hounds and young men.

CL3.4: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum inv. GR.22.1904. Hh: 15.2. Hr: 8.5. Dr: 10.3. Df: 5.3.

BAPD: 330660. Color photographs available on <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explorer/index.php?qu=kyathos&oid=67829>, 06.05.2013.

Philon/Diosphos Painters by Beazley.

BF, added red and white. Big palmettes; armed warriors. Inscriptions: [Φ]ίλον and καλός. Σμίκυθος. Σκύ[θ]ες.

CL3.5: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 41.162.116 (pl. 7, tbl. 3).

Hh: 14.2. Hr: 8.2. Dr: 10.2. Df: 5.6.

BAPD: 330661.

Philon/Diosphos Painters by Beazley.

BF, added red and white. Big palmettes; horsemen and armed warriors. Rows of dots (fake writing).

CL3.6: Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia inv. 20880 (pl. 7, tbl. 3).

Hr: 8.3. Dr: 10.6. Df: 5.5.

AKP, n. 315. Ricci 1955, 303, n. 3, fig. 56.

Proposal: Group Hound and Hare, same painter CL3.3 and the *lekythos* in Leiden (pl. 4, fig. 5).

BF, added red and white. White sphinxes; Theseus killing the Minotaur between youths and a seated figure.

CL3.7: Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. 4863.39a and 4863.40 (pl. 7, tbl. 3).

Dr: 10.

AKP, n. 222, pl. 57.a.2, 56b1.

Around Group of Vatican G57 by Eisman.

New proposal: Group Hound and Hare.

BF, added red and white. Two wall fragments with two reclining symposiasts and attendants. Dotted branches and vine grapes.

NOTES

* I am most grateful to numerous keepers of European and American museums who made my research possible. I thank them for their open-mindedness and trust. My research on *kyathoi* would not have been possible without the help, advices and scientific networks provided by many scholars, first of all my Professor, Athena Tsingarida. I am also most grateful to M. Eisman (who stands at the root of an important part of my material and my reflections), N. Malagardis, M. Iozzo, J. Gran-Aymerich, J. Mertens, D. Williams, F. Wiel Marin, I. Algrain, T. Brisart and A. Zifferero. C. Jubier-Galinier's interest has been a tremendous challenge and support. I am also most grateful to my correctors who know how much I owe them. I thank Elisa Pleuger for the digitalization of the profile drawings. I hope this first contribution can be a fair tribute to them and many others.

** In order to keep the notes short, only the vases' museum inventory number and BAPD numbers will be provided. If no photograph or BAPD entry exists, further bibliographic information will be given, with reference to a published picture, if available.

*** The *kyathoi*'s grey surface on some drawings in the tables represents the white-ground surface. Cat. 1 in tbl. 1 was redone from Iozzo 2002, 116, fig. 147 and from a picture (for the secondary decoration).

¹ Haspels ABL; Bloesch 1940; Kurtz 1975; Brijder 1983; Euwe 1996; Mackay 2010, 387-389. See also the PhD dissertations of Jubier-Galinier 1996 and Algrain (forthcoming), which deal with the same approach.

² Williams 1990, 34; Jubier-Galinier/Laurens 1998, 732-735; Tsingarida 2009, 141, n. 53. For the different possibilities of organization between potters and painters, see: Borgers 2004, 63-64.

³ Kurtz/Boardman 1986, 37; see also Iozzo 2002, 116.

⁴ It is usually accepted by scholars today that the main part of the *kyathoi* production was made in Nikosthenes' workshop: AKP, 45f; see also CVA Paris, *Musée du Louvre* 27, 66. However, this statement has been challenged by others, mostly Tosto 1999, 100, n. 355; see also Jubier-Galinier 1996, 146.

⁵ These observations are not novel and have been already expressed, among others, by Kurtz/Boardman 1986, 38; Tosto 1999, 100, n. 355.

⁶ Jubier-Galinier 1999, 181-182; see also Jubier-Galinier, 1998, 739; Jubier-Galinier 1996, 145-146, 148.

⁷ Mertens 1977, 197-200; ARV², 300-304; ABV, 507; *Para*, 246; ABL, 94-130, 225-241, 368-369, 973.

⁸ Jubier-Galinier/Laurens 1998, 735-736.

⁹ Understand Beazley's term « companion » as craftsmen associated in a workshop (Robertson 1989, xv).

¹⁰ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 126. Jubier-Galinier/Laurens 1998, 737-738.

¹¹ Jubier-Galinier/Laurens 1998, 736-737. Jubier-Galinier 1996, 135.

¹² Iozzo 2002, 116.

¹³ A detailed description is provided in Iozzo 2002, 116-117.

¹⁴ Idem.

¹⁵ A detailed description is provided in AKP, 326-329.

¹⁶ Except the signed *kyathoi*, the other black figure examples showing an inscription are the following. G3.4 from Cambridge, attributed to the Philon Painter, presents names and the *Philon kalos* acclamation. Another *kyathos*, once on the art market bears the word *kalos* (*Münzen und Medaillen*, A.G. Basel, *sale catalogue* 16, 30.6.1956, Pl.25, n. 105; BAPD: 14561). At last, a fragment in H. Cahn's collection (inv. HC1432; BAPD: 18411) still offers a partial representation of Herakles' head topped by the letters HEPAKA.

¹⁷ Immerwahr, CAVI, n. 5203.

¹⁸ Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 34570 (G57); BAPD: 306128; Peter/Hirschmann 1982, 75, n.35a.

¹⁹ AKP, 329.

²⁰ Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. I.1956.8.1; BAPD: 1591.

²¹ Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. MNB 910; BAPD: 7974; ABL, pl. 32.2a-b.

²² Zurich, private; BAPD: 361399; *Münzen und Medaillen*, *Auktion Basel*, Kunstwerke der Antike, XXVI, 1963, n. 116, pl. 10; *Para*, 247.

²³ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 18-19.

²⁴ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 45.

²⁵ Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum inv. B 1815; BAPD: 305501.

- ²⁶ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 122.
²⁷ See notes 20-21.
²⁸ Lugano, private; BAPD: 342257; *Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion Basel*, Kunstwerke der Antike, XXII, pl. 45.144
²⁹ The third vase is Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire inv. R266; BAPD: 306160. On the other vases, the doves are all turned towards the handle. On Cat. 1, one dove looks towards the handle, the other dove looks towards the main scene. This kind of variation in the orientation of the handle figures is common on Attic *kyathoi*.
³⁰ Tsingarida 2009, 141.
³¹ See note 18 (Musei Vaticani).
³² Athens, National Museum inv. 2262; BAPD: 46914; *ABL*, pl. 36.3.
³³ Servadei 2005, 92-118.
³⁴ Servadei 2005, 94, 99, 101, 203.
³⁵ Servadei 2005, 94-95, 100, 196.
³⁶ Servadei 2005, 101, 116.
³⁷ See note 30.
³⁸ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 45.
³⁹ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 32-39.
⁴⁰ For the inscription on the *lekythos* in Athens: CAVI, n. 0841; for the one on the *lekythos* in Karlsruhe: CAVI, n. 4049.
⁴¹ In using the term «Class», I follow Beazley's use of terms, as it is explained by Robertson 1989, xvi and as it is used by Tosto 1986, 97.
⁴² Two other white ground *kyathoi*, attributed to the Group of Vatican G57 have a plastic male head: Compiègne, Musée Vivenel inv. 1074; BAPD: 306149 and New York market; BAPD: 306145, Eisenberg 1999, 10, 24, n. 92.
⁴³ See n. 45.
⁴⁴ See n. 28.
⁴⁵ Psiax' alabastron: Saint-Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum inv. 1429; BAPD: 320358. For Psiax's geometrical secondary decoration: Mertens 1977, 37.
⁴⁶ Servadei 2005, 101.
⁴⁷ Palermo, Mormino Collection inv. 101; BAPD: 3066.
⁴⁸ Jubier-Galinier 1996, p146-147. The issue of the collaboration between the Sappho and Diosphos Painters within the same workshop was extensively studied by Jubier-Galinier. However, only parts of her results were published, with her dissertation still remaining unpublished: Jubier-Galinier 1996, 1998, 1999, 2003; Jubier-Galinier/Laurens 1998.
⁴⁹ Brunswick, Bowdoin College inv. 15.43; BAPD: 301937.
⁵⁰ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. 3607; BAPD: 200049.
⁵¹ Tosto 1986, 108.
⁵² *AKP*, 28-30.
⁵³ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 147.
⁵⁴ Athens, National Museum inv. 592 and CC708; BAPD: 390331; *ABL*, 231.2.
⁵⁵ Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. PC58; BAPD: 1237.
⁵⁶ This group of *kyathoi* is decorated with young symposiasts, who are similar but painted in a rougher manner than the style of the Kephisophon Painter. Some are also decorated with small lions and black sphinxes recalling the decoration of the Little Lion Class. For instance: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2704; BAPD: 306166.
⁵⁷ Mannheim, Reiss-Museum inv. CG43; BAPD: 330662. Beazley, *ABV*, 516: 'recalls the Diosphos Painter'. See also *AKP*, 489-490, n. 2; 519.
⁵⁸ Jubier-Galinier 1996, 144-147. The closeness between Cat. 2 and G3.4 was kindly pointed to me by Dr. Jubier-Galinier.
⁵⁹ Eisman 1975, 78.
⁶⁰ Caliciform: *AKP*, 22-27.
⁶¹ Transitional: *AKP*, 28-29.
⁶² Semi-ovoid: *AKP*, 29-30.
⁶³ The other early type is Eisman's 'Class of Munich 1963' and Kurtz's 'early shape'. The former tends to see it as a development of Nikosthenes' *kyathoi*, while the later considers the early shape an independent initiative. *AKP*, 18-21. Kurtz/Boardman 1986, 37-38. For the profile drawing of Nikosthenes' *kyathoi*: Tosto 1999, pl. 31; for the profile of the 'early type': idem, pl. 54, fig. 119.
⁶⁴ An exhaustive list of this type would take us too far in this instance. Most of these vases have no published photograph. Six technique: Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv. 1961; *AKP*, n. 15; Boardman/Kurtz, 1986, 38, 39, notes 19, 22. Black-figure: Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. F165; 306162; *ABV*, 612.35; *AKP*, n. 63. *Kyathos* with Cat.5's shape but moulded foot: London market (ex Castle Ashby n. 37); BAPD: 1427.
⁶⁵ See n. 28.
⁶⁶ The list is not exhaustive. Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, inv. 1986; BAPD: 352256; Vierneisel/Kaesar 1990, 463, 471, figs 87.12, 14. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L437; BAPD: 306129; Sinn/Wehgartner 2001, 61.
⁶⁷ The list is not exhaustive. Saint-Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum inv. 4472; BAPD: 8351; Gorbunova 1983, 199, n. 174.
⁶⁸ See n. 61.
⁶⁹ For instance: Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire inv. R2512; BAPD 306097. Caylus Painter by Beazley.
⁷⁰ See n. 63. *Kyathoi* of Group II with a triangular leaf: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum inv. 520; BAPD: 1012956.
⁷¹ Jubier-Galinier 1999, 181. DL for Diosphos Class and SL for Sappho Class.
⁷² Jubier-Galinier/Laurens 1998, 735. Mertens 1977, 198.
⁷³ *ABL*, 94, 101; Jubier-Galinier 1996, 46-55; Algrain, (forthcoming), 154.
⁷⁴ Tosto 1999, 96.
⁷⁵ See n. 69 for examples of the Caylus Painter.
⁷⁶ See n. 56. *AKP*, 286. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 98.8.6; BAPD: 306163; *AKP*, pl. 24.
⁷⁷ See n. 48.
⁷⁸ Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire inv. 15005; BAPD: 331543. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. RC 1632; BAPD: 13863
⁷⁹ *AKP*, 589.
⁸⁰ All measurements are in centimeters.

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BAPD: *Beazley Archive Pottery Database* [<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery>].
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The Sappho Painter's *kyathoi*



Cat. 1. Kyathos. © Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano inv. 34978 (after Iozzo 2002, pl. 73.147).



Cat. 2. Kyathos. © Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv. 1988.



Cat. 3. Kyathos. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Castellani collection. Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.

Psiax's *kyathoi*, underfoot types



Cat. 4. Kyathos. © Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli inv. 482.



Cat. 4. Kyathos. © Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli inv. 482.



a.



b.



c.

Types foot's underside: a. Cat. 4 (Psiax), b. Cat. 5 (Psiax and Group I), c. CL3.3 (Groups II-III).



Fig. 1. Alabastron. © Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, NL, inv. I.1956.8.1.

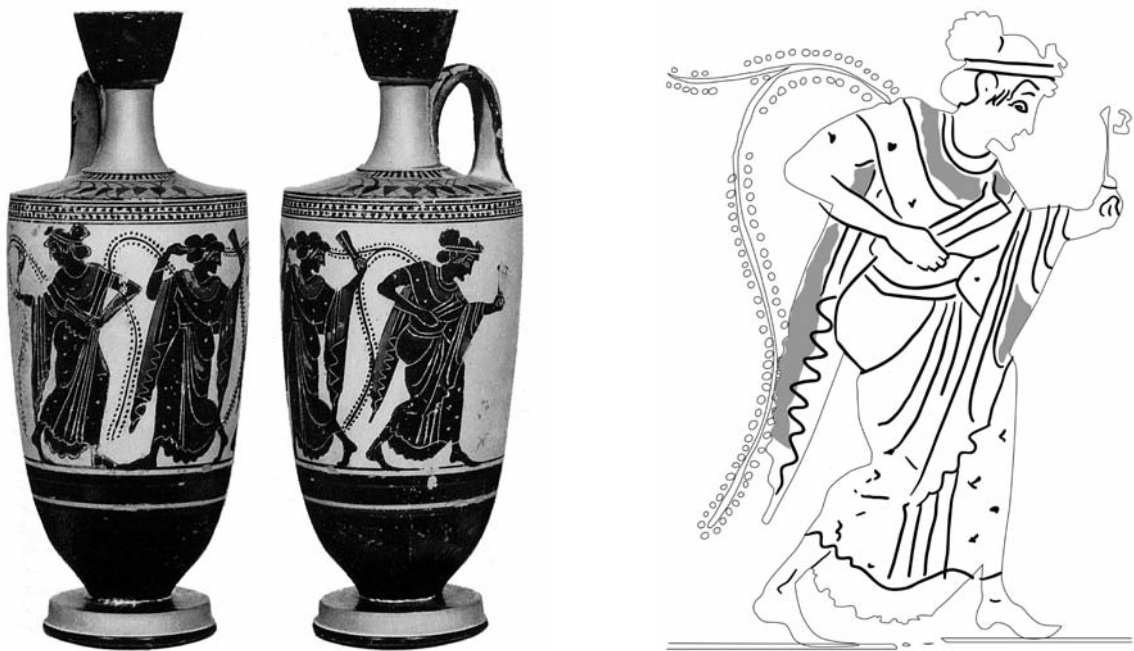


Fig. 2. Lekythos. Zurich, private. Photo: after *Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion Basel, Kunst der Antike*, XXVI, 1963, n. 116, pl. 10. Drawing: Anja Stoll, CReA-Patrimoine.



Fig. 3. Lekythos. © Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum inv. B 1815.



Fig. 4. Lekythos. © Athens, National Museum inv. 2262.

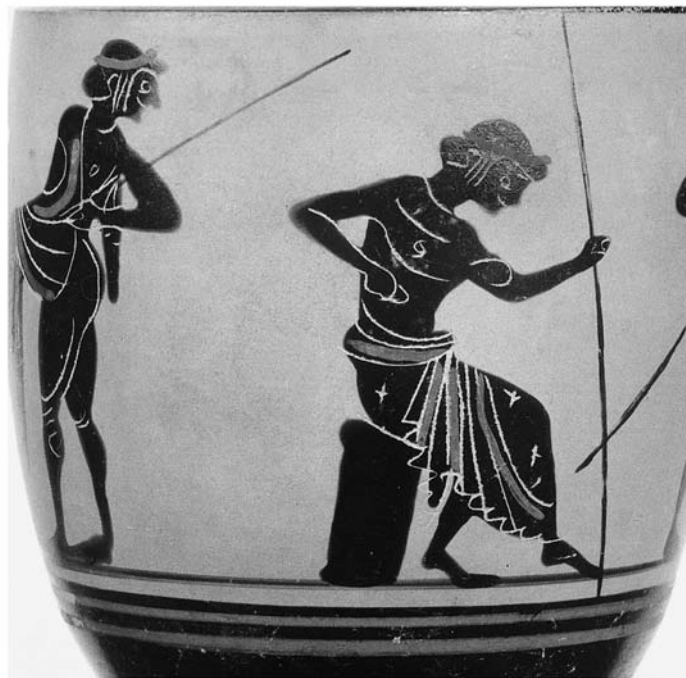


Fig. 6. Lekythos. © Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, NL. inv. PC 58.

Class I



CL1.1. Kyathos. © Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum inv. GR.9.1937.



CL1.2. Kyathos. © Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv. 1987.



CL1.3. Kyathos. © Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 20721.

Class II



CL2.1. Kyathos. © Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 17725.



CL2.2. © Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum
inv. 70/11.



CL2.6. Kyathos. © Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
inv. AN 1879.150. (V244).



CL2.3-5. Kyathos. © Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.2, MS 4863.22, MS 4863.8.

Class III



CL3.2. Kyathos. © Paris, Cabinet des Médailles inv. 356.



CL3.3. Kyathos. © Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv. 1966.



CL3.5. Kyathos. © New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 41.162.116.

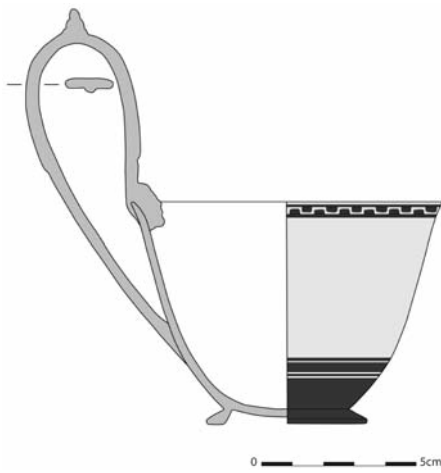


CL3.6. Kyathos. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia inv. 20880. © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.

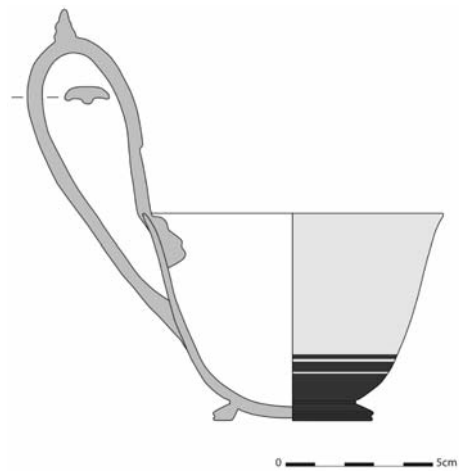


CL3.7. Kyathos. © Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.40 and MS 4863.39a.

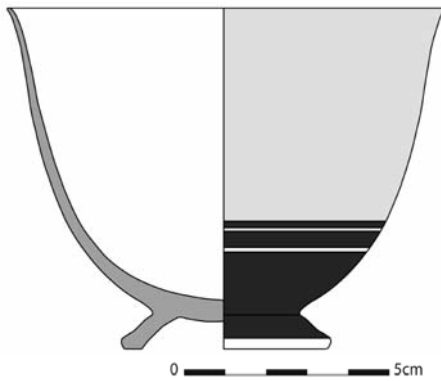
Psiax's *kyathoi*, Class I and the Sappho Painter



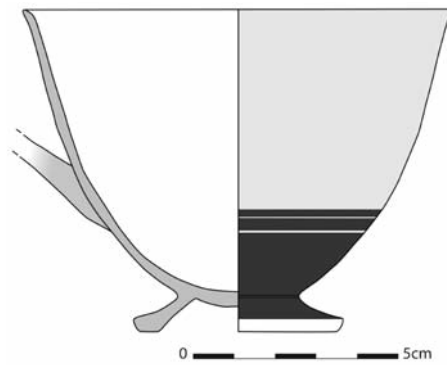
Cat. 5. Kyathos. Wurzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum inv. L436 (HA507). Psiax.



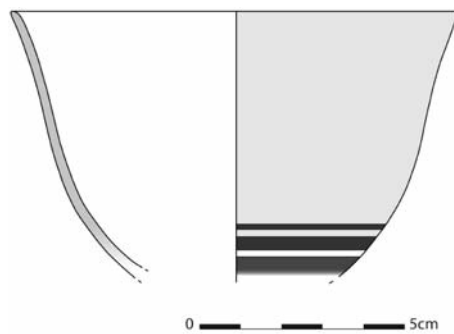
CL1.2. Kyathos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek inv. 1987.



Cat. 1. Kyathos. © Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 34978. After Iozzo 2002, 116, fig. 147.

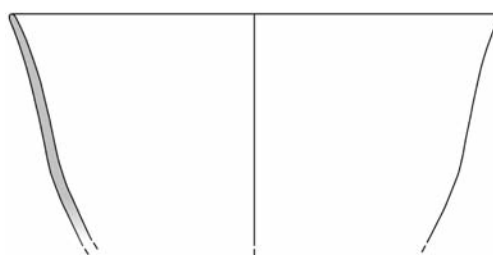


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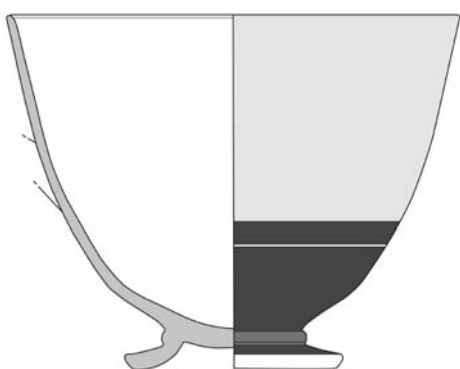
Cat. 3. Kyathos. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Castellani collection.

Class II



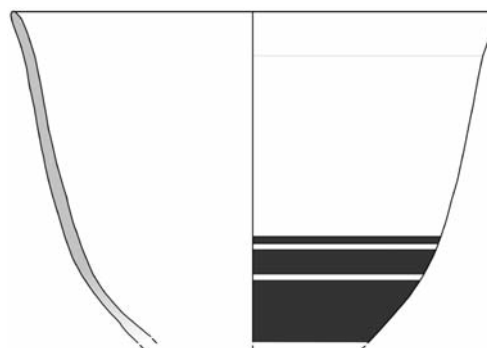
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CL2.5. Kyathos. Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.8.



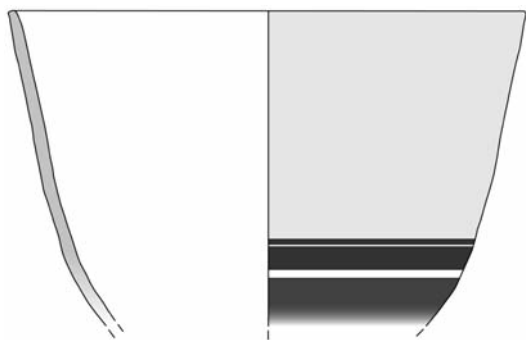
0 5cm

CL2.1. Kyathos. Vatican, Musei Vaticani inv. 17725.



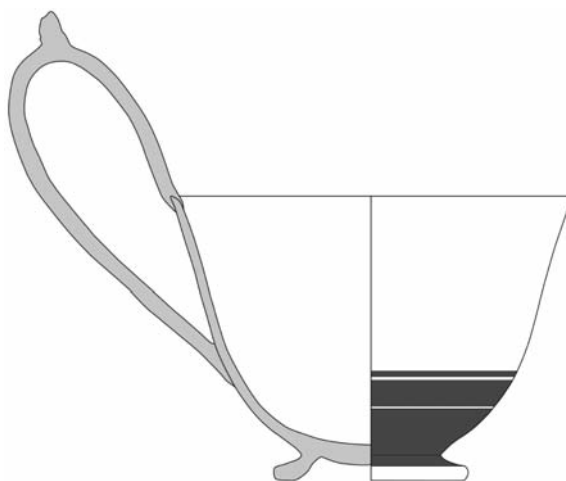
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CL2.3. Kyathos. Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.2.



0 5cm

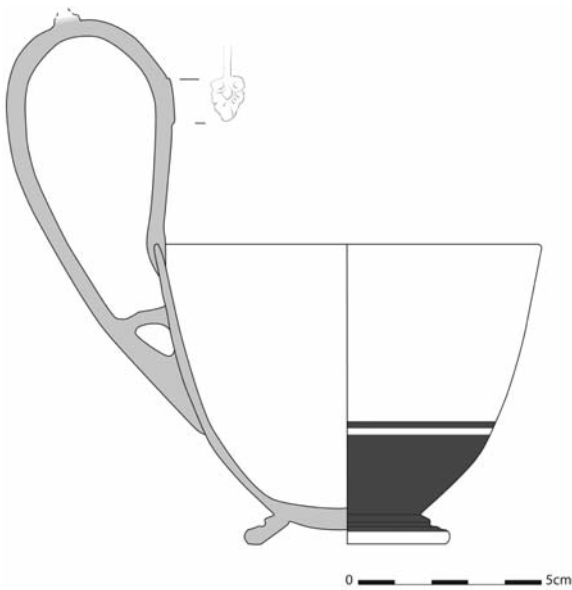
CL2.4. Kyathos. Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.22.



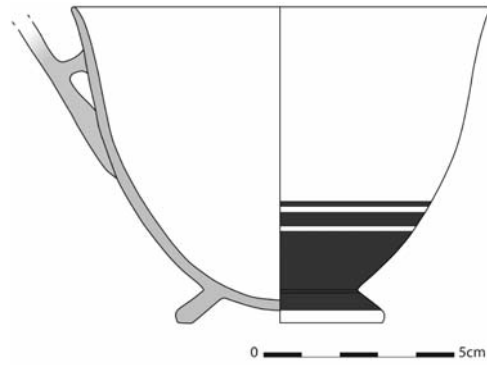
0 5cm

CL2.6. Kyathos. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. AN 1879.150 (V244).

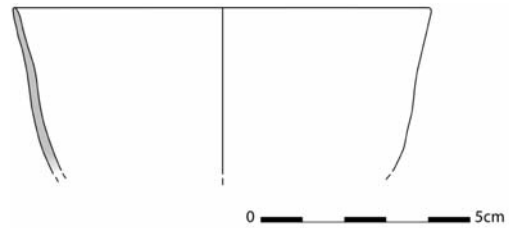
Class III and examples of the Caylus and the Haimon Painters



CL3.5. Kyathos. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 41.162.116.



CL3.6. Kyathos. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia inv. 20880.



CL3.7. Kyathos. Philadelphia, Penn University Museum inv. MS 4863.40 and MS 4863.39a

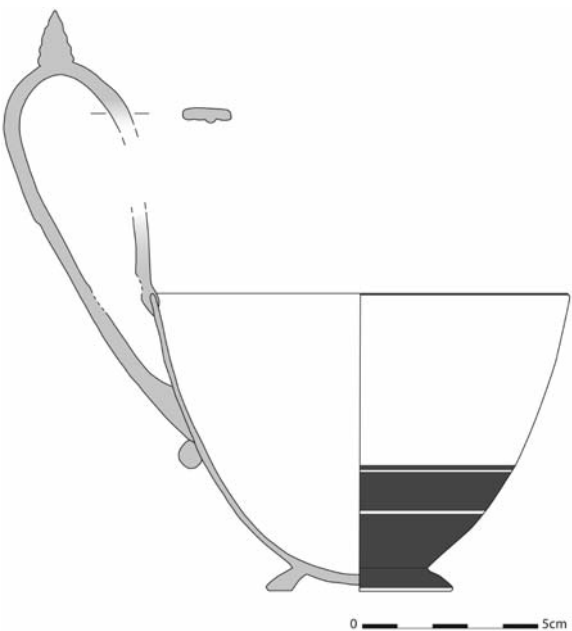


Fig. B. Kyathos. London, British Museum inv. 1867.5-8.961 (B466). Haimon Painter.

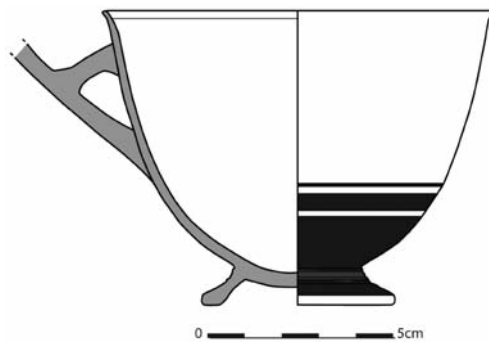


Fig. A. Kyathos. Wurzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum inv. L433 (HA514). Caylus Painter.

The Pontine Marshes (Central Italy): a case study in wetland historical ecology

Kevin Walsh, Peter Attema, Tymon de Haas

Abstract

*The citation of natural environmental processes as a key element in the formation of and changes in human culture has been unfashionable for some time. Whilst scepticism of certain unfettered cultural ecological or socio-ecological theories is understandable, archaeologists often fail to engage fully with the dynamic relationships between people and environment in the past. This paper provides a new assessment of the potential of more nuanced cultural and historical ecological frameworks that explicitly develop notions of environmental knowledge in the investigation of human engagements with the environment. More specifically, this contribution considers the development of the forms of environmental knowledge associated with a Roman wetland, the Pontine Marshes. Changes in settlement activity and practices in this central Italian wetland landscape close to Rome were the product of a complex interplay of elite political initiatives and management projects and local forms of environmental knowledge applied by ordinary people who had to engage with this landscape. The paper comprises an introduction to the research questions and the interpretive framework, followed by an assessment of documentary and recent archaeological research that serve to illustrate the development of human interaction with these marshes. The discussion considers the probable reasons for the waxing and waning of wetland activity, and the nature of different class-based understandings of the wetland during the Roman period.**

Key-words

Historical ecology, Mediterranean, wetlands, Pontine Marshes, landscape archaeology, diachronic, Roman period.

INTRODUCTION

Research on Mediterranean palaeoenvironments emphasises the interplay of climatic and anthropic impacts on the landscape, often employing inductive hypotheses relating to well-known periods of climatic deterioration and amelioration. Perhaps the most extreme manifestation of unpersuasive attempts to correlate climatic evidence with changes in human societies is represented by the recent suggestion that the decline of the Roman Empire was related to climatic instability.¹ This form of narrative presents climate change as a factor that explains the waxing and waning of entire civilizations without engaging with the specifics of regional variations in climate, and the impact of such changes on food production and landscape management practices. More subtle and historically informed writings, in particular the work of Horden and Purcell, emphasise the importance of the variability in Mediterranean environments and the concomitant need for an assessment of 'connectedness' between these milieus.² Where Horden and Purcell develop nuanced assessments of landscape use, these are often concerned with descriptions of specialist economic activities such as hunt-

ing, fowling, and on coastal wetlands, salt production. They also offer descriptions of some of the political processes that might have influenced the development of certain landscapes.³ These assessments are important, but they rarely consider the variations in the forms of environmental knowledge, and the manner in which environmental experiences and knowledge were class-based. Moreover, this type of assessment avoids chronologically focussed analyses.

This paper aims to address exactly these issues. Using evidence from the Pontine Marshes, we analyse the environmental, political and economic processes at work in a typical ancient wetland environment. Our approach is situated within a historical ecological framework that considers past human-environmental engagements and gives primacy to the environment in the production of human engagements with a landscape.

In the following sections, we first elaborate the historical ecological approach. We then consider various elements that are of particular interest in studying a Mediterranean wetland (the Pontine Marshes) with such an approach. Finally, we discuss the long-term history, elite conceptions of, and management strategies adopted in the Pontine

Marshes. Here we look at elite-based historical perceptions, environmental data and landscape archaeological evidence.

HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTIONS: A HISTORICAL ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The majority of palaeoenvironmental narratives emphasise the assessment of environmental change, whether these be climate change, changes in vegetation (due to climate or anthropogenic actions), or periods of erosion. However, we should assess the extent to which these processes (identified via scientific methods) would have been understood, or even noticed by the societies that we write about. Modern ethnographical studies demonstrate the presence of differences between specific, local-indigenous environmental knowledge, and the assessments produced by environmental scientists.⁴

Another problem that we face in studying historical-period landscapes is that our assessments of how people understood or perceived the natural world are based on the writings of social elites, whether these are the agronomists, or other ancient writers. However, elite and institutional attitudes to nature would not necessarily reflect local attitudes of those who worked the land. Environmental knowledge is spatially and, thereby, socially dynamic, i.e. different people possess environmental knowledge that is specific to their locale.

In an attempt to address these imbalances, this contribution assesses the development of a specific Mediterranean wetland within a historical ecological framework; a form of ecology that is concerned with the manner in which landscapes, with all their facets (water bodies, soils, vegetation, animals) were agents in the construction of culture.⁵ Historical ecology provides an interdisciplinary framework for the study of interactions between landscapes and human societies and to explain environmental change at different spatial and temporal scales.⁶ An underlying principle of this approach is the notion that the choices of how people built in, managed and responded to environments, were spatially and temporally contingent. Adaptation to the exigencies of a specific environmental niche and the development of environmental knowledge is a story of cultural change, as much as a sequence of ceramic development.

Historical ecology has direct intellectual links with cultural ecology, but differs in the sense that historical ecology places emphasis on the dialectic nature of relationships between people and the environment and how these relationships are con-

tingent upon historical processes.⁷ An early example of a rudimentary cultural ecological interpretation of a historical process was the contention that the fall of the Roman Empire was an ecological catastrophe partly caused by a misuse of resources resulting from poor knowledge or information.⁸

Historical ecology assesses environmental knowledge, i.e. how people understand, and engage with their landscape and environment. People are not separate from ecological systems; they are participants in environmental processes, and as such, human participation in environmental change is quite natural.⁹ This type of approach does not assume that technologies and human life ways will be repeated in landscapes characterised by identical or similar sets of environmental characteristics. Responses to changes in the environment do tend to be controlled by the ability of social institutions to adapt. A key question is how environmental knowledge was applied in the past, and by whom?

Resilience theory is in many ways directly associated with historical ecology. It offers a way of conceptualising the relationships between different spatial and temporal scales of cultural processes.¹⁰ In light of our study, resilience theory can be used for investigating the relationships between small-scale, localised groups of people (e.g. peasant families) and how they relate to extensive hierarchical structures (e.g. the Roman Empire, or its regional authority). Of most interest is the notion that successful environmental exploitation strategies only work if people can adapt. However, if local engagements with environments are controlled by entrenched political forces during periods of environmental change, and local people are unable to effectively respond to these changes, then such a situation might contribute to local and regional societal instability. When local, potentially small-and-fast adaptive strategies are stifled by slow responding, large-scale hierarchies, such as certain empires, then environmental problems might ensue. Conversely, certain hierarchical organisations might impose or apply new forms of environmental management that are successful, and enthusiastically adopted by local people.

Wetlands, more than any other landscape type, require wholesale management strategies for systematic exploitation, organised by a central authority. Whereas supplying water via irrigation into an arid zone can target specific spaces within that zone, the management and draining of a wetland can rarely be undertaken piecemeal. Consequently, resilience theory and a historical ecological

approach to wetlands can help evaluate environmental knowledge of ordinary people and elite perceptions of nature and landscape, and the concomitant management strategies adopted by this elite via the delimitation of territories through reclamation, infrastructural works, centuriation; in fact, with a package of policies that would have influenced local engagements with the environment.

We believe that this approach is especially important for Mediterranean archaeology, as it offers a framework to use data and approaches from diverse disciplines and to acknowledge the complexity and dynamics of human-environment relations. For example, in studying environmental change, it allows for different explanatory variables at different scales, including human agency and events, conjunctural developments and long-term environmental cycles. Despite our use of one detailed case study, we believe that this approach has relevance for the study of other Mediterranean wetlands. Consequently, before turning to our case study, a broader characterization of Mediterranean wetlands is presented below.

MEDITERRANEAN WETLANDS

Some would characterise parts of the Mediterranean as marginal, comprising 'risk-laden' environments such as wetlands. Unpredictable and sometimes dangerous natural processes are characteristic of this landscape-type. Some archaeologists and historians have characterised humanity's engagements with wetland milieus as struggles; campaigns comprising victories and defeats in the face of nature as adversary.¹¹ Marginality, unpredictability, and risk, terms often employed in these discourses, are all notions that are culturally (and therefore, geographically and chronologically) specific. Consequently, characterisation and definition of wetlands is contingent to each society or culture.

These wetlands can only be understood as the product of cultural interventions that yield ecological successions, which in historical ecology can be thought of as landscape transformations, or anthropogenic successions.¹² Whereas other landscape types tend to have witnessed almost constant human activity for much of the Holocene (for example, coastal areas, floodplains etc.), wetlands have seen a waxing and waning of human activity. The development of wetlands and the changing patterns of human exploitation of these zones is one of the most interesting aspects of Mediterranean landscape archaeology. As men-

tioned above, one of the key issues regarding human perception of wetland zones is the extent to which wetlands have been attractive or repulsive in the past, how such notions have changed with time, and how these perceptions vary across social groups.

In the Roman period, some wetlands were incorporated as part of an urbanised system, and to understand their history we need to articulate the links with wider economic and infrastructural processes. Leveau considers the possibility of an internal frontier, where wetlands constituted an internal limit, but were not necessarily 'marginal'.¹³ However, this logically assumes that such spaces were empty (or sparsely populated by another group of people) prior to their colonisation. Such a model has important consequences for our appreciation of peoples' relationships with the environment. Colonisation and a moving frontier must include the imposition of a new mode of environmental management and impact on the landscape.¹⁴ However, we know that these areas were often settled before the arrival of Rome, or the imposition of a state authority (as was the case with the Pontine Marshes), and therefore we should not underplay the importance of local, indigenous knowledge, and the presence of pre-existing settlements. These peoples and their forms of environmental knowledge could have been 'read' by Rome as evidence for the suitability of certain landscapes for settlement and development as our case study shows.

Climate and disease in Mediterranean wetlands

There is little doubt that if there is one characteristic of Mediterranean wetlands that influenced the construction of environmental knowledge it is the potential for disease in these areas.¹⁵ The integration of landscape ecology and epidemiology recognises that human activity has often been associated with the development of diseases.¹⁶ Societies develop responses to disease at the local level as well as at the macro-political level; sometimes these responses actually help generate or propagate the disease. In studying wetlands, assessing the impact of diseases is of fundamental importance, as attempts at draining wetlands were not just concerned with creating useful agricultural land, but also with reducing mosquitoes' habitats and pools of stagnant water that can also harbour other diseases. The historical ecology of the wetland is therefore a product of the intersection of climatic, anthropogenic, and epidemiological processes. While mosquito infestation and

malaria are considered the most repellent characteristics of many wetlands, they are difficult to identify in the archaeological and palaeoenvironmental records. Furthermore, there are a number of diseases, such as Leptospirosis (a disease transmitted from animals to people - commonly in the form of urine-contaminated water), that are difficult to distinguish from malaria, and malaria per se might not have been the principal threat. Despite the problems differentiating between diseases common in wetlands, we should accept that any such illnesses would have radically altered the nature of human ways of life in, and perceptions of these environments, with direct consequences for the development of environmental knowledge in these landscapes. While Roman writers were not yet aware of malaria as such, the association between marsh and bad health was certainly known. Pliny the Elder's recommendation that farms should not be located close to marshes or rivers¹⁷ was probably a concern with the potential for disease in such areas.

Relatively minor changes in climate or even in inter-annual weather patterns will have altered the potential for malaria (or other diseases such as Leptospirosis) where the frequency of infected bodies of water increases. The warm period during the 1st centuries BC and AD (along with the evidence for flooding in a number of Mediterranean wetland zones), does suggest that conditions for disease vectors would have been ideal.¹⁸ Moreover, research on contemporary risks as they relate to changes in climate demonstrates how an increase in temperature along with the presence of standing water increases the season for mosquito activity and thereby the transmission of the malaria parasite.¹⁹ Deforestation may have contributed to the potential for malaria and similar diseases. It increases a landscape's exposure to insolation, and the increase in ground temperature enhances the vectors for these diseases. Moreover, deforestation can change hydrological systems, increasing the presence of runoff and resultant zones of standing water. Consequently, these changes in the environment caused by deforestation may well have provided new niches for mosquitoes and bacteria.²⁰

The palynological evidence for the Tiber River delta implies that such processes were common in central Italy, suggesting that in the Iron Age to Roman period marshland environments expanded.²¹ The later part of the Republican Period and the Early Imperial Period correspond to the Roman climatic optimum. At the same time, the city of Rome witnessed the highest number of recorded

flood events between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD. It is quite likely that warmer temperatures resulted in enhanced storm events²² and these could easily have contributed to drainage problems in low-lying areas. This shows that the notion that the waxing and waning of societies can be explained by changes in climate is problematic. While we may not be seeing the effects of climate and disease directly in the archaeological data, their negative impact will surely have been immense in any wetland, including our case study area.

Roman elite conceptions of wetlands

According to Beagon, 'civilised nature' is what appealed to the Roman elite, and untamed landscapes in some instances were shunned.²³ Some ancient authors, such as Livy and Vitruvius, provide examples of how wetlands were perceived negatively during the Roman period.²⁴ At a more general level, Traina has noted the ideological bias present in the textual sources in favour of the city and its agricultural territory, at the expense of 'marginal' environments such as wetlands.²⁵ At the same time, the Roman elite saw the potential of imposing macro-environmental knowledge to wetlands through landscape management. Decisions made by this urban elite would have been informed by instrumental attitudes to nature in an assessment of potential economic benefits. These attitudes were quite different from those who had to actually work the wetland and who suffered the stresses of working in a humid and difficult environment and had to accept the threats posed by this unhealthy and sometimes life-threatening environment. Therefore, a historical ecological framework that considers the range of socially structured attitudes to and experiences of a wetland landscape is important.

A CASE STUDY: THE PONTINE MARSHES

Having outlined the historical ecological approach and the most important factors and issues affecting wetland exploitation, we now turn to our case study. The Pontine Marshes are situated to the southeast of Rome in the Lazio region of Italy (*fig. 1*). As the wetland closest to Rome, they present an opportunity to consider a core Roman landscape well-known to ancient authors and the Roman elite, and one that would have been subject to intensive management.

The wealth and complementarity of sources that we have at our disposal make this wetland a

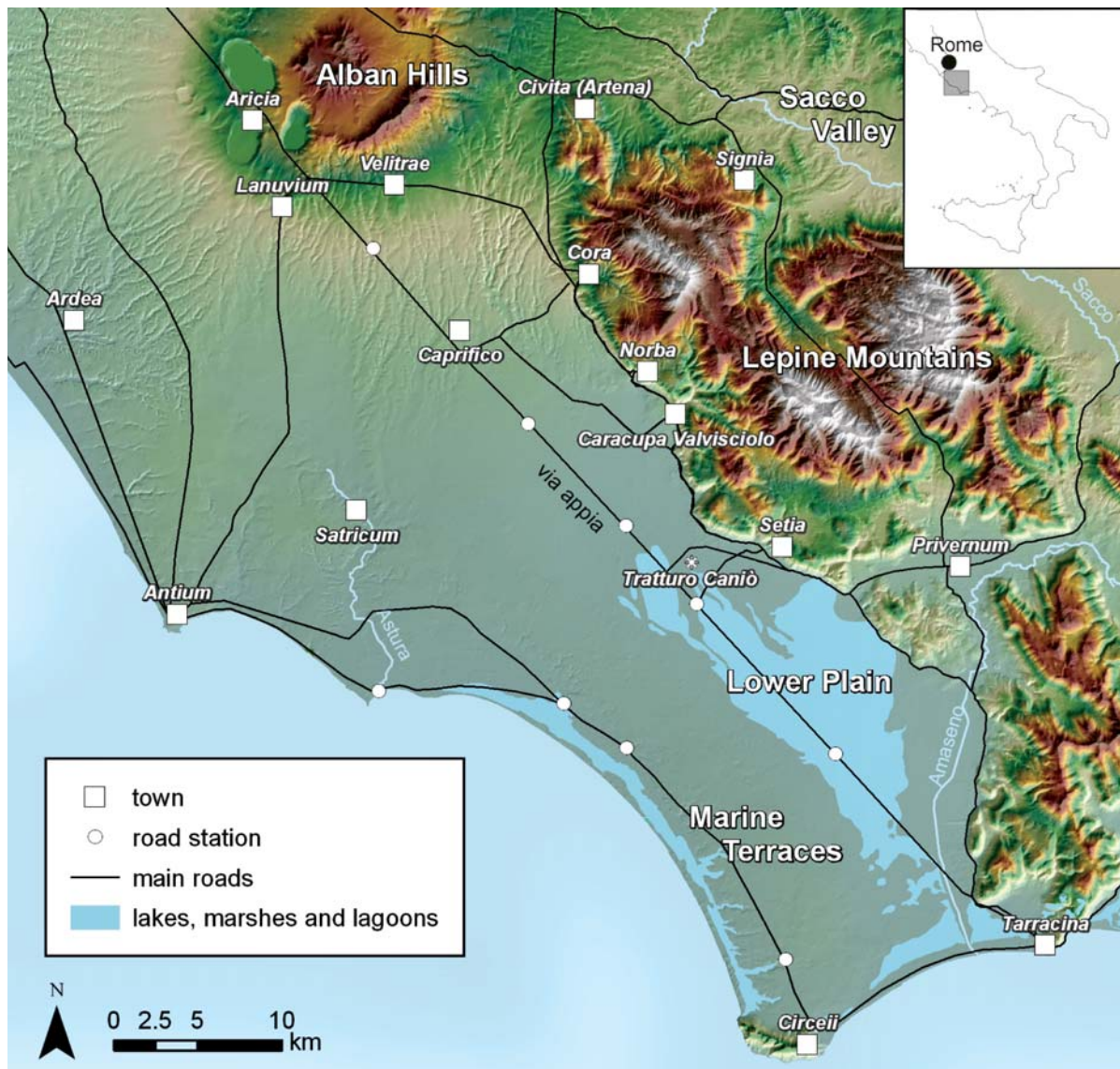


Fig. 1. The Pontine Region with main landscape zones and Roman sites.
Inset: location of the Pontine Region within central Italy (source: T.C.A de Haas, GIA).

particularly suitable case for the study of human-ecological processes. First, there are the literary sources, which provide an image of changing elite perceptions of this wetland environment, and of the development of management strategies applied by the Roman state. Second, there is a considerable body of sedimentological research that allows us to broadly reconstruct natural changes and anthropogenic intervention in the marsh. Finally, we have the field research carried out over the past 25 years within the Pontine Region Project (PRP). This landscape archaeological project, carried out

by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology, has investigated different landscape zones within the Pontine Region, including the Pontine Marshes, through field walking surveys, sedimentological studies and excavations.²⁶ These sources are well-suited to integration in a historical ecological framework. We will therefore in this case study first discuss the changing interaction between people and their environment over the *longue durée*. We will then elaborate on perceptions, exploitation and management of the wetland in the Roman period. Finally, we will reflect on modern

scientific perceptions of the wetland (for instance in reconstructions of landscape change and land evaluations) and those of people in the past.

The Pontine wetland: landscape, settlement and exploitation over the longue durée

The Pontine region comprises several landscape zones: the volcanic Alban Hills and the limestone Lepine Mountains delimit a large coastal plain (fig. 1). This plain consists of two distinct parts: a system of marine terraces 6 to 8 km wide stretching along the Tyrrhenian coast, and a low-lying inner area cut off from the sea by the marine terraces. Over time, the inner area was filled with peaty and clayey sediments.²⁷ As it is situated at a lower altitude than the marine terraces, water cannot easily flow down to the sea, resulting in wet, marshy conditions. The marine terraces with their associated lagoons may be considered wetland zones, and persistent drainage problems have also plagued the lower slopes and valleys of the Alban Hills. However, it is the interior part of the Pontine plain (henceforth: the lower plain), that is traditionally known as the Pontine Marshes, *palude pontine*, or *Pomptinae Paludes*. This is the area that our discussion will focus on.

Pre- and protohistory

The presence of lithic artefacts on the surface demonstrates that different parts of the region were already frequented by hunter-gatherers from the Middle Palaeolithic onwards.²⁸ The distribution of lithics suggests that the marine terraces saw the highest levels of use by hunter-gatherers. The lower plain was at this time still a dissected former lagoon with clayey soils.²⁹

The locational preference for the marine terraces seems to have persisted during the Neolithic period, as represented by obsidian artefacts in surface distributions.³⁰ Between 6500 and 4500 BP, with a rising sea-level and a blockage of the drainage by the formation of a beach ridge near Terracina, a lake originated in the older incised river valleys of the lower plain. During the Bronze Age this lake reached its maximum extent, with a central more open lake reaching about 2 m above sea level, surrounded by woodland swamps, transitional riverine deltas and associated rivers. Evidence suggests that in this period substantial clearance of wood stands on the lake borders took place, followed by a gradual drying up of the lake towards the Iron Age.³¹ At that time, the area consisted of marshes and smaller isolated

karst lakes, while the remainder of the original landscape had been covered by alluvial fans and colluvial deposits, which extended in finger-like sheets into the lower marsh area.³²

The Bronze Age saw increasingly complex yet fluctuating settlement patterns, with many new sites established, but few of them showing long-term continuity of occupation.³³ This lack of continuity might have been due to the complexity of environmental knowledge required in specific environmental niches, thus leading to settlement instability, or because permanent or intensive exploitation of such niches was considered unnecessary. Nevertheless, there is increasing archaeological evidence, which suggests that from the Early Bronze Age onwards, the lower plain wetland was also exploited, as exemplified by the site of Tratturo Caniò, which occupied a relatively high and dry levee.³⁴ The landscape around this site was characterised by a low-energy wetland with dense vegetation and local open water and lakes.³⁵ Freshwater molluscan evidence indicates the presence of streams, with sedimentary units suggesting periods of seasonal high discharge. The environmental data from this site show that in this landscape, both cereal cultivation and grazing of sheep/goat, pigs and cattle occurred.³⁶ The wetland, often perceived as unfit for agricultural use, may thus have been perceived differently by the Bronze Age communities inhabiting the Pontine wetlands. In some ways, this period represents the development of a resilient anthropic phase, with relatively subtle management of the edges of the wetland for agricultural activity, whilst other parts of the wetland were undoubtedly exploited for naturally occurring resources, some of which we discuss later. We can describe such a phase as resilient, due to the probability that any management of the wetland edge would have caused relatively little disturbance to the wider ecosystem.

A centralised, hierarchical settlement system developed in the later Bronze and Iron Age (1500-700 BC) in the Alban Hills and along the adjacent edges of the Lepine Mountains and marine terraces.³⁷ This period witnessed a reduction in tree cover, caused by climatic change and human activity. Farming spread over the slopes of the Alban Hills bordering the lower plain.³⁸ Pollen evidence indicates cereal cultivation on these tuff slopes, while some farming also took place around the coastal lagoons, probably as a result of a lowering in the water table.³⁹ These developments caused changes in the Pontine wetland, with increased levels of colluviation and sedimentation. This

gradually impacted exploitation strategies of the wetland as more arable land became available, for example in the marsh area below Sezze.⁴⁰

The Archaic and Roman periods

The process of centralisation of settlement that started during the Bronze and Iron Age reached its zenith during the Archaic period (6th century BC), when a series of urban settlements developed in the northern part of the Pontine region, including the Alban Hills (*Velitrae*, *Lanuvium*, *Caprifico*), the northern part of the Lepine mountains (*Cora*, *Caracupa Valvisciolo*) and the marine terraces north of the Astura river (*Ardea*, *Antium*, *Satricum*; for locations see *fig. 1*).⁴¹ Archaeological field surveys have traced the remains of small rural sites that presumably exploited the surrounding territories of these proto-urban centres. It is clear that by this time, human interference in the landscape, particularly the clearing of forests on the slopes of the Lepine Mountains, had enhanced erosion. The lower plain does not seem to have been settled on a large scale, although favourable locations (such as *Tratturo Caniò*) were settled, and the wetland will have been used for seasonal (pastoral) activities.⁴²

According to the historical sources, Rome would have begun to develop the Pontine Region from the late 6th century BC onwards. While many (though not all) of the abovementioned Archaic centres continued to exist, Roman colonies were established along the Lepine Mountains just north of the lower plain in the 5th (*Norba*) and 4th centuries BC (*Setia*). As we will see in the next section, the creation of these colonies in strategic positions on the foothills, the construction of the *Via Appia* through the plain (presumably in 312 BC⁴³), and reclamation schemes, would change the lower plain from a sparsely settled and unmanaged environment, into a landscape that saw clear traces of rural settlement.

During the Imperial period this pattern thinned out and historical sources report on deteriorating conditions in the plain. For Late Antiquity and the early medieval period we have hardly any evidence for rural settlement, even though we know from historical sources and epigraphy of attempts for renewed reclamations of the area.⁴⁴ Very likely, these attempts were not successful in the long run.

Medieval and early modern period

From the Medieval period onwards, local noblemen controlled the Pontine Marshes. They had the

right to sell exploitation leases for fishing, hunting and wood cutting to local people, and control over these resources was a fundamental economic asset. Conflicts between those working and living in the marsh and these noblemen reflect the importance of the marsh as a source of power and income.⁴⁵

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Papal court initiated numerous attempts to drain the Pontine Marshes, and thus extend their domains.⁴⁶ Cartographic sources convey the ideologically laden perception of the Marsh '[...] as a desolate, unhealthy, and unproductive area, a feudal landscape that was difficult to control economically and politically. Reclamation of the marshy area was designed to solve these problems [...]'.⁴⁷ Examples are the 1678 map of Meyer that depicts the tent where pope Sixtus V stayed in the year 1585 (*fig. 2a*) and the image of Pope Pius VI visiting the reclamation works in the Pontine wetland at the end of the 18th century AD (*fig. 2b*).⁴⁸ Another example are the maps by Salvati (1795) showing the situation before and after the papal reclamations.⁴⁹ In the light of the local interests referred to above, it is perhaps not surprising that because of local opposition, such attempts often failed: reclamation of the marsh would have meant that the local nobility and the towns along the Lepine Mountains would have lost an important economic resource.⁵⁰

This pattern of attempted reclamations from the Vatican and opposition from local elites who profited from the marsh endured into the 20th century. At the same time, local, ordinary people possessed diverse strategies for wetland exploitation (*fig. 3*). Besides activities such as fishing, hunting and wood-cutting, these included charcoal burning and ephemeral forms of agriculture. For example, an 18th-century account describes how the people of Terracina had the right to reclaim small plots in the marsh in order to grow maize, vegetables and fruits. These plots, demarcated by dikes and ditches, would be flooded during the winter and reclaimed anew each year.⁵¹ Furthermore, people also exploited the Pontine wetland for grazing cattle and small-scale agriculture; dwelling in huts and villages of huts (so-called *lestre*) up to nine months per year and returning to their homes in villages in the mountains and the Sacco Valley in summer. Thus, the Pontine wetland formed an important resource for both central authorities and local communities despite the harsh living conditions with the majority of the population suffering from malaria.⁵²

It was only in the early 20th century that centrally organised official land management strategies

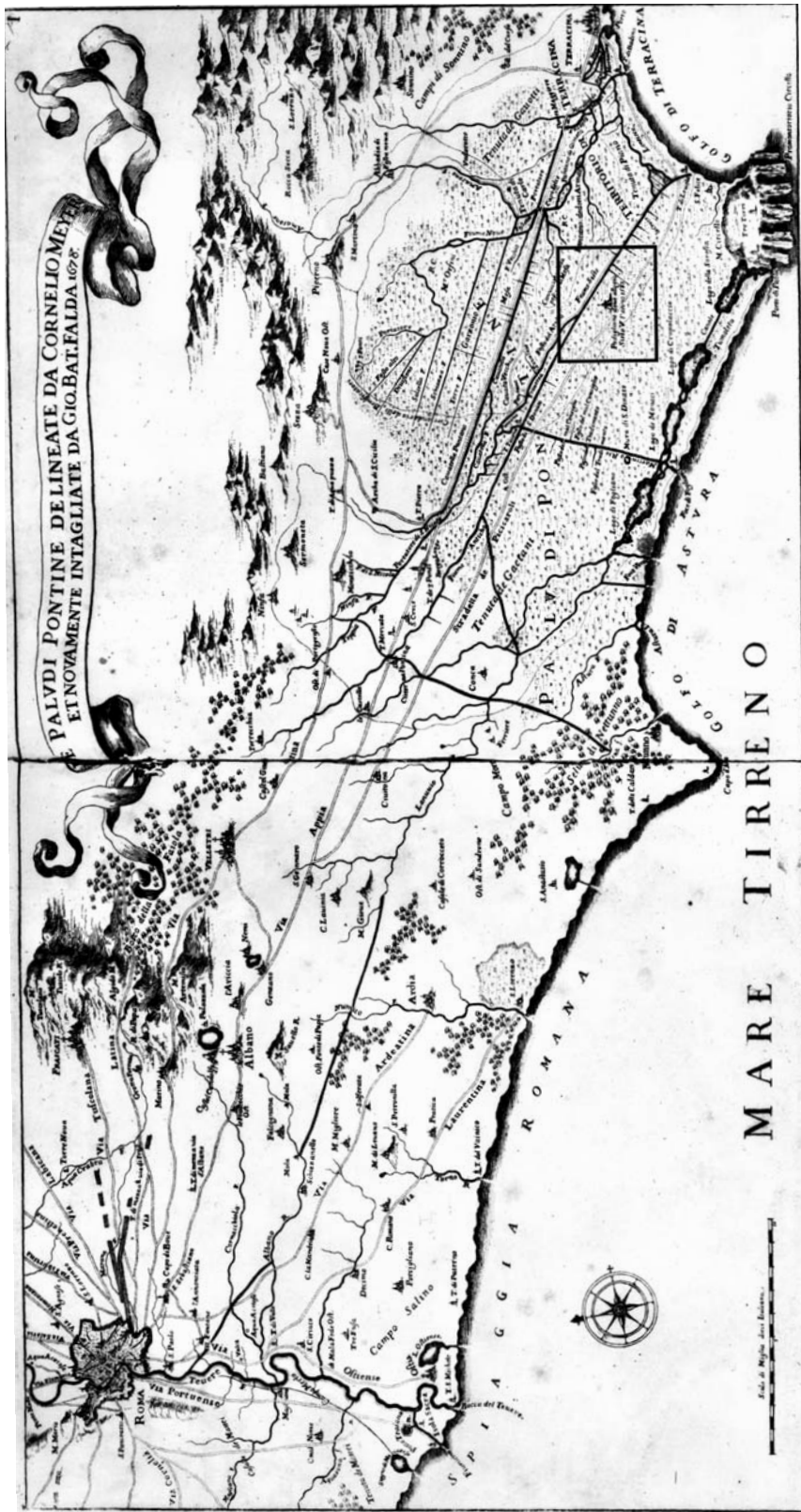


Fig. 2a. The ideologically laden perception of the Pontine Marshes: the map of Meyer from 1678, incised by Giovanni Battista Falda, showing the canals that were part of the reclamation project of Sixtus V, pope between 1585 -1590. The spot where Sixtus V allegedly set up camp when he visited the wetlands is indicated by a tent below which is written 'Padiglione dove alloggiò Sisto V l'anno 1585' (tent where Sixtus V sojourned in the year 1585). The tent is within the rectangle, bottom right-hand corner (Source: Frutaz 1972 II, XXXI, 3, rectangle added by authors).



Fig. 2b. The ideologically laden perception of the Pontine Marshes: Pius VI, pope between 1795-1799, visits the reclamation work carried out under his authority in the Pontine plain. Engraving. (Source: Agro Pontino, *Materiali per un Museo, il Settecento, Guida alla II mostra*, 16 ottobre -20 novembre 1981, Procoio di Borgo Sabotino (Latina)).



Fig. 3. Exploitation of the Pontine marsh in the early 20th century: a: pastoral hut dwelling; b: cattle grazing; c: frog fisherman; d: charcoal burners at work (source: Consorzio di Bonifica dell'Agro Pontino, courtesy Museo dell'Agro Pontino).

imposed by the fascist regime were capable of permanently reclaiming and colonizing the marsh.⁵³ It hardly needs explaining that the reclamation had very powerful ideological undertones, and served as a clear demonstration of the power of the regime - the successor to ancient Rome. Moreover, this project was an integral element in Mussolini's ideological project that included the rehabilitation of the notion of the virtuous Italian peasant: 'Bisogna rialzare i valori dell'Agricoltura Italiana; la ricchezza, la stabilità della Nazione, e l'avvenire di essa sono intimamente legate alle sorti e all'avvenire dell'Agricoltura italiana. Le Nazioni solide, le Nazioni ferme sono quelle che hanno il maggiore numero di piccoli proprietari' (see also *fig. 4*).⁵⁴

The contrast between such political visions and the everyday experiences of the colonists that were brought to the Agro Pontino (mostly from northern Italy) is striking: they continuously struggled with malaria and other diseases, the risks of flooding and bad harvests. The social stress, both within families and between colonists ('Cispadans') and the 'indigenous' inhabitants of the vil-

lages on the Lepine Mountains ('Moroccans'), has been described vividly by Antonio Pennacchi in his novel *Canale Mussolini* (2010).

The long-term history of the Pontine Marshes thus reflects the complex and changing relations between human groups and the wetland environment. It clearly shows the different perceptions of and changing relationships between small local groups and centralised authorities - be this ancient Rome, the Vatican or the fascist regime. Furthermore, the variety of activities and practices we have reviewed for the pre-Roman period would have been resilient in an unmanaged wetland environment. However, direct intervention in such an ecosystem, which represents a new anthropogenic succession phase in the historical ecology of such an area, can test ecological resilience, as well as the resilience of appropriate forms of environmental knowledge. The drainage and management of such a wetland, with a view to creating a landscape more suited to arable agriculture (as was done in the Roman Republican period), can in fact render the wetland less resilient, as its success or failure is only as good as the engineered drainage of the wetland. The act of creating arable land does not in itself undermine resilience, but if technological intervention fails, or if a society does not know how to respond to a change in the environment, then that landscape loses resilience - something that presumably happened in the Roman Imperial period.

Pomptinae paludes or ager Pomptinus: elite perceptions of the Pontine wetlands

Above, we suggested that the written sources reflect elite conceptions of landscapes, wetlands in particular. Turning to the Roman elite perception of the Pontine wetland, the sources clearly reflect an attitude that changed through time. In late Republican and Imperial times, this perception was one of an undifferentiated marsh that roughly extended all the way from *Velitrae* and *Cora* to the north, to *Circeii* and *Tarracina* to the south (cf. *fig. 1*). During the mid-1st century BC, Vitruvius referred to the area as a marsh with no outlets either by river or by ditches, which 'putrefy as they stand and emit heavy unhealthy vapours'.⁵⁵ Other authors of the second half of the 1st and early 2nd centuries AD, such as Quintilianus, Suetonius and Tacitus mention the Pontine Marshes in relation to proposed or failed reclamations by Julius Caesar and Nero.⁵⁶ Some of these accounts reflect Imperial ideology in stressing the grand-



Fig. 4. Mussolini threshing the first grain at Pontinia, 1936 (Source: Massaro 2005, 134).

ness of its reclamation projects, serving propagandistic aims similar to those of Mussolini's regime. In other instances the toponym Pontine Marshes is a mere *topos*.⁵⁷

However, the term *Pomptinae Paludes* (Pontine Marshes) appears in the sources only from the mid-1st century BC onwards. Sources dating to, or dealing with the early and mid-Republican periods, although also referring to its marshiness, describe the Pontine Region as an *ager*, a civilised economic landscape.⁵⁸ For example, in his description of Latium-of-old, Pliny the Elder refers to the Pontine Marshes as an area that was originally inhabited: it would have contained no less than 24 towns.⁵⁹ Equally, Aulus Gellius mentions the 'Pomptine District' rather than the 'Pomptine Marsh' in referring to the mid-4th century BC.⁶⁰ In his description of the rise of Rome and its quarrels with Latins and Volsci in the late 6th to 4th centuries BC, Livy also consequently refers to the *Ager Pomptinus*, an area valued as a source of grain for Rome.⁶¹ He describes how Rome tried to drain and colonise the area in subsequent centuries.⁶² Events related to such attempts include the foundation of *Setia* (383 BC), the establishment of the *tribus Oufentina* (318 BC), and Cornelius Cethegus' efforts to drain the area in 160 BC.⁶³

Without denying the ideological content of these sources, they represent the Pontine wetland as a landscape that was settled and farmed in the Republican period. The economic vitality of the area is perhaps most clearly described in a passage in Horace's *Satires*, where he describes his voyage through the area in the second half of the 1st century BC. While the conditions in the Pontine Marsh were surely not pleasant ('[...] Damned mosquitoes and marsh-frogs banish sleep'), Horace alludes to the economic vitality of *Forum Appii*, one of the sites along the *Via Appia*, a vivid stop-over '[...] crammed full of boatmen and tight-fisted inn-keepers'.⁶⁴

The archaeological evidence

This description fits well with an image emerging from the archaeological sources.⁶⁵ From the 4th century BC *Forum Appii* developed into a substantial settlement. It was situated at a strategic point where several secondary roads meet the *Via Appia*, and where a river, the Cavata, flowed into the *Decennovium*, a canal that provided a navigable route along the *Via Appia* towards *Tarracina*. *Forum Appii* must have functioned as a central place for rural sites in the surrounding wetland.

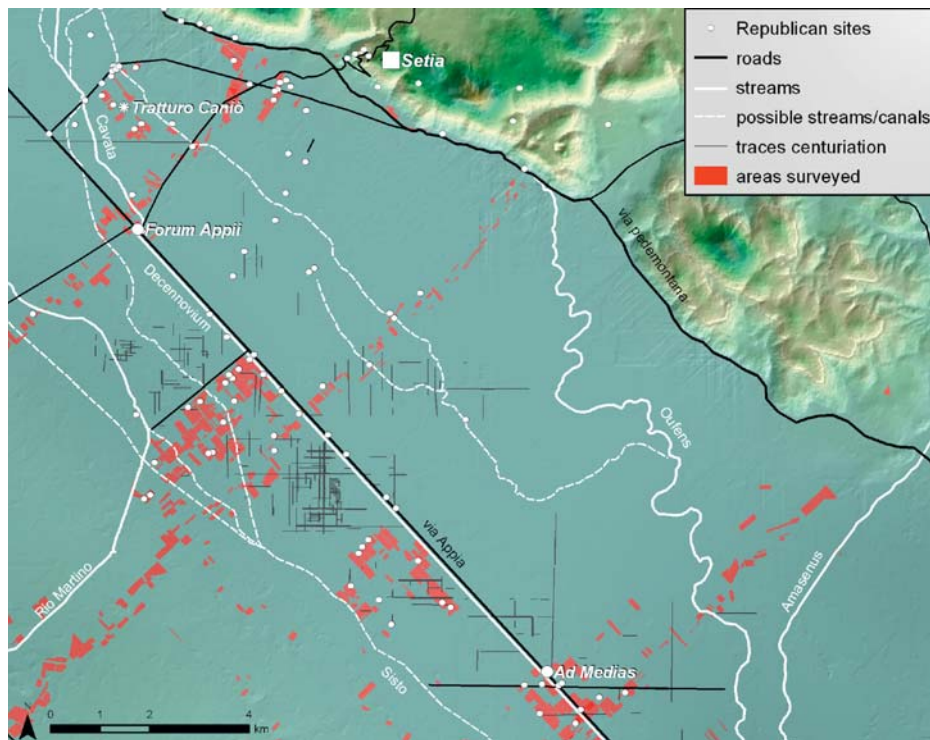


Fig. 5: Republican (late 4th-1st century BC) occupation of the lower Pontine plain (source: T.C.A de Haas, GIA).

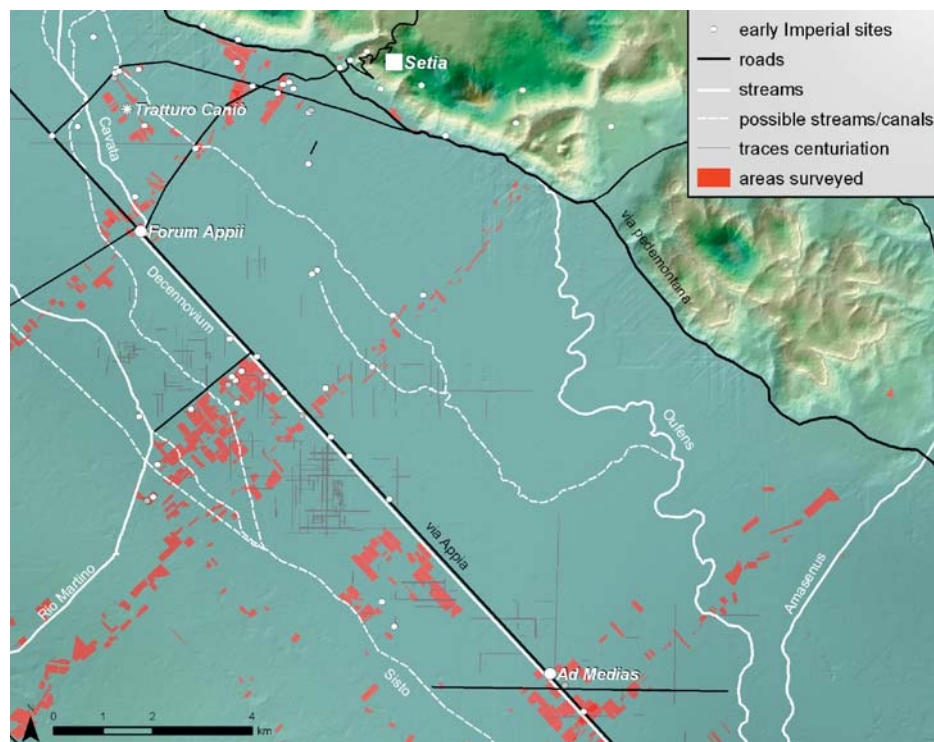


Fig. 6. Early Imperial (1st century AD) occupation of the lower Pontine plain. Occupation of grey sites is uncertain (source: T.C.A de Haas, GIA).

Recent and on-going PRP field surveys show that (in areas where research has been done) there are many such sites (fig. 5). While at first it was thought that some of these may have been established in the 5th century BC,⁶⁶ more recent ceramic analyses suggest they are almost exclusively of Republican date, being occupied from the later 4th or 3rd to the 1st century BC.⁶⁷ The archaeological assemblages of these sites suggest that they represent modest tile-roofed farms with ceramic assemblages that include common kitchen-wares, storage pottery, some transport amphorae and utilities (loom weights, oil lamps) as well as black gloss table-wares. The presence of luxury table-wares and imported pottery implies that some were operating above subsistence level. Perhaps these characteristics are indicative of a landscape divided up into small-holder plots.⁶⁸ It is likely that this area comprised peasants practising mixed farming, although there may well have been differences in agricultural potential across this terrain. Within one particularly well-investigated survey transect, settlement sites are concentrated in specific areas, while the lowest-lying part of this transect reveals no settlement sites, and may have functioned as common grazing.⁶⁹ The evidence from one site in this

transect also suggests that rural dwellers indeed faced and dealt with problems of drainage. Augering of the sedimentary units showed that soil was brought in from elsewhere, and a raised surface created prior to construction, presumably to protect the site from high water.⁷⁰

After settlement had spread across the Pontine Marshes during the Republican period, it contracted in the Imperial period (figs 6 and 7). Almost 50% of the sites had disappeared by the 1st century AD, while in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD less than 25% of the sites still existed (hardly any new sites were founded in the Imperial period). While many of these Imperial period sites consist of scatters of tile and pottery probably indicative of farms, some of them also include monumental architecture and decorative features such as mosaic floors and marble elements, suggesting elite-status of their owners.⁷¹ These 'villas' are concentrated along the *Via Appia*, secondary roads and near streams and canals, places with relatively good drainage. Maintaining good drainage in other areas was clearly an unrelenting problem, and deteriorating environmental conditions were a serious influence on settlement activity with settlements avoiding the wettest zones. On a local

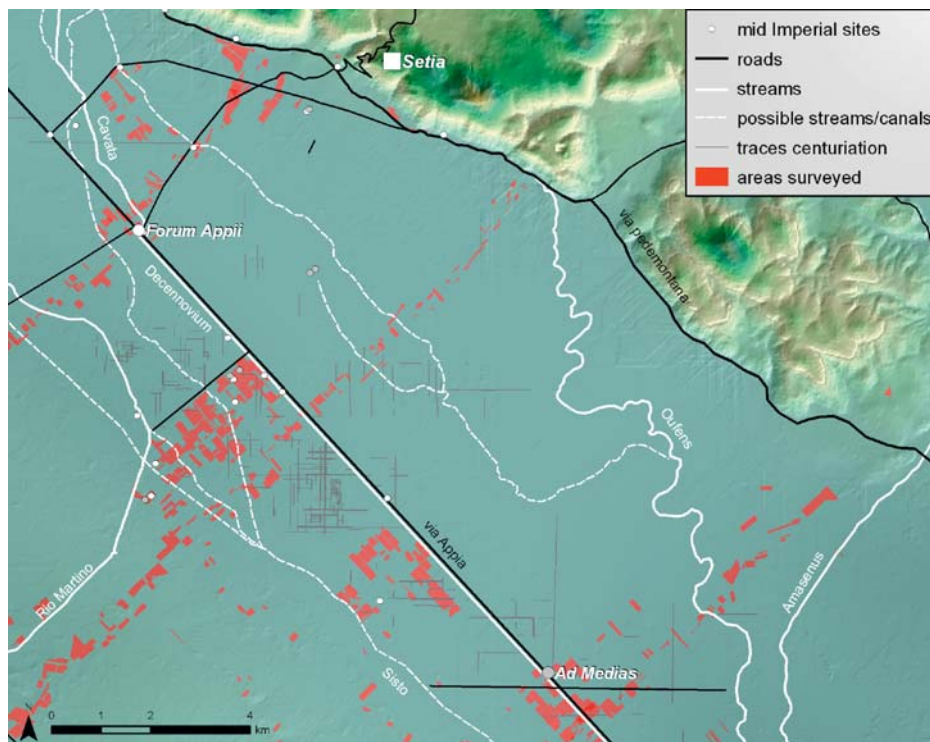


Fig. 7. Mid Imperial (2nd/3rd century AD) occupation of the lower Pontine plain. Occupation of grey sites is uncertain (source: T.C.A de Haas, GIA).

scale, attempts were made to mitigate such environmental problems, as was the case where soil was added before the construction of a site. However, it seems that the management strategies enabling large-scale agricultural exploitation of the wetland were no longer successful. Colluviation in the Amaseno valley blocking water flow towards the sea may have been one factor, while a lack of political will to cover the costs of continued management may also have led to the deterioration of the area.

Managing the marsh: reclamations and infrastructural developments

It seems likely that in the Pontine Region external forces, notably Roman colonisation was a trigger to urban development and rural infill.⁷² Archaeological evidence does not contradict the ancient historical view that Roman political initiatives and management projects were instrumental in stabilizing rural settlement. Not only the evidence of Roman colonies (*Norba*, *Setia*) but also the rural occupation in the lower plain and the associated traces of land divisions can be adduced.

As the occupation history of the marsh in more

recent times shows, its wholesale reclamation would not have been possible without resilient management strategies and considerable investments in infrastructure and drainage. There are several (geo)archaeological sources of evidence that suggest the nature of these strategies. Below, we discuss first the evidence for a large-scale, planned centuriation system; next, the investments in infrastructural works, particularly roads and canals, which equally suggest centralised management; and finally, a particular technique of reclamation called 'colmatage', which may have been applied in the area.

State level management: From marsh to centuriated landscape

De la Blanchère was the first to recognise traces of a Roman cadastral system in the lower plain.⁷³ Cancellieri made a systematic study of this centuriation based on maps from the 1920s and aerial photographs.⁷⁴ She identified two east-west running Roman roads and parcelling traces with a similar orientation. The grid uses units of 10 by 10 actus (355 x 355 m) and in Cancellieri's reconstruction covers some 200 square kilometres. De

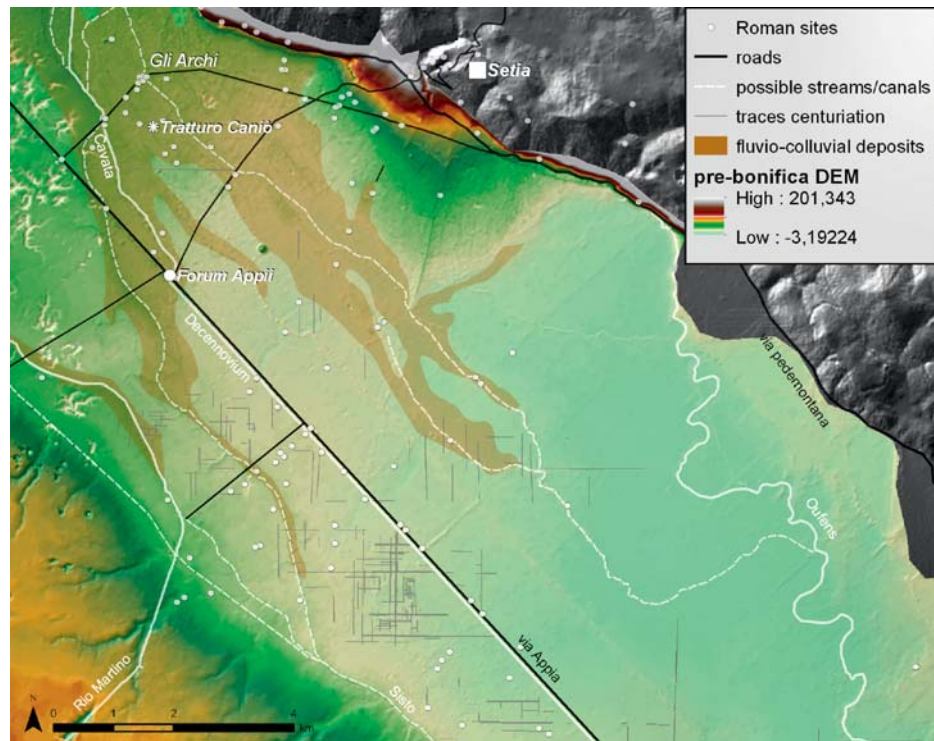


Fig. 8. Traces of canalization, water management and centuriation in the lower plain (source: T.C.A de Haas, GIA).

Haas conducted additional studies of the same maps and different sets of aerial photographs.⁷⁵ He identified additional traces of the system near *Forum Appii*, and possibly to its north. The centuriated area would then have covered some 230 square kilometres (fig. 8).⁷⁶

Cancellieri has argued that this centuriation scheme must have been laid out before the *Via Appia* was constructed in 312 BC; otherwise it would have observed the orientation of this road. According to her, it was designed to distribute agricultural plots to members of the *tribus Oufentina* in 318 BC.⁷⁷ Although a late 4th-century date for the grid is probable, a later date cannot be ruled out either. There are deficiencies in archaeological evidence for this historical ascription and similar grids in other parts of Italy date to later periods. Such grids, moreover, even if post-dating a road, do not necessarily follow its orientation.⁷⁸ At the same time, considering the fact that rural infill occurred by the latest in the 3rd century BC, and that settlement declined from the late Republican period onwards, it does seem likely that the grid relates to mid-Republican management strategies that entailed large-scale colonization of this previously marginal marsh.

Drainage and infrastructure

As suggested above, draining the marsh and opening it up via roads went hand in hand. As a consular road, the *Via Appia* was surely a major project initiated by Rome. The evidence from inscriptions and excavations shows that it was probably built *ex novo* in 312 BC,⁷⁹ supporting the suggestion that management strategies were being applied in the Pontine wetland at an early date. The road was constructed on a dike besides the aforementioned *Decennovium* canal; its surface consisted of beaten earth or gravel.⁸⁰ Works on the road took place in the mid-3rd century, as attested by a milestone that refers to two Roman officials, P. Claudius and C. Fourios, and excavation data suggest renewed works in the late Republican period.⁸¹ Milestones then attest to restorations in the late 1st and early 2nd century AD under Nerva and Trajan. It is thought that at this time the section south of *Forum Appii* acquired its basalt pavement,⁸² and that secondary roads were upgraded.⁸³

Besides management and maintenance of infrastructure, a second crucial aspect of management of the Pontine wetland was drainage. The ditches of the centuriation system surely aimed to drain parcels of land, but the Romans also altered the

existing system of streams that ran through the plain (which are indeed only known in canalised form; see *fig. 8*). One such alteration concerns the *Decennovium* canal: a 19 mile long canal that drains the lowest part of the plain between *Forum Appii* and *Tarracina*.⁸⁴ It is very likely that this canal was constructed contemporaneously with the *Via Appia*, providing drainage (and construction material) for the dike upon which the road was constructed. Not incidentally, the canal started where the *Cavata* River crossed the *Via Appia*, and thus improved the run-off of water from this river.⁸⁵ A second alteration concerns a stream that passed one kilometre north of the *Cavata*, and was presumably canalised to improve its run-off by exiting more directly in the *Oufens* River. This stream, its course indicated by fluvio-colluvial deposits, is also evidenced by the remains of a Roman bridge at *Gli Archi* dated to the 2nd or 1st century BC.⁸⁶ A third canal that presumably originated in the Roman period is the *Rio Martino*.⁸⁷ This canal follows a minor valley that drained *towards* the lower plain, but was extended over the highest part of the marine terraces, thus reversing the runoff towards the coastal lagoons. It connects to a fluvio-colluvial tongue that may also represent an ancient canal (see below), and provided a by-pass for the water that came down from the *Lepine Mountains* and *Alban Hills* via the *Ninfa* and *Teppia* Rivers.

Additional reclamation strategies: colmatage?

The lagoonal peaty and clayey sediments of the lower plain are in some places covered by fluvio-colluvial basin fills. These fills presumably result from human impact and initially they were thought to date to the early Roman period.⁸⁸ More recent research has shown that their origin is more complex. Combined environmental and archaeological studies of such fills in the area directly south of *Setia* suggest that they were deposited because of a combination of human and climatic factors, before the 1st millennium BC.⁸⁹ Fluvio-colluvial deposits also form tongues that run in a south-eastern direction into the lower plain (*fig. 8*). These tongues, visible on the DEM, represent the sediments in the streambeds of canals that have been interpreted as part of colmatage. Colmatage is a reclamation technique by which water was directed into areas to be reclaimed, with the aim of intentionally flooding and silting up the surrounding terrain.⁹⁰ Supposedly, the sediments in these canals were less affected by shrinkage than the more peaty sediments around them,⁹¹ causing them to be visible in the pre-bonifica DEM as elevations.⁹²

There is no reason to doubt the interpretation of these deposits as the remains of canals, and there is some evidence for their origin in the Roman period. They have been assigned to the Roman period based on their association with Roman sites.⁹³ As shown in *figure 8*, a number of sites (some for which black gloss ceramics provide a Republican date) are situated on top of these deposits, suggesting that they indeed pre-date these settlements. Recent environmental studies have provided stratigraphic evidence for the Republican date of one of these canals, and also show that Roman sites are aligned along one of them.⁹⁴

Another issue is whether these canals were indeed intended for colmatage, a reclamation technique that Hoffman suggests was used to reclaim the lower plain.⁹⁵ Feiken discusses radiocarbon samples collected from the fill of one such canal dating to the medieval period.⁹⁶ However, this does not necessarily imply a medieval date for the construction of the canal itself. In other words, a Roman canal might have been used for colmatage in the medieval period. It therefore seems possible that the canals (at least those that have no archaeological sites on top) were intended for drainage purposes instead.

Scientific and 'embedded' narratives

As observed at the start of this paper, there are fundamental differences between scientific narratives of the environment and those perspectives that aim to assess participatory experiences of those 'embedded' in a landscape. Concerning our case study, one scientific approach to the study of the Pontine environment is land-quality categorisation; an approach which is underpinned by notions of instrumental rationality, where land is assessed via its perceived economic potential or value. Van Joolen's landscape categories devised for the Pontine Region for the main periods between the Bronze Age and Roman period used the land evaluation methodology developed by the FAO.⁹⁷ This categorization is useful as a reference point for a historical ecology as it helps identify potential economic uses of these landscapes and changes therein overtime.⁹⁸ Van Joolen's Land Use Types (LUTs) are founded on the assessment of the archaeological and environmental evidence. This approach articulates an etic perspective, with categories defined via contemporary scientific rationale. Categories include: 'suitable', for land that could have been exploited without land improvement; 'marginally suitable', where some improvement (such as terracing) was required; then

‘unsuitable’, where improvement was too complex or costly. Clearly, these categorizations can change for any given piece of land over time.⁹⁹

For the Bronze Age, the beach ridges and the alluvial fans of the Lepine Mountains are categorised as ‘suitable’, or ‘marginally suitable’ for agriculture. According to these criteria however, the lower plain was too wet to exploit. The archaeological data discussed above, by contrast, suggests that Bronze Age exploitation was very much linked to water bodies such as the former lagoon in the lower plain. Most areas continued to be unsuitable during the Iron Age, although some areas, as for example the Amaseno region, became drier and thus emerged as a marginally suitable zone for agriculture. We thus see how in modern land evaluation approaches, land quality is primarily defined in terms of large-scale dry-land farming and rational economic exploitation. This definition is clearly not applicable to pre-and protohistoric use.

Considering the efforts to transform the marsh into an agricultural zone undertaken in the Roman period, it seems that the land evaluation approach rather mirrors Roman elite or institutional conceptions of land use. While the elite characterisation of the wetland was thus not so different from modern scientific discourses, local perspectives may still have been different. Those living and working in the wetland would undoubtedly concern themselves with economic productivity but on the basis of specific local knowledge acquired through their direct experiences with the wetland environment. These different perspectives led to different notions of how a wetland should be settled and exploited, possibly resulting in conflict and resistance, as happened in the case of post-Medieval reclamation projects in the Pontine Region as discussed above.

DISCUSSION

In the Pontine Marshes, we see how Roman environmental knowledge successfully conceptualised certain environmental processes; i.e. wetlands as breeding grounds for mosquitoes and thus the source of diseases. However, their solutions were not always successful, and the contraction of settlement during the early Imperial period reflected the decline of the large-scale management strategies applied in the Republican period. A number of intersecting processes might explain this. First, palaeoclimatic modelling suggests moister conditions during the Roman Climatic Optimum.¹⁰⁰ The consequences of this

were not necessarily positive: enhanced seasonal storms and concomitant flooding may well have ‘tested’ reclamation technologies to their limit. Second, colluviation (perhaps in its turn resulting from human impact), as attested in the Amaseno valley, would have rendered effective drainage increasingly problematic.¹⁰¹ Third, central government may have become less willing and able to make the investments needed in maintaining drainage and related infrastructural works.

While there is no doubt as to the changes in settlement that take place between the late Republican and Imperial periods, it is difficult to characterise interactions with the Pontine Marshes in the latter period as a failure per se that can be attributed to deteriorating environmental circumstances. Socio-economic and political conditions (changing landholding patterns and agricultural regimes, grain imports from the provinces, less investments in maintenance etc.) played a role as well. To understand this we first reiterate the nature and importance of Republican investment in and settlement across the marshes. The high-point of wetland management is represented via management technologies: centuriation, infrastructure and drainage, and possibly colmatage. The first fixed elements in the wetland zone are the *Via Appia* route and *Decennovium* canal - features which we consider to be contemporary. Second, centuriation of the Pontine plain probably coincided with the peak in settlement numbers in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.¹⁰² Finally, a system of canals (perhaps later used for colmatage) probably also dated to the Republican period. Roman intervention in the landscape thus effectively created a new ‘land use category’, rendering much of the wetland ‘suitable’. However, the fact that the utility of the landscape was largely dependent on successful human intervention meant that suitability was not a permanent state.

During the Republican period local knowledge and tasks in the landscape, articulated mainly via farmers, would have not only comprised agricultural labour, but also engagements with the drainage systems; a system imposed by the Roman elite who also benefited (directly or indirectly) from the agricultural surpluses or taxes generated by farmers across the wetland. Local farmers would have applied spatially specific forms of environmental knowledge in order to deal with particular problems. One example of this is the use of colluvial tongues, relatively dry places in the wetlands, to construct farms on, another the bringing in of soil in order to raise the land surface.

As noted at the outset, wetland reclamation can-

not be piecemeal - the entire wetland as defined by its hydrological catchment, has to be managed. Only concerted (state-sponsored) intervention can render and maintain a wetland suitable for large-scale agricultural activity. Small-scale exploitation, such as represented in figure 3, can continue in an unmanaged wetland, but profitable arable agriculture is difficult. Whereas local farmers might have possessed the knowledge to temporarily mitigate re-emerging wetland characteristics, the investment of time and effort into the management of these problems would have detracted from actual farming activities.

Despite the decline in settlement during the Imperial period, along with a seeming reduction in management and intervention in the wetland, elite settlement was persistent both in the marsh (along the *Via Appia*) and on its edges.¹⁰³ To maintain drainage that supported peasant occupation might not have been in the interest of the elite; while abandoning state management, private interests of the elite may have been served, as they could take over parts of the wetland to exploit extensively in their *latifundia*.

CONCLUSIONS

This contribution has assessed the development of a Mediterranean wetland, the Pontine Marshes. Socio-economic organisation, technological expertise and environmental conditions during the Bronze Age led to patchy exploitation of the wetland with settlement on its edges. There is little doubt that certain parts of this area were exploited for their resources, probably including small-scale agricultural activities in dry areas. Then, as we move into the Republican Period, the wetland, or parts of it were incorporated into a managed landscape. Political and socio-economic conditions and technological knowledge allowed the wetland to be exploited on a larger scale for agriculture. Investments were made in drainage and infrastructure through the construction of the *Via Appia*, the digging of canals and centuriation of the land. This resulted in population growth and rural infill. Rome was thus successful at draining parts of the marsh for at least two or three centuries.

The Imperial Period witnessed decline in rural settlement and environmental deterioration and the archaeological evidence so far available would indicate that elites established extensive estates, with wetland zones constituting specific niches within those estates. There are several reasons for these socio-economic changes. Macro-economic

developments may have rendered continued investments required in keeping the land dry unprofitable, while Roman environmental knowledge may ultimately have been insufficient, and comprehensive control of this landscape became unachievable. In any case, the strategies applied were in the end less resilient than the small-scale exploitation of the marsh that was typical for preceding periods.

It is likely that in a similar way, local people continued to make a living in this area during the medieval and early modern periods. Renewed attempts at reclaiming the wetlands by the Vatican and the fascist government brought local resistance to the fore, accentuating the fundamentally different perceptions of the wetland as an economic resource by different groups.

On a more general level, this case study serves to illustrate that to assess the environmental and cultural trajectory of any landscape, we must consider the preceding diachronic processes and stages of landscape change and use if we are to understand society's engagement with that environment. The aim of such a historical ecological approach is not to promote a new form of environmental determinism, indeed, the principles of this approach run counter to any form of determinism. Rather, by moving beyond culture and nature,¹⁰⁴ a historical ecological framework allows us to assess periods of human-environment relationships that test and question our homogenizing characterisations of certain landscape types and their exploitation during the Roman period.

NOTES

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¹ Büntgen et al. 2011.

² Horden/Purcell 2000.

³ Horden/Purcell 2000, chapter 6, section 5.

⁴ Calheiros et al. 2000; Latour 1999; Ellen/Bicker 2000; Eriksen/Adams 2010.

⁵ Latour 1997; Whatmore 2002; Walsh 2008.

⁶ Meyer/Crumley 2012; Balée 2006; Crumley 1994.

⁷ Balée 2003, 4.

⁸ Hughes 1994; Sutton/Anderson 2004, 3.

⁹ Walters/Vayda 2009, 536.

¹⁰ Redman 2005.

¹¹ O'Sullivan 2012, 38.

- 12 Balée 2006, 84.
- 13 Leveau 2005, 118.
- 14 Leveau 2005, 115.
- 15 Sallares 2002.
- 16 Balée 2006, 87.
- 17 Pliny, *NH* 18.7.
- 18 McCormick et al. 2012; Chen et al. 2012.
- 19 Sainz-Eliphe et al. 2010.
- 20 YaSuouka/Levins 2007.
- 21 Di Rita et al. 2009.
- 22 Giraudi 2005.
- 23 Beagon 1996, 286.
- 24 For example, we are told how Hannibal suffered when crossing the marshes created by the River Arno, and that 'lack of sleep, damp nights, and the air of the marshes affected his head, and since he had neither place nor time for employing remedies, he lost the sight of one of his eyes' (*Ab urbe condita* 22.2; Translation from Livy 1996, 209). Equally, when defining the ideal site for a city, Vitruvius stated, 'For fortified towns the following general principles are to be observed. First comes the choice of a very healthy site. Such a site will be high, neither misty nor frosty, and in a climate neither hot nor cold, but temperate; further, without marshes in the neighbourhood. For when the morning breezes blow toward the town at sunrise, if they bring with them mists from marshes and, mingled with the mist, the poisonous breath of the creatures of the marshes to be wafted into the bodies of the inhabitants, they will make the site unhealthy' (*De Arch.* 1.4.1; translation from Vitruvius 2005, 1). However, he does note that if drainage ditches were dug on coastal marshes, the influx of seawater can help render the marshlands less unhealthy (*De Arch.* 1.4.11). He also recommends that pre-construction auguring should include the examination of livestock livers for discolouration (i.e. liver fluke). Such discolouration indicated poor quality wet pasture, and therefore building should not take place. As such, this constitutes another piece of relevant environmental knowledge (*De Arch.* 1.4).
- 25 Traina 1988; 1990.
- 26 For syntheses, see Attema 1993; Attema/Burgers/Van Leusen 2010; Attema/De Haas/Tol 2011.
- 27 Kamermans 1991, 23-28.
- 28 Holstrom/Voorrips/Kamermans 2004; cf. La Rosa 2011, 39-42.
- 29 Sevink et al. 2013
- 30 Malone 2003.
- 31 This is the subject of a forthcoming article by Sevink et al. due 2014.
- 32 Sevink et al. 2013, Feiken forthcoming 2013.
- 33 Alessandri 2009, 585.
- 34 Sevink et al. 2011; Feiken et al. 2011-2012; Feiken forthcoming 2013.
- 35 Sevink et al. 2011; Attema et al. 2010, 35-39.
- 36 Feiken et al. 2011-2012, 120-121; Feiken forthcoming 2013.
- 37 Attema et al. 2010.
- 38 Attema/Delvigne 2000, 43.
- 39 van Joolen 2003, 173-174.
- 40 Attema/Delvigne 2000; Sevink et al. 2013.
- 41 Attema/Burgers/Van Leusen 2010.
- 42 De Haas 2011, 218-219.
- 43 Livy 9.29.
- 44 Hofmann 1956.
- 45 Attema 1996, 183.
- 46 Attema 1993, 44-48 with references.
- 47 Attema 1996, 179.
- 48 Frutaz II, XXXI, 3.
- 49 Frutaz II, map XLII, 1 and 4.
- 50 Linoli 2005, 31-35.
- 51 Attema 1996, 183.
- 52 Records show that in the 1930s more than 80% of the population suffered from malaria (Veenman 2002, 119-122).
- 53 Koeppen 1940.
- 54 'It is necessary to increase the value of Italian Agriculture; the wealth, the stability of the Nation and its future depend strongly on the fate and future of Italian Agriculture. Strong Nations, stable Nations are those that contain the largest number of small land owners.' Translation by Laura de Haas-Rietveld, after Massaro 2005, 57, citing Mussolini.
- 55 *De Arch.* 4.12.
- 56 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* 16; Suetonius, *Julius* 44; Tacitus, *Annales* 15.42.
- 57 Traina 1989.
- 58 Traina 1988, 1990.
- 59 *NH* 3.9.
- 60 *NA* 9.11.
- 61 Garnsey 1988, 168-172.
- 62 De Haas 2011, 206-207.
- 63 Livy, frag. 46.
- 64 *Sat.* 1.5.
- 65 For a recent summary, see De Haas 2011.
- 66 De Haas 2011, 101-107.
- 67 De Haas/Tol/Armstrong 2012.
- 68 De Haas 2011, 164.
- 69 De Haas 2011, chapter 4 and 167; De Haas 2012, 69-72.
- 70 De Haas 2010, 10.
- 71 De Haas 2011, 228-231.
- 72 Attema et al. 2010, 156.
- 73 De la Blanchère 1984.
- 74 Cancellieri 1985, 1990.
- 75 De Haas 2011, 210-213.
- 76 Photographs studied by De Haas show more detailed subdivisions within the grid blocks of 10 x 10 *actus*, and differences between double lines that reflect the primary grid axes and/or roads from single line crop marks that probably represent ditches. Interestingly, these investigations also showed that the north-south distance between the primary axes was not always 10 *actus* (355 m), but in some cases ca 450 m (De Haas 2011, 210-213). This could imply either that the system was not laid out at one time, or that adaptations in the measuring system were required to fit local circumstances.
- 77 Cancellieri 1990, 66-70.
- 78 Pelgrom 2012, 103.
- 79 See De Haas 2011, 209-210 for a summary.
- 80 Quilici 2006, 159.
- 81 Cancellieri 1987.
- 82 Quilici 2006, 160-161.
- 83 Bruckner 1995, 193-194.
- 84 Bruckner 1995, 194-195.
- 85 Bruckner 1995; see below.
- 86 Lilli 1996, 51-52.
- 87 Hoffman 1956, 1137-1138, 1143; cf De Haas 2011, 108-110.
- 88 Sevink/Rommelzwaal/Spaargaren 1984; Sevink/Duivenvoorden/Kamermans 1991.
- 89 Attema 1993, 106-111; Attema/Haagsma/Delvigne 1996-1997.
- 90 Sevink/Duivenvoorden/Kamermans 1991, 41; for post-Medieval historical references see also Attema 1993, 50.
- 91 cf Serva/Brunamonte 2007.

- ⁹² De Haas 2011, 213-14.
⁹³ Sevinck pers. comm.
⁹⁴ Feiken forthcoming 2013, chapter 10; Feiken pers. comm.
⁹⁵ Hofmann (1956, 1189) suggests the process of colmatage was used in the late Republican period, but does not refer to any historical sources upon which this suggestion is based. Nor was he aware of the existence of the deposits discussed here. More in general, the extent to which this process could have improved the conditions for agriculture is unclear, as many flooding events are needed to raise ground level sufficiently to have an effect. Considering the width of the deposits, it seems that colmatage would only have raised ground level in close proximity to the canals.
⁹⁶ Feiken forthcoming 2013, chapter 10.
⁹⁷ Van Joolen 2003.
⁹⁸ Balée 2006.
⁹⁹ Van Joolen 2003, 179.
¹⁰⁰ Reale/Dirmeyer 2000; Walsh in press, chapter 8.
¹⁰¹ Van Joolen 2003, 82-84.
¹⁰² The earlier 3rd-century date seems more likely, as a 2nd-century date would suggest extensive settlement operating for a century without centuriation.
¹⁰³ The villas on the edges of the marsh include those at San Donato near Fogliano and that of Le Grotte near Sezze.
¹⁰⁴ Descola 2005.

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Città, insediamenti rurali e paesaggi agrari della Daunia tra le guerre sannitiche e l'età post-annibalica

R. Goffredo

Abstract

*More than twenty years after the publication of Giuliano Volpe's La Daunia nell'età della romanizzazione, it is important to reflect again on settlement and rural landscapes of Northern Apulia, between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 2nd century BC, in order to focus on how and in which directions the interpretative scenarios regarding these issues have changed from then to now. This paper aims not to follow the path, still premature, of the overall synthesis on Daunia between the Samnite wars and the age of Hannibal; it intends to present an overview of the results of the most recent research projects carried out in different regional districts, which allow archaeologists to problematize theories and interpretations.**

LA DAUNIA TRA SANNITI E ROMANI

Sullo scorcio del IV secolo a.C., alle soglie dell'incontro con Roma, il sistema culturale e sociale daunio appariva attraversato da molteplici e ben più risalenti istanze di trasformazione volte a ridefinire spazi, risorse e soprattutto relazioni. Si tratta di linee evolutive di cui sono note tanto le singole tappe quanto gli esiti: dall'originaria unità etnica al mosaico delle autonomie locali,¹ dalle forme arcaiche di articolazione della collettività per clan a compagini dominate da oligarchie gentilizie con ingenti ricchezze,² dalla reticenza all'apertura verso il mondo greco,³ da fenomeni di produzione-scambio orientati verso il mercato locale ed adriatico alla progressiva conquista di una dimensione mediterranea.⁴

In questo contesto di profonda riorganizzazione degli assetti sociali, economici e insediativi, è possibile individuare un ulteriore fattore di complessità nella diffusa attestazione di genti sannitiche entro i confini, in questa fase ancora assai sfumati, assegnati alla Daunia (fig. 1).

Elementi culturali osco-sabellici, riconducibili a presenze etniche allogene, sono ben documentate, a partire dal VI secolo a.C., nel comprensorio del fiume Fortore a Carlantino⁵ ed in contrada Guadone, nei pressi di San Severo.⁶ Nello stesso secolo la presenza sannitica è quindi attestata nei pressi di *Aecae-Troia*,⁷ sul versante subappenninico del territorio arpano, e, entro la prima metà del IV secolo a.C., nella valle del Cervaro,⁸ importante corridoio di transito tra l'entroterra campano e le piane della Puglia settentrionale.⁹ Anche nel caso di *Luceria*, quanto riportato dalle fonti storiche in merito all'influenza esercitata dai San-

niti sulla collettività locale,¹⁰ sembrerebbe trovare interessanti riscontri nell'individuazione di comunità rurali a carattere 'misto', insediate per agglomerati abitativi nel territorio controllato dal centro lucerino;¹¹ tracce evidenti di infiltrazioni osche provengono infine dal comprensorio della futura colonia *venosina*,¹² dal melfese e, seguendo la direttrice ofantina, dall'abitato di Minervino Murge,¹³ dunque ai limiti meridionali del territorio canosino.

Nonostante la maggior parte dei contesti noti sia rappresentata da aree di necropoli e ben pochi dati si riferiscano alle forme insediative ad esse associate, è tuttavia possibile riconoscere i caratteri di piccoli *vici* sorti in ambiti liminali, a presidio dei percorsi vallivi e fluviali di penetrazione verso le pianure fertili del Tavoliere e della costa adriatica, con una funzione non secondaria di raccordo sociale e culturale tra compagini etniche differenti.

È difficile, a questo proposito, non rievocare il noto passo di Livio sulle cause delle tensioni generate nella regione prima dell'intervento di Roma,¹⁴ ricondotte alla colpevole consuetudine dei Sanniti, *montani atque agrestes*, stanziati *vicatim* sui monti, di saccheggiare i *maritima et campestris loca* occupati dai Dauni. In questo breve passaggio della narrazione liviana già in passato si erano intravisti i caratteri di un contrasto ben più complesso della sola contrapposizione tra gruppi etnici diversi: quello tra villaggi e città, tra pastorizia e agricoltura, tra compagini subalterne e ceti egemoni.¹⁵

Sorvolando, per ora, su questi aspetti, preme innanzitutto evidenziare come proprio il riferimento liviano a modalità di insediamento per *vici*, che lo storico individuava quale prerogativa dei Sanniti, trovi ormai puntuali corrispondenze in



Fig. 1. La Daunia nel IV secolo a.C.: centri principali e agglomerati secondari.

quanto noto sull'articolazione insediativa dei popoli italici dell'Italia meridionale tra età arcaica e romanizzazione.¹⁶ In particolare la ricerca archeologica illustra oggi, con maggiore chiarezza che in passato, quanto solo in parte la geografia del popolamento della Daunia, nel lungo periodo compreso tra il tardo VII secolo a.C. e la fine del IV secolo a.C., fosse risolta nella variegata distribuzione dei grandi agglomerati destinati ad emergere come centri direzionali della regione, unici interlocutori di Roma.

È evidente, al contrario, quanto la rete dei *central places* sottendesse una fitta trama di realtà insediative 'minori': unità abitative di tipo sparso o nuclei aggregati nella forma del villaggio, spesso gravitanti nell'orbita dei centri principali, caratterizzati da una distribuzione sul territorio che assecondava esigenze di sicurezza, di valutazione

delle risorse naturali disponibili, di controllo dei percorsi e dei traffici.¹⁷ Si tratta di esperienze non marginali e secondarie, non di rado espressione di comunità ben strutturate che, investite da processi di gerarchizzazione sociale analoghi a quelli in atto nelle formazioni preurbane, conobbero tra tardo V e IV secolo a.C. l'emergere di aristocrazie familiari dominanti.

Non è ancora questa, dunque, la Daunia 'urbana' che si sarebbe contrapposta alla dimensione vicana ed agro-pastorale dei Sanniti. Più in generale il quadro conoscitivo in parte puntualizzato, in parte delineato *ex novo*, induce a ripensare in modo più ampio alle ragioni ed alle dinamiche del conflitto socio-economico dal colorito etnico tra Dauni e Sanniti che sarebbe stato all'origine dell'intervento romano nella regione.

Tutti i contesti indagati, in cui sia stata trovata

traccia di elementi estranei all'orizzonte culturale daunia, evidenziano come alla migrazione, più o meno risalente nel tempo, di gruppi di etnia sannita fossero seguite, nell'interazione tra componenti allogene e locali, forme profonde di commistione culturale, di ibridazione delle specificità identitarie, rintracciabili soprattutto nell'articolazione delle comunità rurali insediate *vicatim* in posizione periferica, ai margini dei territori controllati dai principali e più influenti centri di agglomerazione.

Quanto detto non intende riproporre l'immagine di una Daunia rigidamente divisa tra formazioni 'preurbane' e conservatrici, e formazioni periferiche, poco strutturate e più permeabili ad apporti esterni: fatta eccezione per *Arpi*, presidio di autonomia politica e culturale, lo stanziamento di popolazioni osco-sabelliche e il diffondersi di contaminazioni etnico-culturali investirono indistintamente periferie ed abitati centrali della Daunia nord-occidentale e del medio-basso comprensorio ofantino.

Ne sono testimonianza la laboriosa presa di *Luceria* da parte dei Romani alla fine del IV secolo a.C., al pari dell'iniziale, blanda, resistenza opposta a Roma da parte dei *Canusini*; più radicata fu verosimilmente la presenza sannitica a *Tiati-Teanum Apulum*, centro sorto strategicamente a presidio delle naturali vie di collegamento tra la dorsale appenninica e la piana del Tavoliere.¹⁸ Un'intensa compenetrazione tra l'originaria matrice daunia ed elementi culturali allogeni è inoltre documentata a Banzi¹⁹ dal diffondersi, sia a livello linguistico che nell'articolazione istituzionale del centro, di forme osche con persistenza d'uso almeno sino alla fine del I secolo a.C.; ancora più significativi, infine, i noti rinvenimenti effettuati a *Forentum-Lavello* ovvero la sepoltura di un possibile mercenario sannitico e la tomba di una donna sannita²⁰ deposta, sull'acropoli dell'abitato, tra le tombe principesche di tardo V e IV secolo a.C.

Proprio le evidenze di Lavello dimostrano quanto capillare e trasversale fosse stata la penetrazione di componenti etniche non daunie nel tessuto sociale locale, sia a livello delle classi subalterne, sia a livello delle elites al potere attraverso alleanze matrimoniali.

Si avverte, pertanto, anche in questo caso, la necessità di ampliare le prospettive della tradizionale tesi secondo cui soprattutto le popolazioni rurali subalterne si sarebbero mostrate sensibili alle infiltrazioni sannitiche, generando legami di solidarietà destinati a collidere con gli interessi ed i privilegi delle aristocrazie 'preurbane' dominanti. Verso l'alto, non sono infatti da

trascurare gli indizi che denotano la permeabilità delle compagini ai vertici del potere; verso il basso, l'analisi non può arrestarsi al riconoscimento di una *multitudo in agris* culturalmente ed etnicamente ibrida, marginale e sottomessa, 'ormai indirizzata verso un rovesciamento dei rapporti di classe'.²¹ L'esistenza di un corpo sociale intermedio, a carattere misto, emerso nel IV secolo a.C. e poi spazzato via dagli esiti della romanizzazione, è acquisizione importante delle ricerche recenti condotte proprio nell'ambito dei già menzionati agglomerati vicani 'secondari', attestati tanto tra i Sanniti quanto tra i Dauni.

Varrà, a questo proposito, ricordare come la guida ed il controllo della piccola comunità insediata entro la prima metà del IV secolo a.C. nella valle del Cervaro, in località La Murgetta, fossi affidati ad una ristretta elite di guerrieri di originaria etnia sannitica i cui corredi funerari sono testimonianza di ragguardevoli disponibilità di risorse e di intensi contatti con l'area del melfese; un simile profilo è emerso dall'analisi delle deposizioni femminili che ha rilevato la presenza di figure dominanti per le quali è stato proposto uno *status* identitario di 'meticciato' (*fig. 2*).²²

Anche l'abitato sviluppatosi tra la fine del V e la prima metà del IV secolo a.C. nei pressi di *Luceria*, in località Casanova, avrebbe ospitato una collettività etnicamente mista, dinamica dal punto di vista economico e ricettiva nei confronti di apporti culturali esterni (*fig. 3*).²³

Se questo è, dunque, il complesso *milieu* sociale e culturale che fa da sfondo all'intervento romano in Daunia, è evidente quanto riduttivo sia ricercare le ragioni del coinvolgimento di Roma nei contrasti generati da una mera contrapposizione etnica. A fronte di quanto tramandato dalle fonti storiche antiche, che proprio alla dialettica etnico-culturale riconducono le cause della contrapposizione tra Dauni e Sanniti, sono le fonti archeologiche a prospettare scenari interpretativi più articolati.

Si può forse ipotizzare che tensioni, a più livelli della società daunia di fine IV secolo a.C., fossero esplose in una contrapposizione tra i gruppi più conservatori e quelli più permeabili delle aristocrazie ai vertici dei grandi centri abitati della regione; quindi tra queste, nel loro complesso, e le emergenti elites guerriere, spesso a composizione etnica mista, radicate in ambiti insediativi di tipo vicano; infine, più in generale, tra i ceti sociali dominanti, in possesso dei principali mezzi di produzione, e quelli subalterni, locali e allogeni, ovvero pastori, contadini, genti nomadi o stanziali. Occorre tuttavia precisare che a supporto di tali ipotesi

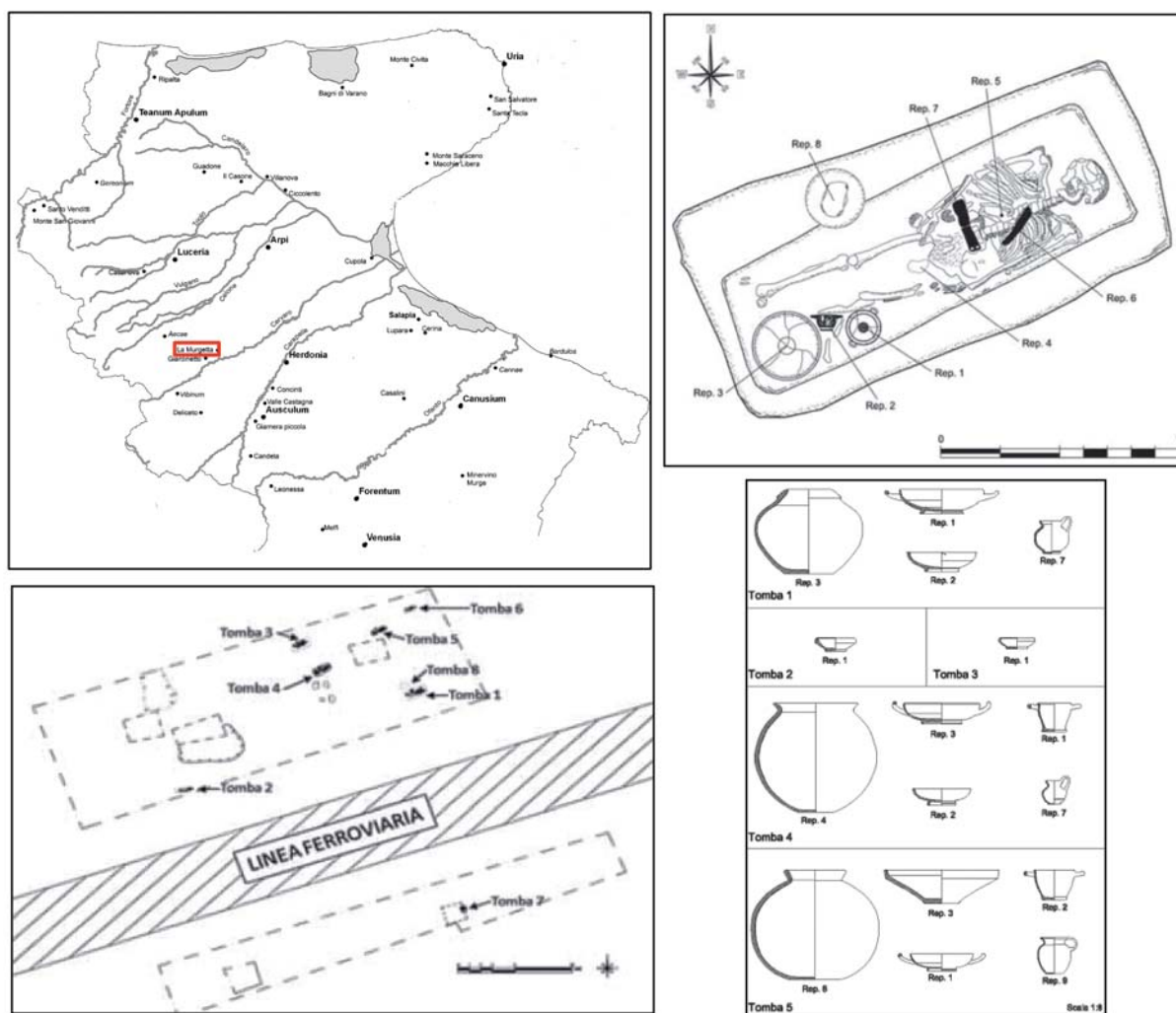


Fig. 2. Tombe e corredi funerari della comunità insediata in località La Murgetta (da Corrente et al. 2010).

non è possibile addurre né testimonianze materiali, né indicazioni desunte dalle fonti letterarie.

Nel 326 a.C. gli *Apuli* chiesero ed ottennero di essere accolti come alleati del popolo romano:²⁴ nello stesso anno *Arpi* assicurò la propria fedeltà mentre nel 318 a.C. anche i *Teanenses* ed i *Canusini* si arresero consegnando ostaggi a garanzia della resa e della pace *per omnem Apuliam*.²⁵ Da ultimi i *Lucerini*, presentati nel 321 come *soci boni ac fideles*²⁶ salvo poi defezionare a favore dei Sanniti,²⁷ furono duramente sedati e ricondotti sotto il controllo romano che si tradusse, nel 315 a.C.,²⁸ nella deduzione della colonia latina.

A livello di mera suggestione, si può forse ipotizzare che attraverso il riferimento agli *Apuli*, responsabili di aver chiesto ed ottenuto l'alleanza con Roma, il racconto liviano dia notizia di un'ini-

ziativa intrapresa solo da alcuni *populi* dauni, quelli guidati dalle aristocrazie più lontane dalle dinamiche di commistione identitaria-culturale in atto e più preoccupate dalla fuoriuscita dallo stato di subalternità di gruppi sociali emergenti; gli *Arpani*, da questo punto di vista, furono sin da principio alleati preziosi, al pari dei *Teanenses* e dei *Canusini*.

Le turbolenze dei *Lucerini*, al contrario, testimoniano forme di resistenza all'ingerenza romana nell'articolazione degli assetti locali, quanto mai significative in un'area di confine tra Tavoliere e Sannio; ed evidentemente furono le stesse resistenze ad armare e muovere le collettività daunie che, agli inizi della terza guerra sannitica, cercando il ricongiungimento con l'esercito sannita in territorio irpino, furono sconfitte da P. Decio Mure a *Maleventum*.²⁹



Fig. 3. Lucera, località Casanova: planimetria della casa A (da Corrente et al. 2008b).

Con la deduzione della colonia latina di *Luceria* e, qualche decennio più tardi, la fondazione della colonia di *Venusia*, al termine di una sanguinosa spedizione ai limiti occidentali del Tavoliere, tra il massiccio del Vulture e la valle dell'Ofanto, giunse dunque a compimento il progetto di presidio delle terre apule, ricomposizione dei rapporti etnici e difesa delle alleanze stipulate. Atto conclusivo della fase di espansione del dominio romano in Puglia settentrionale, la stabilizzazione del controllo territoriale, anche attraverso il ruolo svolto dalle colonie, segnò l'avvio di un lungo, sfaccettato, a tratti controverso processo di interazione con le originarie autonomie locali, i cui esiti sociali, culturali ed insediativi necessitano di puntuali riconsiderazioni.

LA ROMANIZZAZIONE DELLA DAUNIA E LA PRESUNTA 'NASCITA' DELLE CITTÀ

Il primo tema a cui è opportuno dedicare qualche riflessione è rappresentato dal cosiddetto processo di urbanizzazione che i centri indigeni dauni conobbero a partire dalla fine del IV secolo a.C.: un riesame della problematica si rivela necessario al fine di superare alcune desuete linee di lettura che da un lato individuano il fattore scatenante nell'incontro con Roma e nell'influenza esercitata dal modello coloniale, dall'altro vedono nella 'nascita della città' l'esito di tale percorso.

Si tratta di riprendere le fila di analisi in parte già avviate da E. Gabba,³⁰ E. Lepore³¹ e M. Maz-

zei³² per tornare a riflettere su modelli di città diversi da quello greco-romano e stabilire se la rinnovata organizzazione degli spazi insediativi degli abitati dauni avesse raggiunto, in questa fase, uno standard urbano; più in generale, l'obiettivo è quello di rianimare il confronto sulle 'idee di città' e sulle diverse traduzioni materiali perseguite nel tempo ed archeologicamente documentate.

In questo senso, numerosi spunti derivano dal confronto con gli elementi emersi dal recente dibattito sulla complessa fenomenologia urbana propria dell'Occidente antico e post-antico, che vincola l'attribuzione dello status urbano alla puntuale verifica di alcuni parametri di riferimento, pur nella piena valutazione delle specificità cronologiche e contestuali:³³ essere *central place* di un territorio dipendente; avere una significativa consistenza demografica; essere sede di compagini sociali ben stratificate; disporre di autonomia giuridica e di un'organizzazione amministrativa per la gestione degli spazi e delle strutture della collettività; qualificarsi per una pianificata e gerarchizzata articolazione degli spazi, dei percorsi e delle architetture, dunque con luoghi ed edifici dedicati alla difesa, alle sedi del potere, al culto, alle attività economiche, alla residenza dei vivi ed alla deposizione dei morti; essere centro di consumo ma al tempo stesso di produzione e ridistribuzione di beni; porsi come scenario architettonico di stili di vita urbani, alternativi al *modus vivendi* rurale, nutriti di consapevolezza ideologica e dotati di ben riconoscibili codici di autorappresentazione.

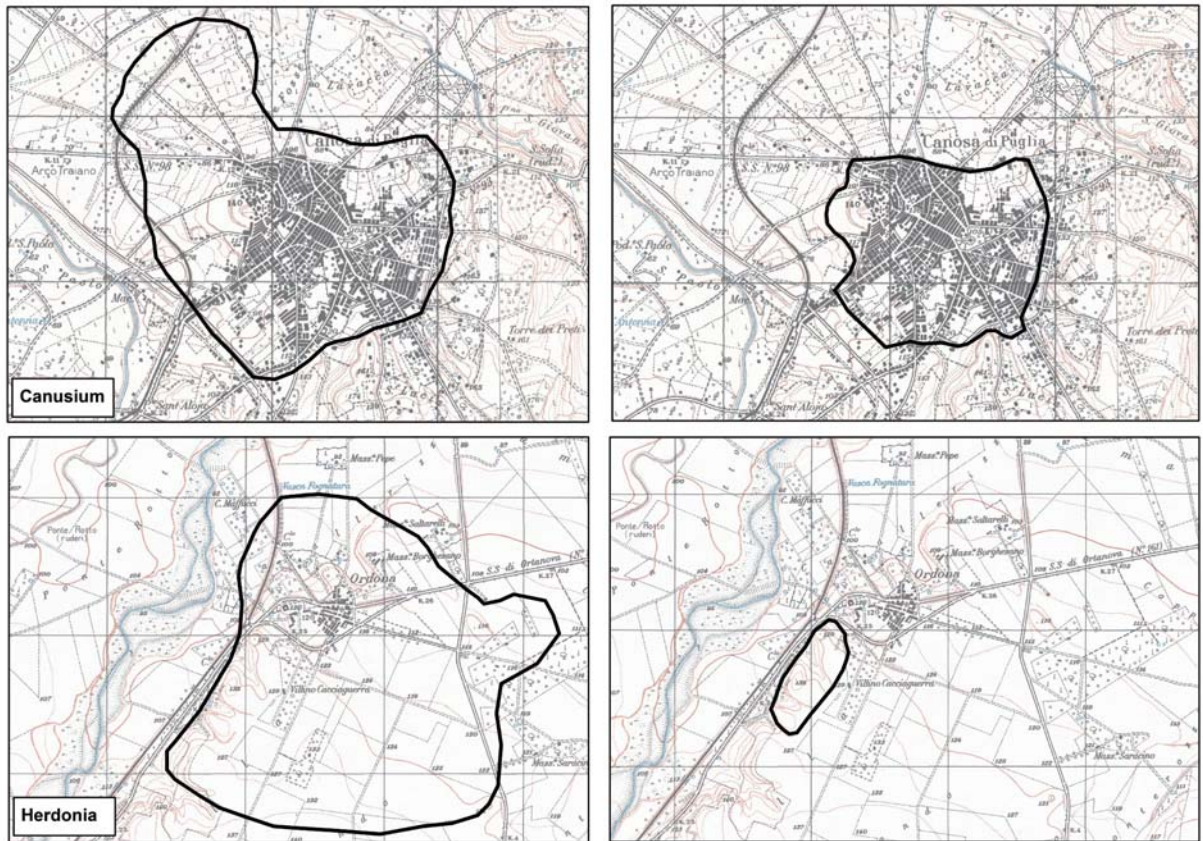


Fig. 4. Processo di accentramento delle aree abitative: i casi di Canusium e di Herdonia tra fine IV e III secolo a.C.

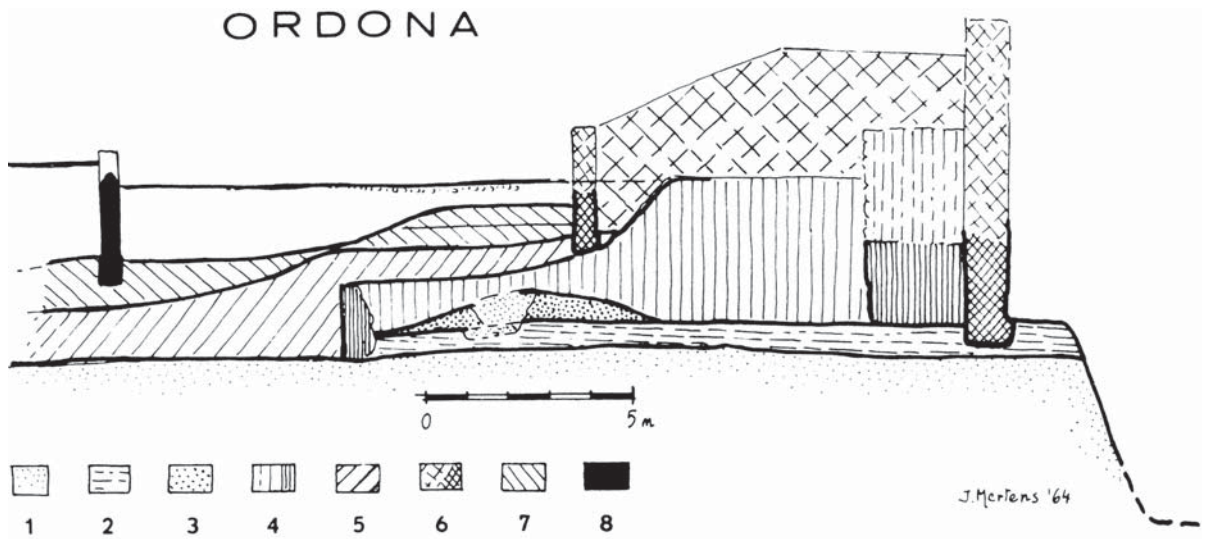


Fig. 5. Le mura di Herdonia (da Mertens 1995).

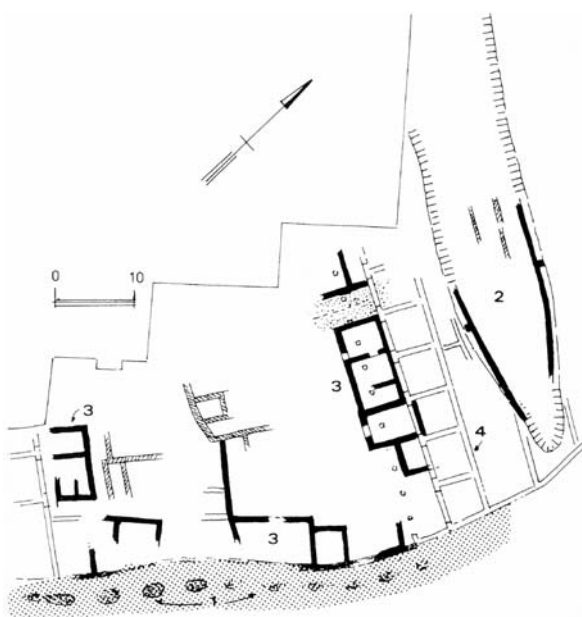


Fig. 6. Herdonia: pianta delle strutture pre-annibaliche (da Mertens 1995).

Per quanto concerne i grandi centri abitati della Daunia, a partire dalla seconda metà-fine del IV secolo a.C., i dati archeologici documentano una forte tendenza all'abbandono delle precedenti modalità di occupazione del territorio per nuclei insediativi sparsi con conseguente accentramento delle aree abitative. Il fenomeno è ben attestato a *Canusium*³⁴ e nei vicini centri di *Forentum*³⁵ e *Bantia*,³⁶ a *Salapia*,³⁷ ad *Ausculum*³⁸ e *Herdonia*;³⁹ stesse dinamiche si espletarono anche ad *Arpi*,⁴⁰ *Tiati*,⁴¹ *Uria-Vieste*⁴² sul promontorio garganico (fig. 4).

Risulta al contrario più difficile stabilire se fosse seguita la realizzazione di cinte murarie a sancire un'ormai netta distinzione tra spazi interni ed esterni. Fatta eccezione per *Herdonia* (fig. 5),⁴³ l'esistenza in questa fase di fortificazioni con circuito ridimensionato ad *Arpi*, *Tiati*, *Ausculum*, *Salapia*, *Canusium* è solo ipotizzata, non di rado sulla base di alcuni riferimenti presenti nel racconto liviano della guerra annibalica.⁴⁴

Una più sistematica pianificazione dello spazio abitato è supposta per *Arpi* in riferimento all'articolazione del cosiddetto quartiere delle case aristocratiche di contrada Montarozzi; le evidenze note (la casa con impluvio, la casa del peristilio, la casa 'del mosaico dei grifi e delle pantere') testimoniano lo sviluppo, in questa fase, di una prestigiosa edilizia privata di 'tipo urbano',⁴⁵ mentre sfuggono quasi del tutto i caratteri del tessuto abitativo complessivo di questo settore del centro arpano.

A *Herdonia* è ben documentata la presenza, nel III secolo a.C., di abitazioni e botteghe, realizzate in materiale lapideo e mattoni crudi, dalla semplice pianta quadrangolare, disposte regolarmente a ridosso di percorsi in terra battuta o pavimentati (fig. 6).⁴⁶

Per quanto concerne *Canusium*, emergono i tratti di un insediamento dallo sviluppo ancora disorganico, addensato sulle colline prospicienti la valle dell'Ofanto, fortemente condizionato dalle direttrici di attraversamento percorse sin da età arcaica e caratterizzato, alla fine del IV secolo a.C., da un'edilizia privata di modeste dimensioni e qualità tecnica, ben lontana dal modello rappresentato dalle coeve residenze arpane.⁴⁷

Questo assetto conobbe nel corso del III secolo, in particolare nei decenni finali dello stesso, una fase di rinnovamento riconoscibile nel potenziamento del sistema di attraversamento interno dell'abitato mediante strade, di certo non ortogonali ma dai percorsi ben definiti e delimitati; nell'introduzione di un'edilizia privata più articolata e di prestigio; nell'avvio di un processo di differenziazione delle destinazioni d'uso delle diverse aree dell'insediamento.⁴⁸

Al tema della riorganizzazione funzionale degli spazi si collega quello, scivoloso, della progressiva emancipazione delle necropoli dai luoghi della vita.

Tale separazione si sarebbe compiuta, contestualmente allo sviluppo dell'abitato accentrato, ad *Ausculum*, a *Herdonia*,⁴⁹ a *Forentum*. Più complesso risulta il caso di *Canusium*, dal momento che solo a partire dal II secolo a.C. si coglie una programmata tendenza alla dislocazione delle necropoli ai margini dell'abitato. Per la fase in esame, si può senza dubbio riconoscere nell'area adiacente il limite settentrionale dell'insediamento ed in quella sita ai margini meridionali dello stesso, due settori preferenzialmente destinati alle sepolture.⁵⁰

Appare tuttavia ancora stretto il legame tra spazio dei vivi e spazio dei morti, anche all'interno di quelle porzioni del tessuto abitativo più caratterizzate in senso residenziale: tale fenomeno risulta ancora più evidente se si pensa al ruolo svolto, per tutta l'età repubblicana, dai monumentali complessi funerari dell'aristocrazia al potere come polo di aggregazione insediativa, religiosa, sociale e politica.

Sulla presenza di luoghi-edifici-aree a carattere pubblico, il silenzio dell'archeologia segnala un importante limite conoscitivo.⁵¹

Non c'è sinora traccia di spazi ed edifici pubblici ad *Arpi* e, almeno per il pieno III secolo, a *Herdonia*; a *Tiati* (fig. 7) ed a *Forentum* (fig. 8) la riorganizzazione degli abitati, prodottasi a partire

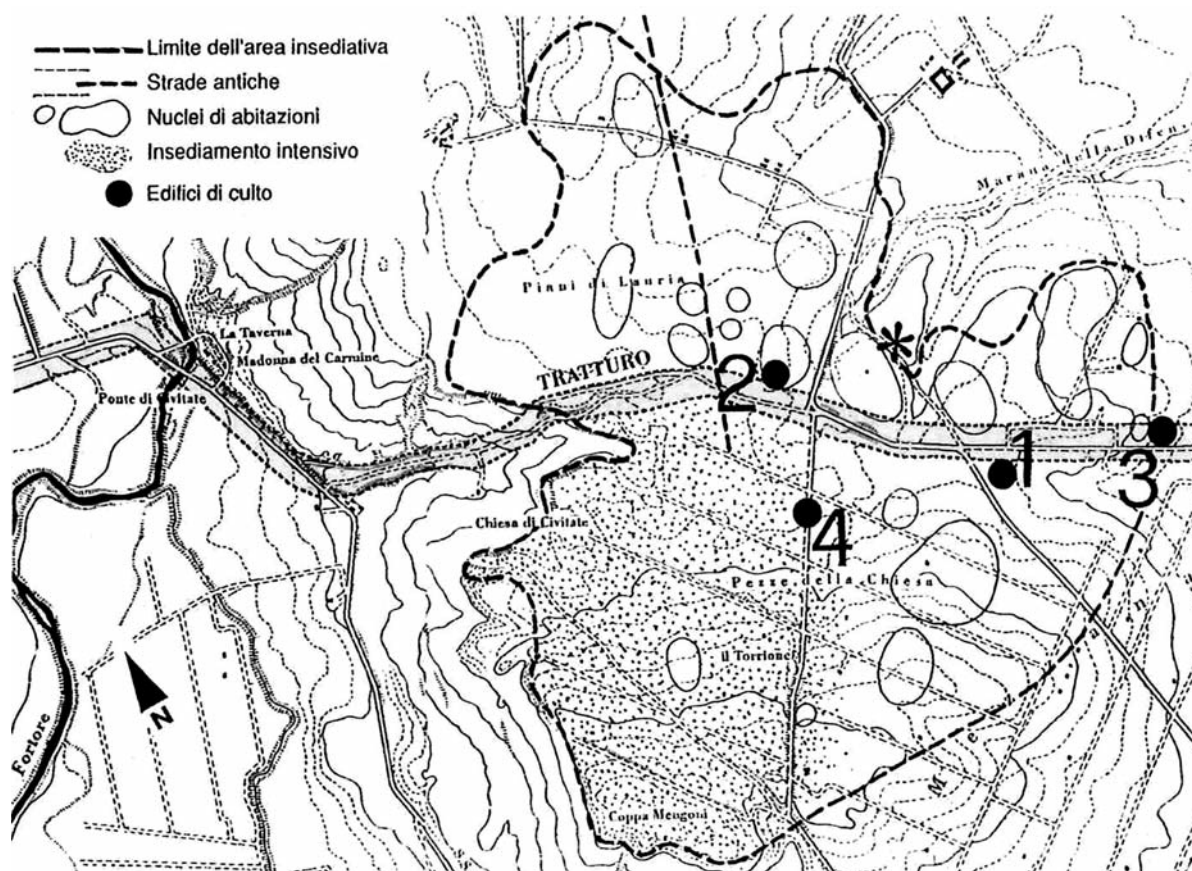


Fig. 7. Tiati: ricostruzione dell'estensione dell'abitato e localizzazione dei santuari di IV-III secolo a.C. (da Antonacci Sanpaolo 1995). 2) Chiesa di Civitate; 3) Santa Maria di Altomare; 4) Pezze della Chiesa; 5) Coppa Mengoni.

dagli inizi del III secolo a.C., sarebbe stata contestuale all'edificazione di santuari, sorti come punti di riferimento per la comunità.⁵²

Senza dubbio più interessanti, perché più organici, i dati provenienti da *Canusium*: la recente rilettura, proposta da M. Corrente,⁵³ del monumentale complesso di evidenze costituite dagli ipogei Lagrasta, dalla vicina area sacra di via Vanoni e, sebbene più tarda, dalla *domus* tardo repubblicana di via Generale Cadorna (fig. 9), mostra con chiarezza come nel cuore dell'abitato di età post annibalica, lo sviluppo del sacro fosse legato a quello del politico e quest'ultimo fosse risolto nelle prerogative, nei privilegi, negli spazi dell'aristocrazia dominante.⁵⁴ I luoghi del pubblico, del culto e della rappresentatività politica, nella *Canusium* di III secolo, erano i luoghi dell'autorappresentazione del potere aristocratico che si proiettava sulla comunità e sul tessuto insediativo: l'abitato e tutto ciò che ne faceva parte, compre-

so il senso di appartenenza identitaria, si identificavano con un'oligarchia dirigente che pianificava lo spazio, gestiva i culti, determinava le direttive della vita politica, interagiva con Roma.

Quanto sinora considerato, consente dunque di tornare al quesito di partenza: i centri dauni, così come ridisegnati dai processi in atto tra la fine del IV ed il pieno III secolo a.C., possono essere considerati città? La risposta non può essere univoca e trascende gli stessi parametri di valutazione evocati in precedenza. Laddove si intenda per città il luogo dell'identità collettiva di comunità variamente organizzate, a cui si riconoscono ben precise mansioni politico-amministrative e funzioni strutturate rispetto al territorio circostante, si può ritenere che tale *status* fosse stato raggiunto.

Se invece si consideri città la traduzione materiale di una società stratificata per composizione e funzioni svolte, in cui l'identità comunitaria trovi puntuale riflesso nell'articolazione di spazi,

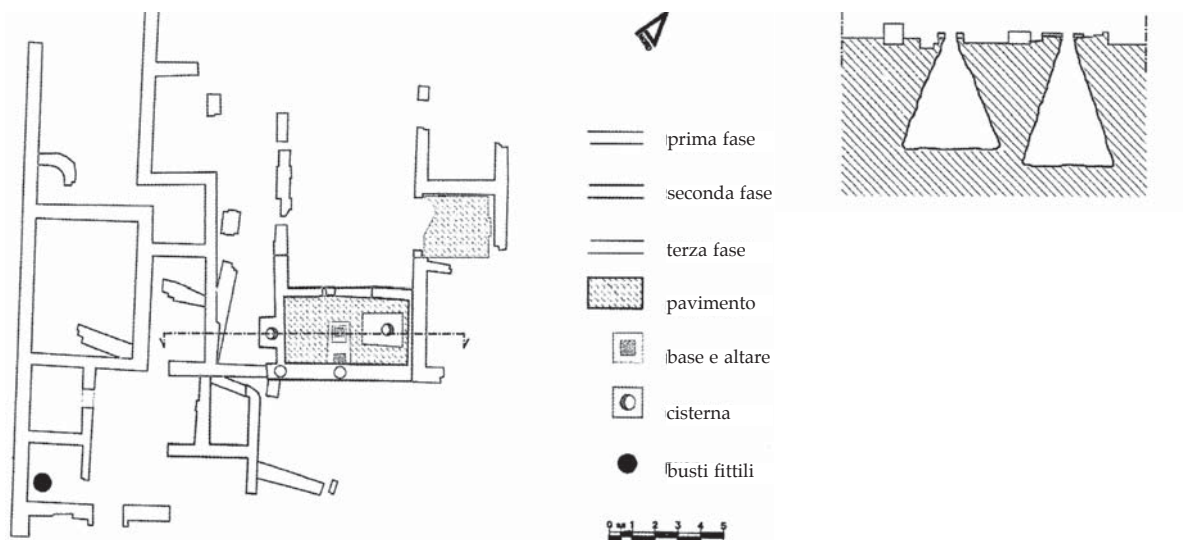


Fig. 8. Lavello-Forentum: il santuario in località Gravetta (da Bottini/Guzzo 1992).

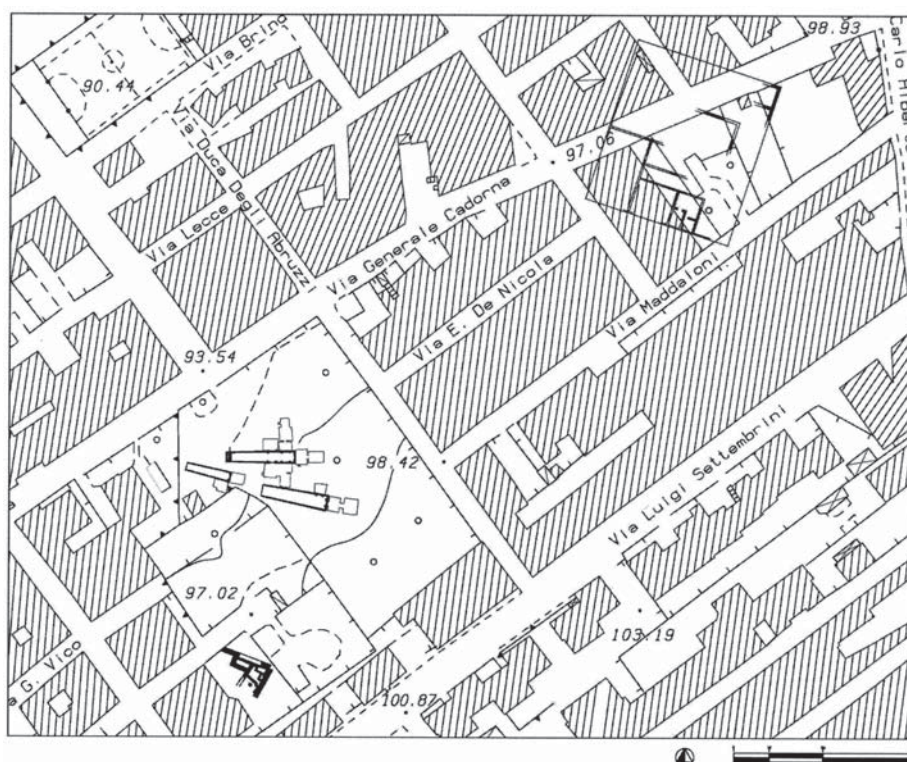


Fig. 9. Canusium: localizzazione dei complessi archeologici individuati tra via Cadorna e via Vanoni (da Corrente 2009).

architetture, infrastrutture costruiti, gestiti e mantenuti per la collettività, le labili evidenze archeologiche disponibili documentano per i centri dauni un cammino culturale e materiale ancora *in statu*

nascendi verso la dimensione urbana.

In questa seconda prospettiva, non sorprende constatare come evidenti testimonianze di un codice espressivo di tipo urbano si rintraccino

nella composizione dei corredi e negli apparati decorativi dei monumentali complessi sepolcrali dell'aristocrazia daunia non prima del tardo III o inizio II secolo a.C.:⁵⁵ segno della progressiva appropriazione, da parte delle elites locali, di un modello culturale, tutto romano, di *urbanitas* che troverà puntuale traduzione formale nella fisionomia assunta dai centri dauni tra età post-annibalica e municipalizzazione.⁵⁶

Gli effetti dell'incontro con Roma, in termini di acquisizione di modelli e di interazione tra esperienze, vanno colti, dunque, più in prospettiva che ricercati nell'età del primo contatto, per quanto ravvicinato e non privo di implicazioni.

Fatta eccezione per *Bantia*, che conobbe una progressiva dinamica di auto-assimilazione urbanistica ed istituzionale al modello della vicina colonia di *Venusia*,⁵⁷ nel complesso appare confermata l'osservazione di F. Grelle sulla difficoltà di intravedere influssi e condizionamenti propriamente latini nella fisionomia assunta dai centri dauni tra la fine del IV secolo a.C. e l'età annibalica;⁵⁸ e questa valutazione non tiene solo conto delle caratteristiche degli ordinamenti istituzionali e delle forme organizzative delle comunità investite dall'espansione romana.

Il processo di contrazione insediativa trova puntuali riscontri nelle dinamiche di riorganizzazione che investirono gli insediamenti della vicina area lucana nella medesima fase cronologica, in quel caso ben prima dell'impatto con Roma.⁵⁹

Le forme di pianificazione e di articolazione interna degli abitati indigeni di III secolo non mostrano inoltre alcun punto di tangenza con i modelli espressi dalle città magno-greche e romane; al contrario risultano da un lato ancora sensibili alla tradizionale commistione abitazione-necropoli, dall'altro vicine a soluzioni di eccellenza edilizia e spazialità funzionale già sperimentate in Daunia tra il tardo V e il pieno IV secolo come illustrano i contesti di Casanova⁶⁰ presso *Luceria*, della collina del Serpente⁶¹ e di Giarnera Piccola⁶² ad *Ausculum*, di *Cannae-Fontanella*,⁶³ di Minervino Murge⁶⁴ ai limiti del territorio canosino, o degli stessi centri di *Herdonia*⁶⁵ e *Canusium*.⁶⁶

È noto, infine, quali fossero i principali riferimenti per l'edilizia privata di pregio, la monumentale architettura funeraria, al pari delle produzioni artigianali, dell'immaginario figurato, del linguaggio materiale ed immateriale di autorappresentazione delle elites aristocratiche dominanti: la Grecia settentrionale e le *poleis* magno-greche prima, l'Oriente ellenistico dopo.

LE TERRE DEI SOCI

Ai margini dei territori delle colonie di *Luceria* e *Venusia*, tra la fine del IV e la metà del III secolo a.C., importanti processi riorganizzativi investirono gli assetti dei comprensori rimasti di pertinenza dei singoli centri dauni legati a Roma da alleanze che non avevano previsto annessioni all'agro romano (fig. 10).⁶⁷ Le indagini sistematiche condotte in ampi settori dei territori di *Arpi*,⁶⁸ *Canusium*,⁶⁹ *Herdonia* ed *Ausculum*,⁷⁰ documentano una significativa intensificazione del popolamento rurale di tipo sparso (fig. 11): una conquista delle terre fertili di pianura o pedecollinari ad opera di case-fattorie con fondazioni in materiale lapideo e coperture in tegole e coppi.

Le evidenze di superficie e, laddove presenti, quelle aerofotografiche sembrerebbero ricondurre ad edifici unifamiliari dall'articolazione planimetrica semplice che richiama il modello della casa di piccole-medie dimensioni (tra i 35 ed i 100 m² circa) ad unico vano quadrato-rettangolare preceduto da vestibolo, ben documentata, tra IV e III secolo, in numerosi contesti protourbani e rurali della Daunia e della vicina Lucania.⁷¹ Si può, tuttavia, attribuire ampia diffusione anche a complessi architettonici dalla planimetria più articolata e dimensioni considerevoli (200-400 m² circa), con vani residenziali affiancati da ambienti per le attività domestiche o utilizzati come magazzini, spazi esterni per gli orti o l'allevamento, e non di rado forniti di piccoli impianti per la produzione di ceramica o laterizi (fig. 12).

In questo senso, per l'ambito territoriale dauno, un riferimento importante è rappresentato dalle due fattorie di IV secolo indagate nei pressi di Faeto, nel settore nordoccidentale dei Monti della Daunia:⁷² due case autonome ma limitrofe, definite da murature con fondazione in ciottoli ed elevato in materiale deperibile, dotate di coperture in tegole su travi lignee.

Del primo edificio (casa A), di cui si conosce solo in parte l'articolazione planimetrica, sono stati portati alla luce 5 ambienti ed un probabile cortile; i materiali rinvenuti attestano una funzione prevalentemente residenziale dei vani, con settori destinati allo svolgimento di attività domestiche come la tessitura e la macinazione del grano. Il secondo edificio (casa B) presentava una pianta rettangolare, con estensione pari a circa 200 m², caratterizzata da tre ambienti affiancati, di cui uno a sviluppo longitudinale, aperti su un cortile antistante con pavimentazione in terra battuta;⁷³ a poche decine di metri di distanza dall'edificio, fu realizzata una piccola fornace a pianta rettan-

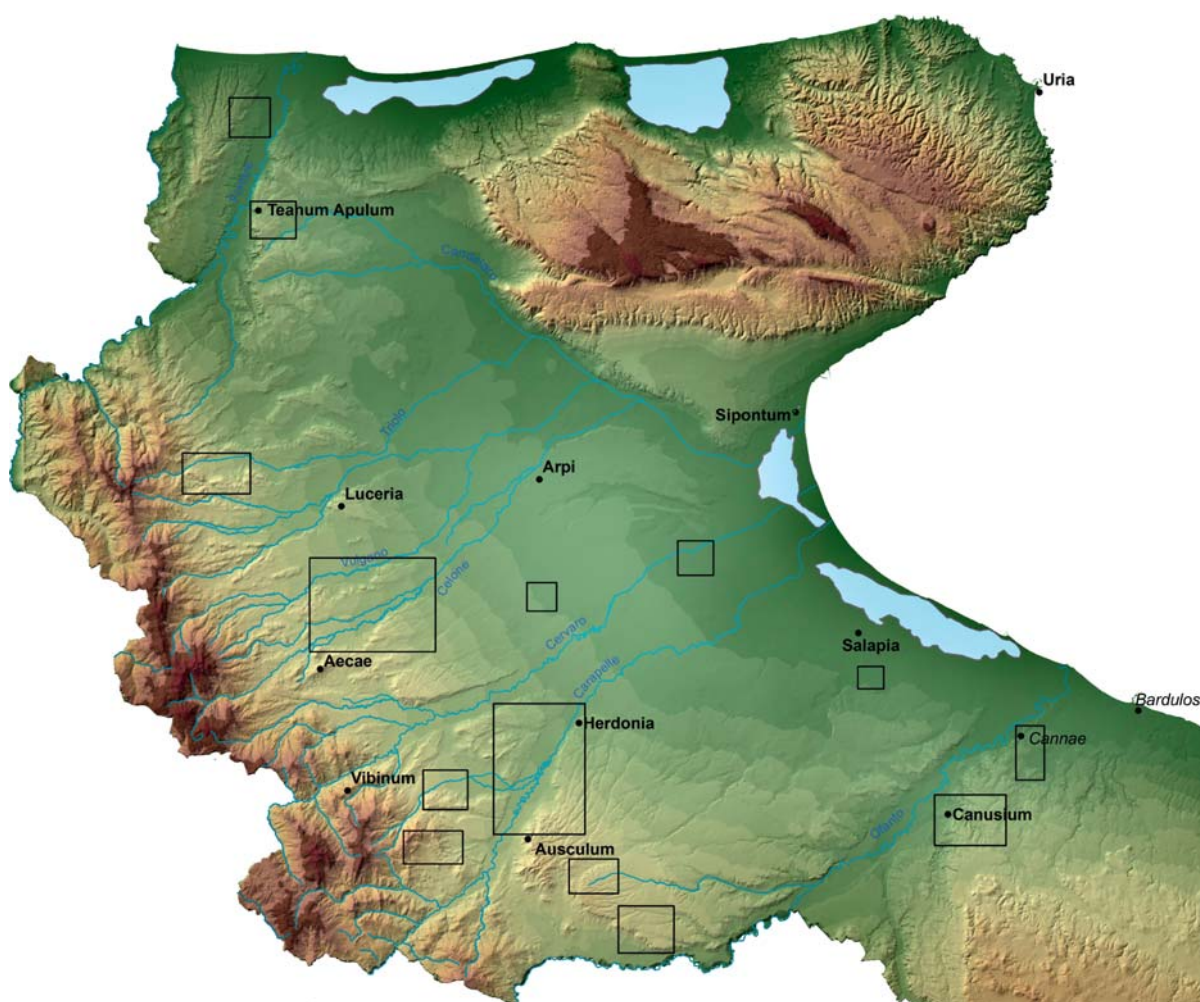


Fig. 10. Puglia settentrionale: comprensori territoriali sottoposti ad indagini sistematiche.

golare per la quale, tuttavia, non è possibile ipotizzare la destinazione d'uso.

Non secondarie risultano anche le testimonianze di 'conservazione dell'esistente', ravvisabili non solo nelle tracce di occupazione precedente al IV secolo riscontrate per molte delle fattorie di età ellenistica, quanto soprattutto nella continuità di vita che conobbero alcuni agglomerati abitativi già attestati a partire dall'età arcaica, non di rado gravitanti nell'orbita dei centri dauni maggiori. Le fonti ricordano gli *oppida* di Gereonium, Acuca, Planisium, verosimilmente da ubicare nel comprensorio della valle del fiume Fortore,⁷⁴ per i quali è difficile ipotizzare una continuità di vita protrattasi molto oltre la conclusione del conflitto annibalico; a questi si aggiungono i centri di Aecae,⁷⁵ nella valle del Celone, di Vibinum,⁷⁶ in quella del Cervaro, di Bardulos,⁷⁷ approdo adria-

tico strettamente legato a Canusium, che al contrario conobbero, in tempi e con modalità diverse, ben più complessi processi di emancipazione politico-istituzionale. Sempre in ambito ofantino si pone l'abitato di Cannae che conservò l'originaria fisionomia di esteso insediamento costituito da nuclei sparsi su una superficie complessiva di circa 40 ettari (fig. 13);⁷⁸ pur bloccato nel suo sviluppo verso la dimensione della città, tra la fine del IV e il III secolo a.C. l'intero abitato fu oggetto di una sistematica pianificazione degli spazi che portò all'individuazione di percorsi viari definiti, di aree artigianali, di settori funerari localizzati ai limiti degli edifici residenziali.⁷⁹

Il panorama dei cosiddetti 'agglomerati secondari' o *vici*,⁸⁰ appare in realtà ben più variegato ed articolato di quanto il riferimento ai siti summenzionati possa indurre a ritenere: sono, infatti,

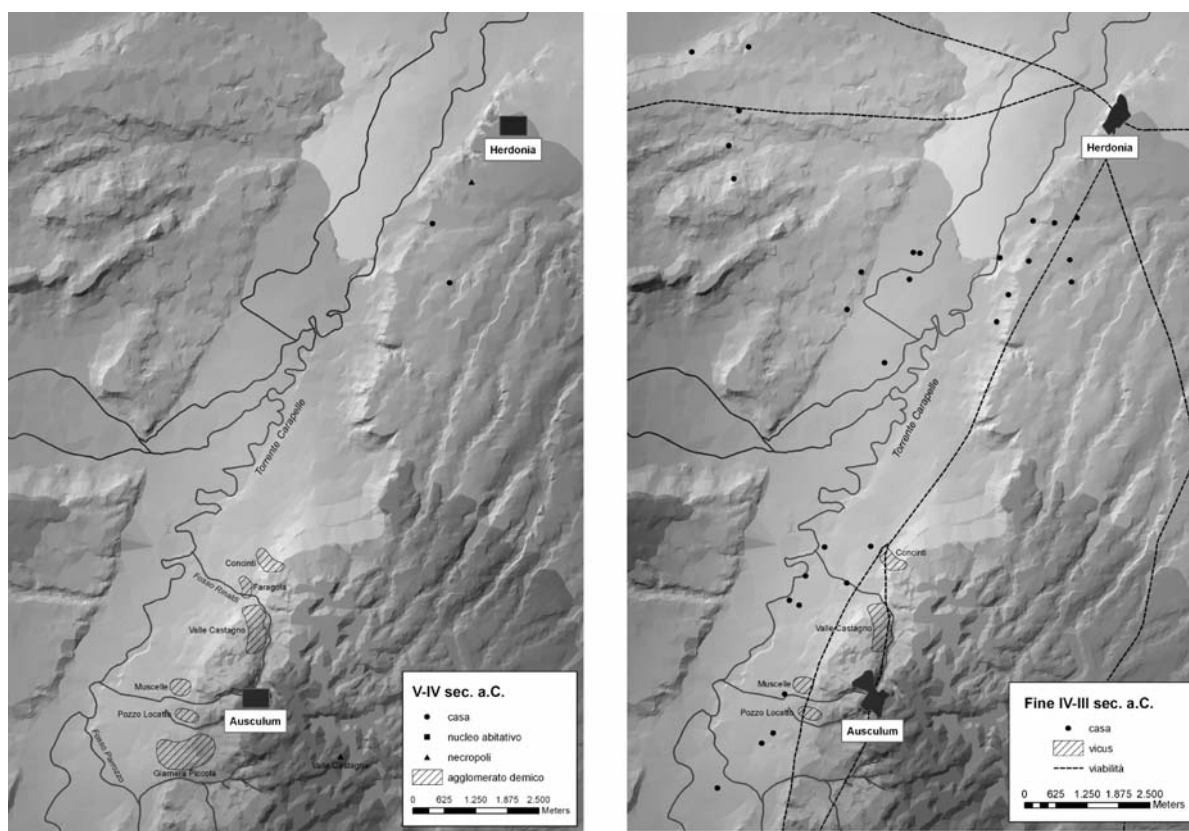


Fig. 11. Valle del Carapelle: intensificazione del popolamento rurale di tipo sparso a partire dalla seconda metà-fine del IV secolo a.C.

ben più numerosi gli aggregati abitativi di piccola-media estensione che la recente ricerca archeologica ha potuto documentare sia nelle fertili valli fluviali che sulle pendici collinari della Daunia, a testimonianza della persistenza di forme originarie, quasi autoctone, di organizzazione della popolazione rurale.

È tuttavia l'esplosione dell'insediamento sparso ad assumere i caratteri di macrofenomeno insediativo, espletatosi in evidente sincronia all'interno di contesti geografici differenti e distanti (fig. 14):⁸¹ dal distretto salentino⁸² al territorio di *Silvium*-Gravina di Puglia,⁸³ dalle valli del Bradano⁸⁴ e del Basentello⁸⁵ alla Lucania interna⁸⁶ e tirrenica.⁸⁷ Un trend globale che investì l'intera realtà italica meridionale e che, per quanto concerne nello specifico la Daunia, necessita ancora di un'adeguata interpretazione.

Non convince innanzitutto l'ipotesi di considerare il capillare popolamento delle campagne in questa fase storica come esito dell'influenza esercitata dal modello di organizzazione fondiaria proposto dalle colonie di *Luceria* e *Venusia* sulle

forme agrarie ed insediative proprie delle comunità daunie locali, poco importa se come esito di un'imposizione o di un'imitazione.⁸⁸

Il piccolo-medio appoderamento coloniale è riflesso di strutturazioni sociali e di ordinamenti giuridici ancora del tutto estranei all'esperienza delle comunità indigene.

Più solida risulta l'ipotesi di riconoscere, nel fenomeno in esame, la prova insediativa dell'esistenza di forti interessi fondiari da parte delle aristocrazie ascese ai vertici dei poteri locali, le cui enormi ricchezze derivavano proprio dalla disponibilità e dallo sfruttamento di ampie proprietà terriere⁸⁹ nonché, a partire dalla metà del III secolo, dall'esportazione di parte della produzione verso i mercati adriatici ed egei.⁹⁰

Resta, tuttavia, ancora da chiarire chi materialmente occupasse le fattorie attestate nelle campagne, quale fosse la caratterizzazione dei nuclei familiari stanziati e quali le dinamiche di gestione delle proprietà aristocratiche.

Le conoscenze attuali sulla strutturazione delle comunità daunie in questa fase storica inducono

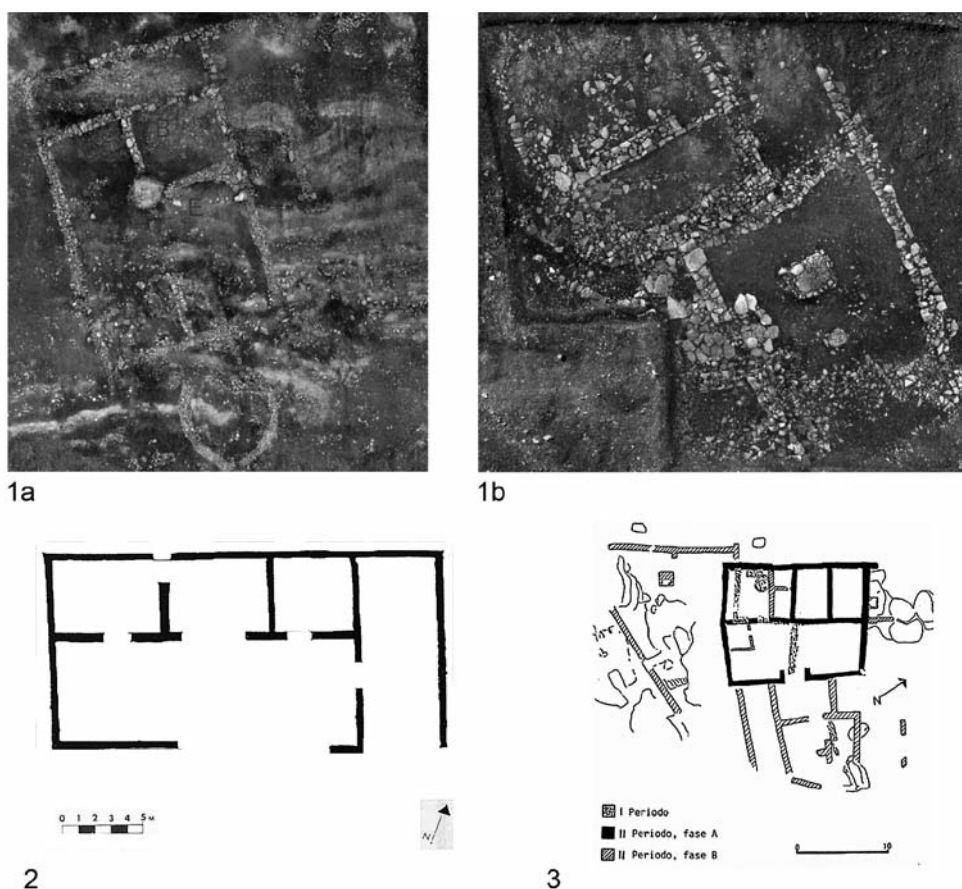


Fig. 12. Case rurali di fine IV-III secolo a.C. site in località Niola nei pressi di Faeto (1a-1b, da Corrente et al. 2008a), Monte Moltone nei pressi di Tolve (2, da Volpe 1990) e Mancamasone nei pressi di Banzi (3, da Volpe 1990).

a pensare a forme di gestione per affidamento a soggetti sociali privi di qualsiasi rappresentatività politica ma, al contrario, legati all'oligarchia fondiaria da forti vincoli di dipendenza o di effettivo asservimento.⁹¹ Su questi aspetti sono numerose le incertezze su cui si potrebbe far luce solo a seguito di interventi di scavo mirati ad indagare i contesti abitativi e le aree di necropoli limitrofe.

Aldilà della caratterizzazione sociale del fenomeno insediativo in esame, sarebbe opportuno, inoltre, verificare la possibilità di creare un collegamento tra la progressiva 'conquista della terra', operata dalle fattorie sorte a partire dai decenni finali del IV secolo, e processi epocali di ben più ampia portata quali crescita demografica, diffusione dell'arboricoltura, rinnovamento delle tecniche e degli strumenti tradizionali dell'agricoltura per la messa a coltura intensiva ed estensiva di terre nuove.⁹²

L'EREDITÀ DI ANNIBALE

In che modo e con quali esiti la guerra annibalica incise sugli assetti insediativi sinora delineati?

Rispetto a questo tema, già da tempo si è registrato un profondo cambiamento di orizzonti interpretativi⁹³ che ha dissolto quasi del tutto le immagini di devastazione, irreversibile decadenza, progressiva marginalizzazione dell'Italia meridionale prospettate dagli scenari toynbeeani della *Hannibal's Legacy*.⁹⁴

Sarebbe tuttavia rischioso proporre visioni ireniche che ridimensionino eccessivamente la portata di una vicenda comunque epocale:⁹⁵ il conflitto romano-cartaginese fu per la Daunia innanzitutto un evento traumatico, segnato da assedi, saccheggi, distruzioni.

Herdonia fu razziata e i suoi abitanti deportati, *Venusia*⁹⁶ subì perdite tali da indurre il Senato, nel 200 a.C., a disporre una nuova deduzione di coloni per colmare i vuoti prodotti nelle campagne

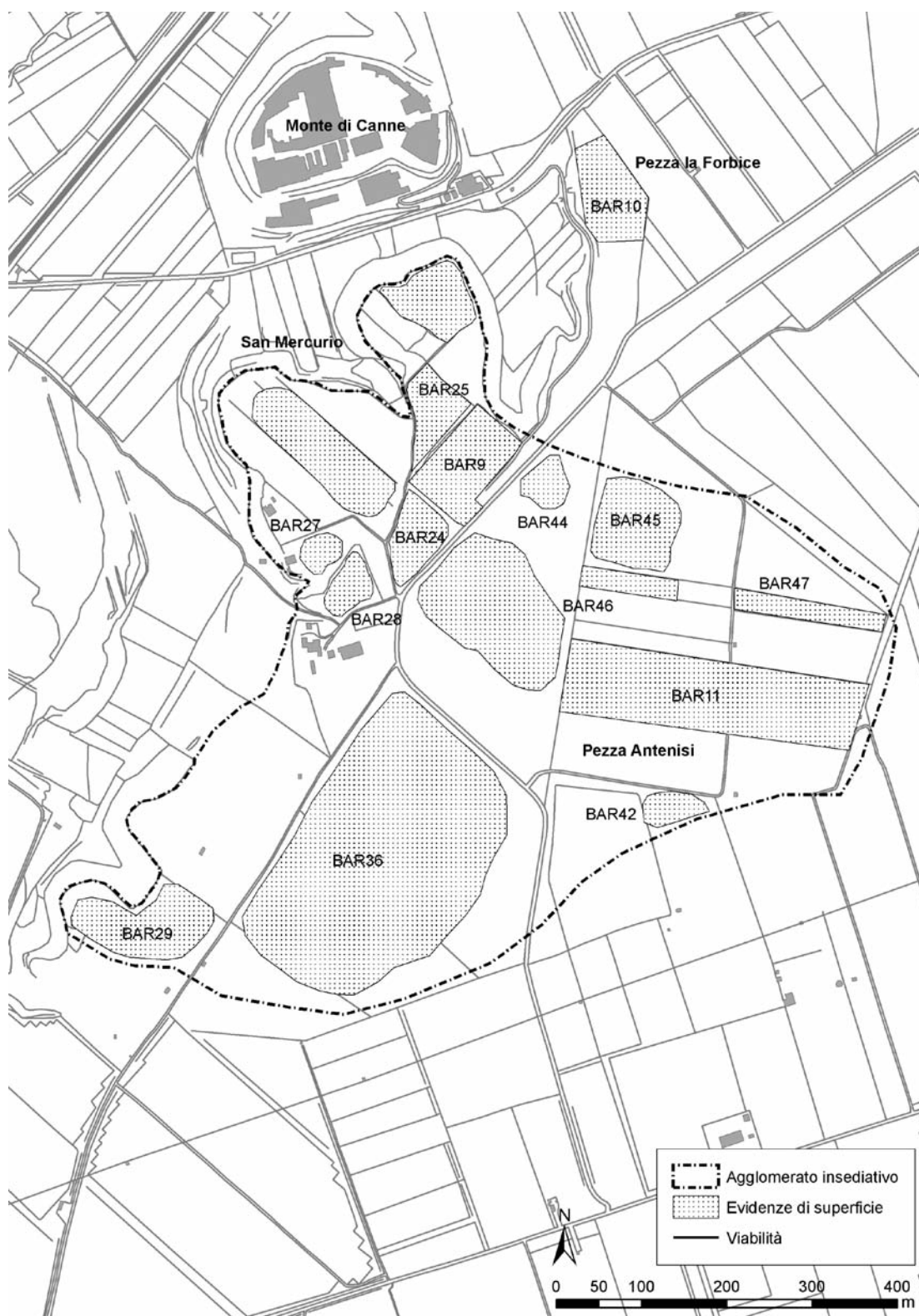


Fig. 13. Ipotesi di sviluppo dell'agglomerato insediativo di Canne tra VI e IV secolo a.C.

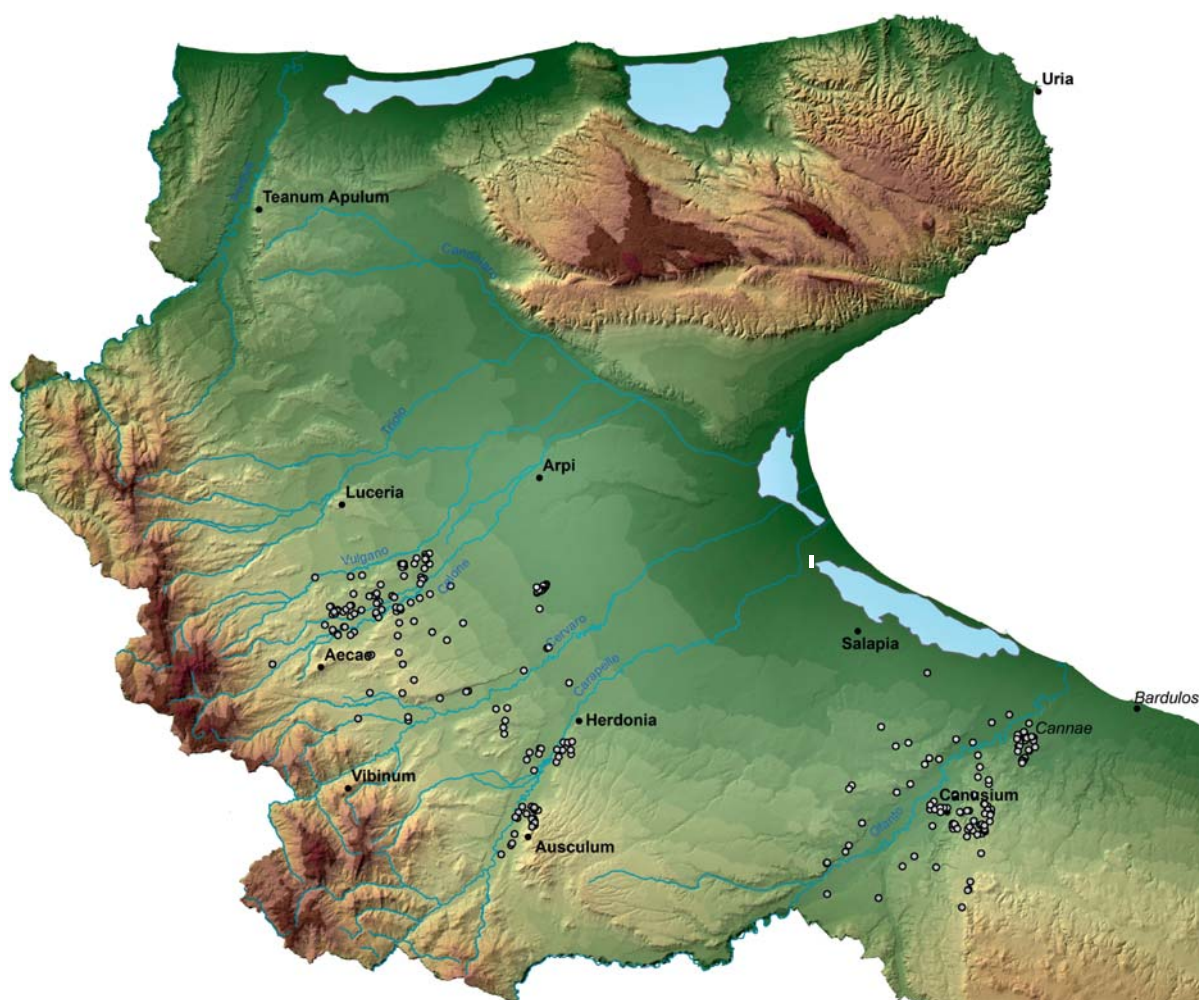


Fig. 14. Esplosione dell'insediamento sparso in comprensori diversi della Puglia settentrionale tra fine IV-inizi III secolo a.C.

dalle vicende belliche, *Cannae* fu distrutta e la rocca conquistata dall'esercito punico proveniente da *Gereonium*.⁹⁷ Proprio nel caso del *vicus* cannese, le notizie fornite dalle fonti sembrerebbero trovare importanti riscontri archeologici: le ricognizioni condotte nell'area dell'abitato non hanno rilevato traccia di frequentazioni successive alla fine del III secolo a.C. in nessuno dei nuclei insediativi presenti sul pianoro di San Mercurio.⁹⁸ All'abbandono dell'insediamento, per il quale si può solo ipotizzare una riorganizzazione post-annibalica sulla sommità del Monte di Canne protrattasi sino ad età tardoantica, sarebbe inoltre corrisposta una drastica contrazione dei siti attestati nelle campagne circostanti (fig. 15).⁹⁹

Si pensi, infine, alla celebre disfatta subita dall'esercito romano sulle sponde del fiume Ofanto, la

cui portata fu tale da impressionare per secoli l'immaginario collettivo, diventando di fatto archetipo di ogni drammatica *débacle*: così, nella percezione di Ammiano Marcellino, vissuto ben sei secoli dopo la battaglia del 216 a.C., la sconfitta subita dai Romani ad Adrianopoli nel 378 d.C. si sarebbe potuta paragonare solo a quella inflitta da Annibale all'esercito romano nei pressi di Canne.¹⁰⁰

Ancora più incisive si rivelarono le conseguenze delle annessioni territoriali attuate da Roma ai danni dei centri dauni colpevoli di aver tradito l'alleanza (fig. 16).¹⁰¹

Arpi fu tra i più colpiti. Nell'*ager publicus populi Romani* confluirono buona parte delle terre distese ad occidente dell'abitato, fra i fiumi Cervaro e Vulgano verso *Aecae*, e le importanti pertinenze sulla costa adriatica;¹⁰² proprio in questo settore

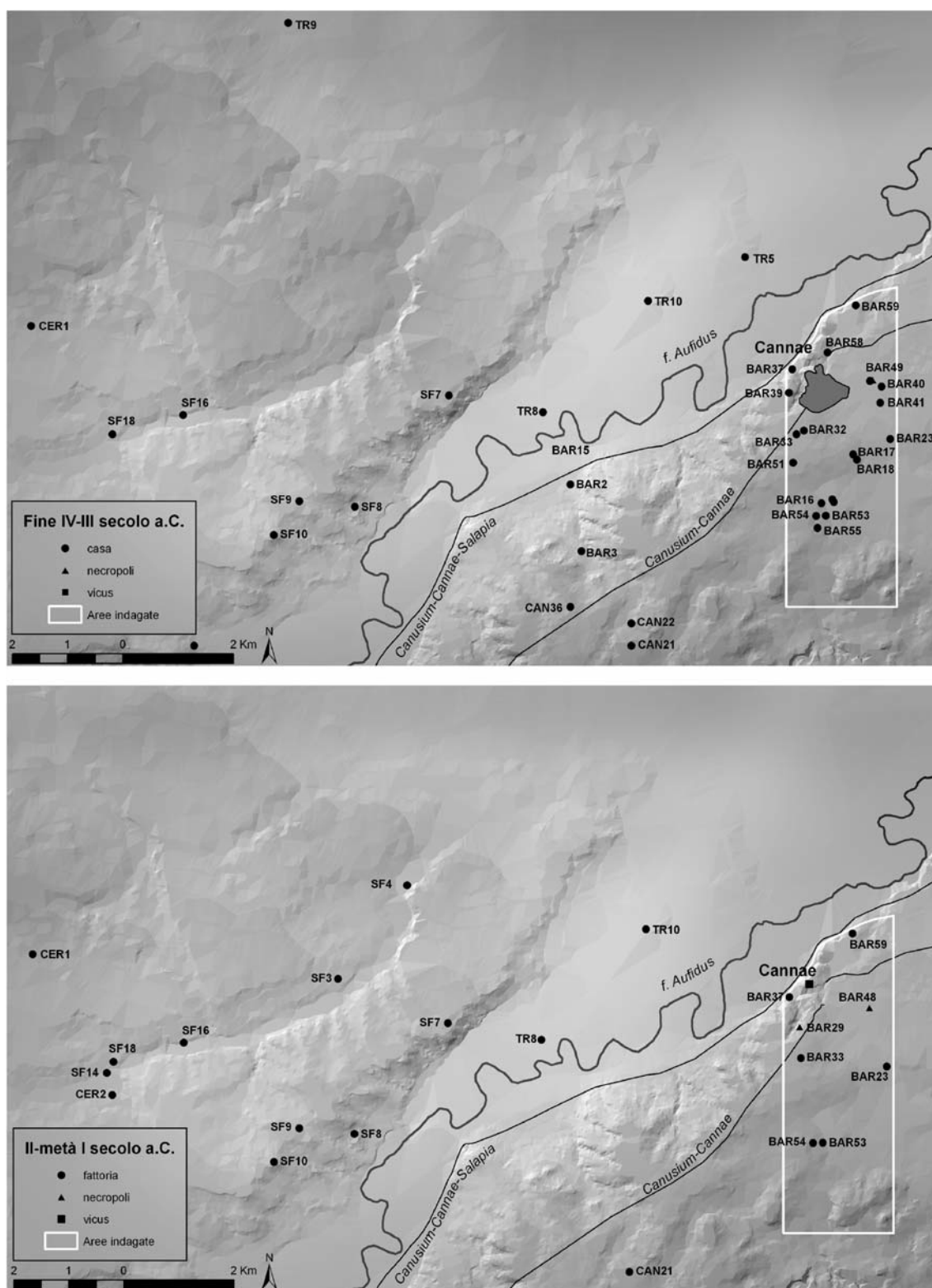


Fig. 15. Evoluzione degli assetti insediativi della campagne cannensi tra il IV e la metà del I secolo a.C.

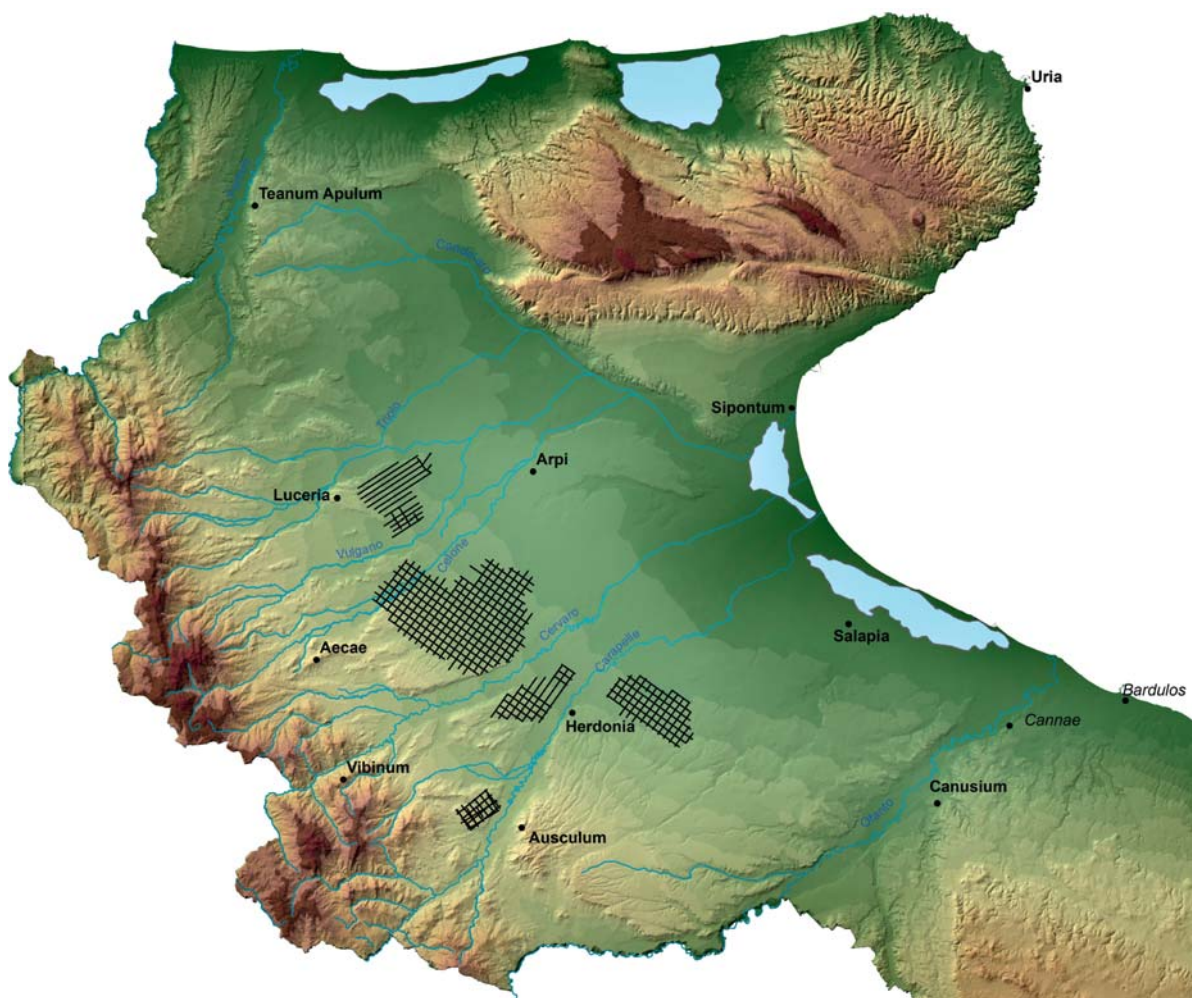


Fig. 16. Carta della Puglia settentrionale con indicazione dei nuclei più consistenti di tracce riconducibili ad interventi di divisio e adsignatio.

del territorio arpano, nel 194 a.C., fu fondata la colonia *civium* di Sipontum,¹⁰³ a ridosso di un'ampia laguna che ne ospitò l'impianto portuale di cui è nota la fortuna e l'importanza come luogo di confluenza delle produzioni agricole apule e porta aperta verso l'Adriatico e l'Oriente.¹⁰⁴

Gli interventi punitivi inflitti alla comunità arpana segnarono l'avvio del processo di declino insediativo e politico della città;¹⁰⁵ non sembrano cogliersi, al contrario, cesure significative nell'articolazione degli insediamenti rurali attestati nel comprensorio un tempo controllato dalla metropoli arpana, come evidenziano i risultati delle ricognizioni condotte nella valle del Celone che registrano, per il II secolo a.C., solo un lieve calo del numero complessivo dei siti rispetto alla fase precedente la guerra annibalica.¹⁰⁶

Analoghe penalizzazioni colpirono anche i centri di *Tiati*, *Aecae*, *Vibinum*, *Salapia*.¹⁰⁷ Ad Ausculum le annessioni avrebbero riguardato con certezza gli ampi pianori estesi a O-NO della città, come indicato dalle tracce di centuriazione riferibili ad interventi di assegnazione fondiaria avvenuti a partire dall'età graccana; estesi settori di agro pubblico sono quindi attestati nei pressi di *Herdonia* ed anche in questo caso, le terre pubbliche furono interessate, in età graccana, da estensivi interventi di centuriazione.¹⁰⁸

Conosciamo troppo poco di Ausculum per valutare se il centro avesse risentito degli eventi post-annibalici. Nella vicina *Herdonia*, al probabile rientro della popolazione deportata, fece seguito sia la ristrutturazione degli edifici preesistenti che un'intensa ridefinizione complessiva della topografia

dell'abitato mediante l'adozione di un modello urbanistico di matrice romana:¹⁰⁹ dunque una continuità di vita che, al tempo stesso, fu profonda discontinuità con il passato pre-annibalico (fig. 17).

Nessuna cesura è ravvisabile, allo stato attuale delle ricerche, nell'organizzazione delle campagne del tratto della valle del Carapelle compreso tra i due centri: fatta eccezione per il definitivo abbandono dei piccoli agglomerati insediativi ancora attestati nel corso del III secolo ai piedi della collina di Ascoli Satriano, l'evidenza di superficie sembra attestare una lunga frequentazione per le fattorie individuate nel territorio in esame già a partire dagli inizi dello stesso secolo.¹¹⁰

In questo contesto, ben diverso fu il trattamento riservato da Roma a *Canusium*, premiata per la fedeltà dimostrata nelle difficili fasi della guerra annibalica. Nella fisionomia assunta dall'abitato nel corso del tardo III secolo, quanto nelle manifestazioni ostentatorie dei monumenti sepolcrali è possibile cogliere l'orgoglio conservatore e la forza di una classe dirigente locale per nulla scalfito, anzi rafforzata, dagli eventi.

Rispetto allo scenario delineato, è singolare notare come il dato relativo ad una più sensibile

discontinuità insediativa si registri proprio nelle campagne ofantine e si riferisca all'abbandono del 25% dei siti attestati nella valle alla fine del III secolo: una contrazione, senza dubbio significativa, che in nessun modo offusca la percezione complessiva di un popolamento rurale post-annibalico ancora intenso e capillare.¹¹¹

Persistenza e discontinuità: per quanto antitetici, sembrerebbero questi, dunque, i caratteri distintivi della fase storica che seguì al termine del conflitto. La stessa costituzione di ampi settori di agro pubblico, incuneati tra i territori rimasti in possesso delle collettività indigene, rappresentò, di per sé, un fattore di complessità nella ridefinizione degli assetti amministrativi, insediativi ed economici della Daunia di fine III secolo.

È noto come già a partire dal 201 a.C., su iniziativa del Senato, fosse stata predisposta ed attuata una ripartizione delle terre disponibili nel *Samnium* e in *Apulia* ai veterani di Scipione;¹¹² i generici riferimenti delle fonti e l'assenza di affidabili indicatori archeologici non consentono di individuare con esattezza né in quali comparti territoriali e con quali modelli gromatici avessero operato i *decemviri* incaricati di effettuare l'appoderamento,¹¹³ né quanti assegnatari fossero stati stanziati, espellendo i possessori indigeni.¹¹⁴

Se la proposta di ricondurre le attestazioni delle tribù *Galeria* e *Cornelia* nel Tavoliere alla sistemazione dei veterani della guerra annibalica avesse colto nel segno,¹¹⁵ si potrebbe disporre di importanti elementi indiziari sulla presenza dei coloni romani che avevano beneficiato della lottizzazione.

In questa prospettiva, appare suggestiva l'ipotesi, avanzata da F. Grelle, di ricollegare l'elevata densità insediativa registrata, sino alla fine del II secolo a.C., nelle campagne della valle del Celone agli assetti poderali indotti dallo stanziamento dei veterani di Scipione:¹¹⁶ in questo importante settore della Daunia, controllato in origine dal centro di *Arpi*, quindi confluito nell'agro pubblico, la sopravvivenza del preesistente sistema delle fattorie di piccole-medie dimensioni troverebbe quindi giustificazione nella presenza dei nuovi assegnatari.

Il dato relativo alla continuità di vita dell'insediamento sparso sino alla fine del II a.C., all'interno di comprensori sottratti alle pertinenze delle *civitates* daunie, appare tuttavia ben più generalizzato, come rilevato dalle indagini territoriali condotte nei pressi di *Aecae*, di *Herdonia*, di *Ausculem*: un'evidenza diffusa che, pertanto, mal si concilia con il presupposto carattere 'contenuto' delle assegnazioni viritane effettuate in questa fase.

È probabile, dunque, che, in molti casi, le ari-

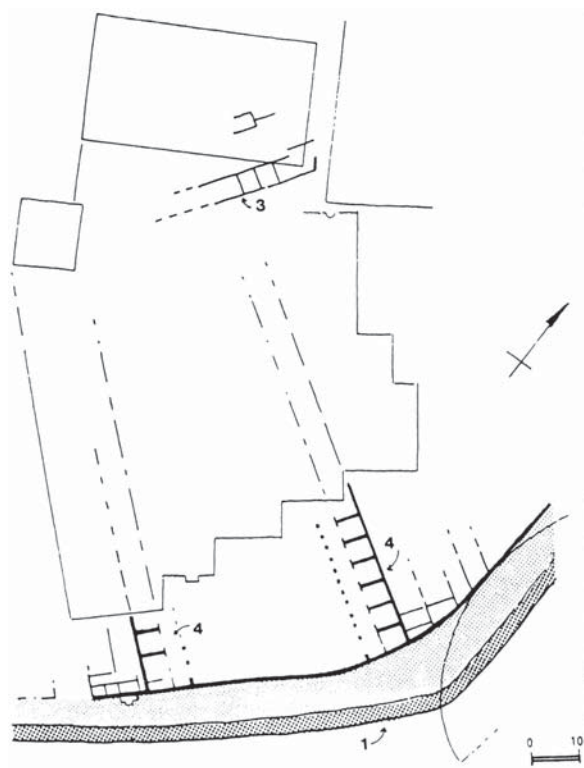


Fig. 17. Herdonia: pianta del foro post-annibalico (da Mertens 1995).

stocrazie fondiarie indigene fossero riuscite in tempi brevi a recuperare, o di fatto a non perdere mai, le terre che avrebbero dovuto cedere a seguito delle sanzioni imposte da Roma: pur all'interno del nuovo regime degli agri pubblici, si sarebbero quindi perpetuate preesistenti modalità di popolamento e di sfruttamento del territorio.¹¹⁷

D'altra parte, l'archeologia funeraria ad *Arpi*, ad *Ausculum*, a *Teanum Apulum*, a *Uria*-Vieste mostra di quali ricchezze, ruolo sociale e dunque influenza politica, la tradizionale elite daunia disponesse ancora tra la fine del III ed il II secolo a.C. Nonostante questo, è tuttavia difficile pensare che, nel suo complesso, il sistema della grande proprietà aristocratica si fosse preservato pressoché inalterato, irrigidito nella riproposizione di arcaici modelli di conduzione indiretta, asservita e dipendente.

Occorre infatti chiedersi se le azioni punitive e gli espropri attuati da Roma ai danni delle *civitates* ribelli, al pari della convivenza con l'assetto poderale indotto dall'insediamento dei coloni romani, potessero aver agito da fattore di rottura nei confronti dei legami di dipendenza tra oligarchia fondiaria e comunità contadina, avviando processi di emancipazione e di autonomo appoderamento familiare.

VINEAE, ARBUSTA E PAESAGGI AGRARI DI ETÀ POST-ANNIBALICA

La guerra annibalica e le conseguenze del ripristino del dominio romano non produssero, come si è visto, alcun tracollo negli assetti insediativi della Daunia degli inizi del II secolo a.C.; tantomeno determinarono l'avvio di inarrestabili processi di marginalizzazione economica.

Allontanata definitivamente l'immagine di campagne apule scisse tra gestione latifondistica e pastorizia transumante, si è sostanzialmente di solide fondamenta storico-archeologiche il ritratto di una regione dalle capacità produttive molteplici e diversificate, adeguate a soddisfare le esigenze dei mercati locali e pronte a proporsi sulle scene dei commerci transadriatici e mediterranei. L'età post-annibalica fu, dunque, età di potenziamento dell'economia locale: ciò senza indurre ad anticipare, alla fase in esame, fenomeni e processi rintracciabili solo a partire dalla fine del II secolo a.C. quali lo sviluppo capillare delle colture specializzate, la vocazione mercantile ed espansiva dell'agricoltura, l'intensificazione dell'allevamento transumante.

A caratterizzare il paesaggio agrario della Daunia e, più in generale, della Puglia post-anni-

balica è verosimile fossero ancora le coltivazioni di cereali, che per secoli avevano costituito la principale fonte di ricchezza delle aristocrazie fondiarie ai vertici dei poteri politici locali; in assenza di indicatori archeologici che possano testimoniare l'incremento postbellico della produzione cerealicola, conferme indirette derivano dalle fonti storiche e letterarie. Livio racconta come dall'*Apulia* provenisse parte della fornitura di cereali per gli eserciti romani stanziati nei Balcani ed in Oriente, in occasione della terza guerra macedonica,¹¹⁸ ed in *Apulia* fosse stato inviato d'urgenza, nel 172 a.C., il pretore *Cn. Sicinius* per fronteggiare un'improvvisa invasione di locuste, pericolose per lo stato delle coltivazioni.¹¹⁹

Ad Artemidoro di Efeso, che visitò la Daunia sul finire del II secolo a.C., si deve, invece, l'importante testimonianza relativa ai flussi di grano convogliati verso il porto di *Sipontum* e lì imbarcati per alimentare scambi sulla lunga distanza;¹²⁰ ancora in questa fase, almeno sino alla metà del II secolo, un ruolo centrale nella gestione delle relazioni con i mercati del Mediterraneo orientale, sarebbe stato svolto dagli esponenti più intraprendenti delle classi dirigenti daunie e messapiche, evidentemente attratti dalle prospettive economiche derivanti dalla commercializzazione dei cereali del Tavoliere e dell'olio salentino.¹²¹

Proprio all'inserimento del mezzogiorno adriatico in circuiti di scambi più estesi ed intensi sarebbe da collegare, secondo una consolidata tradizione interpretativa, la progressiva diffusione delle colture della vite e dell'ulivo, orientate a produzioni per il consumo locale e per la circolazione mercantile.¹²² In realtà, per quanto concerne la Daunia, l'assenza di mirate ricerche di archeologia agraria consente solo valutazioni ipotetiche su tempi, modalità, tecniche con cui la viticoltura e l'olivicoltura furono introdotte e praticate, nonché sull'estensione delle aree interessate da tali coltivazioni. Le incertezze riguardano un ampio arco cronologico che va dall'età arcaica sino al tardo II secolo a.C.: solo a partire da questo periodo in poi, infatti, l'indagine archeologica può avvalersi di contesti indagati ed evidenze aerofotografiche utili per tentare caratterizzazioni, necessariamente preliminari, dell'entità e dell'intensità dell'arboricoltura specializzata.

In attesa, pertanto, di nuove ricerche che facciano luce su tali aspetti e sostanzino la più volte postulata intensificazione post-annibalica delle colture specializzate a prevalente vocazione mercantile, può rivelarsi comunque utile formulare alcune considerazioni sulla scia delle poche testimonianze già disponibili.

Tra queste, per quanto concerne nello specifico la coltivazione della vite, varrà ancora una volta menzionare il passo del *De re rustica* di Varrone in cui, a margine della descrizione dei sistemi di aggioamento delle vigne alte impiegati in Italia,¹²³ si menziona la presenza di viti maritate ad alberi di fichi nei pressi di *Canusium* e di viti a sostegno morto nei territori di *Arpi* e di *Brundisium*.

Nel sistema della vite a sostegno vivo, come noto, si riconosce l'espressione di una tradizione viticola tutta italica, di derivazione latina ma condivisa anche dagli Etruschi che ne favorirono la diffusione in Italia meridionale, in particolare in Campania, a seguito dei processi espansivi in atto nel corso del VI secolo.¹²⁴ È difficile stabilire in che epoca, secondo quali direttrici e con quale capillarità questa tradizione fosse penetrata in Daunia: a livello di mera suggestione si potrebbe pensare che questo sapere agronomico, tra VI e V secolo, avesse percorso le medesime vie interne fluviali di circolazione del bucchero, delle antefisse, dei bacili bronzei e, più in generale, dei rituali connessi al banchetto.¹²⁵ Allo stesso modo, sia per le fasi pre-protostoriche che per le età storiche più risalenti, non sono sinora noti indizi riferibili a forme locali, del tutto autoctone, di coltivazione della vigna che, al pari di quanto documentato in altri contesti dell'Italia centro-meridionale ed insulare,¹²⁶ risultano tuttavia plausibili, anche in considerazione degli intensi contatti esistenti, a partire dell'età del Bronzo, tra Puglia settentrionale ed area egea.¹²⁷

A fronte di tante problematicità nella definizione di un quadro locale chiaro ed attendibile, non sembrano sussistere dubbi sulla diffusa presenza della vite a sostegno vivo nelle campagne del suburbio romano tra il IV ed il pieno II secolo a.C.: le viti alberate avrebbero profondamente caratterizzato gli assetti agrari di età repubblicana delle terre estese a sud ed a est dell'Urbe, associandosi a forme di coltura promiscua.¹²⁸ In questo senso, il dato archeologico sembra trovare importanti riscontri in quanto attestato dalle fonti letterarie: nel *De agricultura* di Catone, tutti i riferimenti alla *vinea* rimanderebbero alle caratteristiche della vigna con tutori vivi e cereali o prato negli interfilaria ovvero all'unico sistema di allevamento della vite conosciuto a Roma, in Etruria e nel Lazio prima della diffusione, a partire dalla fine del II secolo a.C., del vigneto in monocultura intensiva a sostegno morto.¹²⁹

È possibile allora ipotizzare che anche in Daunia, tra IV e II secolo a.C., lo sviluppo della viticoltura si fosse espresso nella forma delle viti alberate? È plausibile riconoscere nei coloni insediati a

Luceria, a *Venusia*, a *Sipontum* o ancora nei veterani beneficiari delle assegnazioni decemvirali, gli attori di un trasferimento di tradizioni, saperi e tecniche agronomiche già in uso nei contesti territoriali di provenienza?

Se così fosse, i tratti caratterizzanti del paesaggio dell'agricoltura specializzata nella Daunia postannibalica non sarebbero da ricercare nella piantagione intensiva, a filari stretti e su sostegno morto, quanto in un sistema promiscuo di coltivazioni diversificate, evidentemente più adatto ad integrarsi con l'intrinseca vocazione cerealicola della regione.¹³⁰ E non solo. In numerosi passi dei trattati agronomici di Catone e Varrone vi è chiara testimonianza di come, all'interno dei fondi coltivati a vite alberata, fosse consuetudine lasciare pascolare il bestiame,¹³¹ senza alcun condizionamento di carattere stagionale rispetto ai diversi stadi di crescita della vite; fondi coltivati a seminativo, popolati di olivi o di viti alberate, a riposo dopo il raccolto o in attesa delle semine primaverili, potevano quindi offrirsi come pascoli invernali¹³² al proprietario o ad affittuari temporanei.

È noto come, sin da età arcaica, in Daunia fosse praticato l'allevamento stanziale degli equini, peraltro sostenuto dalle richieste di forniture per la cavalleria romana.¹³³ Appare tuttavia verosimile che, proprio a partire dagli inizi del II secolo a.C., nella regione si fossero avviate, secondo le modalità della transumanza orizzontale, forme intensive di allevamento degli ovini, favorite da un lato dall'ampia disponibilità di terre pubbliche presenti nel Tavoliere, sulle quali è plausibile fossero confluiti, sin da principio, gli interessi di imprenditori romani e pastori; dall'altro nella possibilità offerta dagli assetti culturali delle campagne daunie, di conciliare cerealicoltura, arboricoltura e pastorizia.

È difficile ritenere che l'attività pastorale transumante si fosse caratterizzata, sin da principio, come macrofenomeno economico ad ampio raggio, con importanti implicazioni commerciali connesse alla produzione laniera: si datano, infatti, a partire dalla fine del II secolo a.C., le notizie che attestano l'esistenza di consistenti e periodici flussi di uomini e greggi tra le regioni appenniniche e l'*Apulia*, passando per *Luceria* e successivamente per *Canusium*, centro laniero tra i più importanti dell'intera penisola.¹³⁴ Occorre tuttavia non trascurare alcuni importanti indicatori che sembrerebbero attestare, già per la fase post-annibalica in esame, la consistenza e la rilevante portata del fenomeno. Si pensi ad esempio ai santuari individuati nei pressi di *Teanum Apulum*, a ridosso del tracciato del Regio Tratturo Aquila-Foggia, la cui

vitalità, tra III e II secolo a.C., è testimonianza del ruolo svolto come luoghi di culto e di sosta lungo l'importante direttrice di spostamento di uomini e pecore tra il Sannio e la Daunia;¹³⁵ o ancora agli interventi edilizi documentati, tra II e I secolo a.C., nel settore meridionale del tessuto urbano di *Canusium*, gravitante lungo l'asse tratturale Foggia-Ofanto, che trasformarono precedenti strutture a destinazione abitativa in impianti artigianali con vasche ed articolati sistemi di canalizzazione delle acque.¹³⁶

Ma torniamo a Varrone e riprendiamo la riflessione avviata sul brano dedicato alle vigne aggiogate, con una necessaria, per quanto ovvia, considerazione: non vi è ragione di dubitare che, nel fornire un'attenta descrizione dei diversi sistemi di aggiogamento delle vigne alte in uso nelle campagne italiche, l'autore avesse attinto alle proprie conoscenze, sia quelle dirette, quindi a lui coeve, sia quelle indirette, quindi coeve o di poco risalenti.

Il dato riportato dall'agronomo riflette, pertanto, assetti in atto nei decenni iniziali del I secolo a.C. e registra la coesistenza, in *Apulia*, di tradizioni viticole profondamente diverse. A fronte, infatti, del riferimento alla coltura della vite alberata nel comprensorio canosino, Varrone menziona la presenza di vigne a sostegno morto nei territori di *Arpi* e *Brundisium*, al pari dell'agro di *Mediolanum* o di quello Falerno.

Il sistema di allevamento della vite mediante l'impiego di sostegni quali pali, giunchi o canne, singoli o variamente disposti a formare pergolati, costituiva il presupposto essenziale per lo sviluppo della viticoltura intensiva; non contemplato da Catone,¹³⁷ il vigneto intensivo a sostegno morto è, come si è visto, ben noto a Varrone¹³⁸ ed a Columella che, ai fini di una maggiore redditività delle coltivazioni, raccomandava anche distanze assai ristrette tra le trincee d'impianto.¹³⁹ Ad una valutazione complessiva delle indicazioni fornite dalle fonti letterarie, si è indotti dunque a ritenere che, nel I secolo a.C., alla tradizionale pratica della viticoltura promiscua, caratteristica dei paesaggi agrari italici di età repubblicana, fosse ormai del tutto subentrata la *vinea* intesa come piantagione in monocultura che richiedeva investimenti cospicui ma garantiva livelli di produttività più elevati.

Le annotazioni varroniane testimoniano come in questo processo di specializzazione agricola, ad evidente vocazione mercantile, fossero state coinvolte anche le campagne dell'*Apulia* et *Calabria*, dal comprensorio brindisino alle piane del Tavoliere. In attesa di più approfondite indagini archeologiche, si propone solo un'ipotesi interpretativa che porterebbe a datare alla fine del II

secolo a.C., come conseguenza degli interventi graccani di *divisio et adsignatio* dell'agro pubblico apulo non ancora assegnato,¹⁴⁰ i significativi cambiamenti nelle modalità di gestione delle attività agricole cui si è fatto sinora riferimento.

L'analisi dell'ampia copertura aerofotografica obliqua e verticale disponibile per la Puglia settentrionale, attraverso l'individuazione ed il riconoscimento delle tracce riferibili ad evidenze archeologiche sepolte, consente infatti di notare come, entro le fitte maglie delle ripartizioni centuriali, con piena coerenza di orientamenti, si fossero articolati appezzamenti fittamente piantati con viti e ulivi (fig. 18). Le fotografie restituiscono l'immagine di un paesaggio agrario votato alla specializzazione culturale. Gli uliveti sono definiti dalle fosse d'impianto, distribuite con una distanza media di circa 8 m l'una dall'altra; i vigneti sono invece individuati dalla serrata successione delle trincee di innesto, rigorosamente parallele e poste ad una distanza reciproca di circa 3-4 metri: un modulo raccomandato da Columella poiché consentiva all'aratro di muoversi agevolmente tra i filari della vigna per le operazioni di pulizia e dissodamento del terreno.¹⁴¹

L'evidenza aerofotografica attesterebbe, quindi, l'esistenza di un legame molto stretto tra gli estensivi interventi di centuriazione, documentati in *Apulia* ed indotti dalla riforma gracciana,¹⁴² e lo sviluppo di un'agricoltura intensiva nelle forme delle monoculture specializzate, favorita peraltro anche dalla considerevole ampiezza dei lotti attribuiti agli assegnatari.¹⁴³

In questo senso, il riferimento varroniano alla tradizione canosina di coltivare la vite su sostegni vivi, acquista significati ben più ampi della semplice annotazione erudita: fedele a Roma anche nelle difficili fasi della guerra annibalica, *Canusium* non fu colpita da decurtazioni del proprio territorio di pertinenza che, pertanto, non fu oggetto di interventi di ripartizione fondiaria ed assegnazione a nuovi proprietari. Non c'è ragione per dubitare, dunque, che gli assetti poderali preesistenti, al pari delle modalità di sfruttamento ed utilizzazione delle risorse agricole, si fossero preservati senza significativi cambiamenti: ai margini dell'*Apulia* centuriata, nel comprensorio canosino si perpetuarono forme di gestione promiscua delle terre, assecondando evidentemente anche le peculiari caratteristiche morfologiche e le vocazioni produttive originarie dell'area. Lungi dal configurarsi come sinonimo di arretratezza nello sviluppo economico locale, la possibilità di integrare colture arboree, seminativi e pastorizia in un ampio distretto posto a ridosso



Fig. 18. Fotografia aerea verticale di un settore dell'ampia piana estesa ad O di Foggia. Cropmarks positivi consentono di riconoscere i limites della centuriazione, entro cui si dispongono con regolarità sia trincee per vigneti intensivi che fosse d'impianto per ulivi.

delle piantagioni monoculturali del Tavoliere, può essere annoverata tra gli agenti propulsivi che favorirono, a partire dal I secolo a.C., l'emergere del comprensorio canosino quale bacino di riferimento per l'allevamento transumante e la produzione laniera.

CONCLUSIONI

Il flusso di dati nuovi prodotti dalle ricerche che, nel corso degli ultimi vent'anni, hanno riguardato città, insediamenti rurali, interi comprensori territoriali della Daunia romana, ha contribuito in modo significativo a rimodellare i quadri conoscitivi ereditati dalla precedente tradizione di studi: più precise risultano le cronologie, più definiti i processi evolutivi, meglio caratterizzate le diverse tipologie insediative attestate.

Più in generale, transcendendo anche il particolarismo regionale, è evidente quanto sia mutato nel tempo l'approccio interpretativo nei confronti della romanizzazione ovvero delle dinamiche con cui si produsse il radicamento della presenza romana nel mondo italico, in una dialettica tra acquisizione e sostituzione del preesistente. Dalla teoria del contrasto, della forzata *reductio ad unum* delle diversità locali, dell'imposizione dei modelli istituzionali-giuridici-insediativi emanati dal 'centro

del potere', si è giunti alla teorizzazione della compenetrazione progressiva tra nuovi assetti e forme autoctone, in un compromesso tra persistenza e innovazione che si risolse solo nell'entità statuale emersa a seguito delle guerre sociali e della municipalizzazione.

È questa, d'altra parte, la prospettiva che si rintraccia nelle considerazioni di E. Gabba sulla preservazione, attuata da Roma, degli equilibri socio-economici indigeni e delle forme di sfruttamento delle terre;¹⁴⁴ o nelle riflessioni di L. Capogrossi Colognesi sulla persistenza di assetti fondiari pre-romani all'interno delle strutture territoriali definite da Roma ed estese ai popoli italici.¹⁴⁵

Una maggiore attenzione agli aspetti identitari originari, alle espressioni materiali e immateriali delle tradizioni culturali autoctone, caratterizza, invece, le argomentazioni percorse e riproposte dal vivace dibattito sui rapporti tra Roma e l'Occidente che ha visto impegnati soprattutto storici ed archeologi del mondo anglosassone.¹⁴⁶ Se un comune denominatore tra le argomentazioni sostenute può essere agevolmente rintracciato nella destrutturazione del modello 'forte' di romanizzazione, ben più eterogenei si sono rivelati i risultati finali di tali percorsi di ricerca, rappresentati in alcuni casi dalla negazione concettuale, con conseguente ostracismo terminologico; in altri, più

ragionevolmente, da un'idea di romanizzazione 'al plurale', da comprendere attraverso puntuali analisi contestuali.

Si pensi, a tal proposito, alle modalità con cui si esprime l'intervento di Roma nella Daunia, alle strategie di acquisizione e di gestione del controllo territoriale: è evidente quanto poco si prestino ad interpretazioni univoche e generalizzate.

All'azione forte e diretta, di profonda rottura con il preesistente, attuata con la deduzione della colonia di *Luceria* e la riorganizzazione del territorio circostante, al pari di quanto accadde poco dopo a *Venusia* e *Brundisium*, corrispose la ricerca di equilibri, mai paritari ma non invasivi, con le altre collettività locali.

A fronte della fedeltà assicurata dalle aristocrazie emerse alla guida delle *civitates* daunie alleate e dunque della certezza di un controllo indiretto ma efficace del territorio, il nuovo ordine politico agì da un lato come fattore di accelerazione delle trasformazioni sociali, insediative, economiche in atto, dall'altro come garanzia di sopravvivenza di privilegi, tradizioni culturali, assetti comunitari e fondiari indigeni da tempo consolidati.

Tra presidio diretto e conservazione 'controllata' dell'esistente, è verosimile che un ruolo importante nel consolidamento del dominio fosse affidato alla *religio* importata da Roma e, in particolare, alla cultura devozionale attraverso cui tessere relazioni immateriali ma non meno forti, nutrite di senso di appartenenza e di condivisione comune. In questo senso, si rivela significativa la presenza di votivi latini, analoghi a quelli della stipe di Lucera-Belvedere,¹⁴⁷ tra le offerte devozionali rinvenute in prossimità dei santuari di *Tiati-Teaum Apulum*, centro dal profondo sostrato culturale sannitico;¹⁴⁸ sulla stessa linea si pongono la realizzazione del *templum* augurale a *Bantia*¹⁴⁹ e la diffusione del culto di *Athena Ilias*, testimoniata dalla piccola testa della divinità restituita dal *naiskos* di Gravetta a *Forentum* e dall'edificazione del monumentale tempio di San Leucio a *Canusium*.

Fondato su queste basi, il rapporto di intesa con Roma si preservò per tutto il III secolo a.C., salvo registrare una prima, drammatica, crisi in occasione del conflitto cartaginese: il ripristino del controllo, dopo la sconfitta di Canne e le numerose defezioni, fu operazione faticosa e severa si rivelarono le azioni punitive intraprese nei confronti delle *civitates* colpevoli di aver tradito l'alleanza.

Arginata tuttavia ogni deriva toynbeeana, l'attenzione dell'indagine archeologica sulla Daunia post-annibalica può muoversi dalla strenua ricerca

di testimonianze sulla vivacità insediativa ed economica della regione ben oltre la fine del III secolo, per far luce sui processi di lunga durata che furono innescati, a conclusione delle vicende belliche, dall'emergere delle fisionomie urbane, dall'ampliamento delle pertinenze territoriali del popolo romano, dalla lenta destrutturazione dei rapporti fondiari arcaici, dal rinnovamento delle pratiche agricole, dall'avvio dell'allevamento transumante.

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¹ Volpe 1990, 35-36; Pani 1992, 599; Grelle 1992, 29-42.

² Torelli 2011, 203-218; Corrente 2012b.

³ Da intendersi nei rapporti con la madrepatria, soprattutto Macedonia e Grecia nord-occidentale per la fase in esame. Contatti, anche intensi, tra la Daunia e il mondo coloniale magno-greco, in particolare Metaponto e l'arco costiero ionico, sono ben noti a partire dal VI secolo a.C. Si vedano Mazzei 1984, 183-211; D'Ercole 2008.

⁴ D'Ercole 2002.

⁵ De Benedittis 2006, 307-316.

⁶ Bettini 1981, 7-26.

⁷ Corrente et al. 2008a, 345-347.

⁸ Corrente et al. 2010, 327-358; Corrente 2012a, 167-193.

⁹ Martino 2012, 15-33.

¹⁰ Liv. 9.15.3; 9.26.1; 9.26.2.

¹¹ Corrente et al. 2008b, 375-384.

¹² Marchi 2009, 330.

¹³ Corrente 1993, 7-42; Corrente/Maggio 2008, 82.

¹⁴ Liv. 9.13.6-7. Cfr. Torelli 1992, 608-619.

¹⁵ Torelli 1992, 608.

¹⁶ Osanna 2009; Attema/Burgers/Van Leusen 2010; Colivicchi 2011a.

¹⁷ Volpe 1990, 28-29; Mazzei/Mertens/Volpe 1991, 179-180; Goffredo/Ficco 2009, 28-40; Corrente et al. 2008b, 387-389; Corrente/Liseno 2010, 259-290; Larcher/Laimer 2010, 241-258.

¹⁸ Strazzulla 2008, 255-262; Stazio 1987, 375-392.

¹⁹ Marchi 2009, 330.

²⁰ Bottini 1990, 155-163.

²¹ Torelli 1992, 609.

²² Corrente et al. 2010, 336-356.

²³ Corrente et al. 2008b, 375-378.

²⁴ Liv. 8.25.3; 27.2.

²⁵ Liv. 9.20.4 e 7-8.

²⁶ Liv. 9.2.1.

²⁷ Liv. 9.13.6.

²⁸ Grelle 2008, 365-367.

²⁹ Liv. 10.15.1.

³⁰ Gabba 1987, 109-126.

³¹ Lepore 1991.

³² Mazzei/Mertens/Volpe 1991.

³³ Brogiolo 2011, 22-26 con bibliografia precedente sul tema.

³⁴ Goffredo 2011, 100-101.

³⁵ Bottini/Fresa/Tagliente 1990, 233-255; Nava/Cracolici/Fletcher 2006, 253-274; 2009, 369-390.

- ³⁶ Sodo 2008, 33-43; Marchi 2008b, 51-59.
- ³⁷ Menduni/Theofano 2010, 301-324.
- ³⁸ Fabbri/Osanna 2002, 355-356; Osanna 2008, 149-170. Di diversa opinione è Colivicchi 2011b, 126-127.
- ³⁹ Mertens 1999, 69-92; Corrente et al. 2008b, 389-395.
- ⁴⁰ Marchi 2009, 334-339.
- ⁴¹ Antonacci Sanpaolo/Quilici 1995, 81-99.
- ⁴² Pacilio 2008.
- ⁴³ Mertens 1995, 135-138. Secondo Torelli 1992, 613 sarebbe più consono datare la fortificazione in mattoni crudi ad una fase immediatamente precedente la guerra annibalica.
- ⁴⁴ Liv. 24.46-47; 27.28. Nel caso di *Tiati-Teaenum Apulum* l'esistenza di mura con torri appare certa almeno nel I secolo a.C.
- ⁴⁵ Mazzei 2004, 243-262.
- ⁴⁶ Mertens 1999, 73.
- ⁴⁷ Corrente 2009, 398-400.
- ⁴⁸ Corrente 2009, 400.
- ⁴⁹ Il dato relativo a questo centro è controverso. Cfr. Iker 1986, 726-727 e Colivicchi 2011b, 125-126.
- ⁵⁰ Goffredo 2011, 101-102.
- ⁵¹ Russo Tagliente 1992, 115.
- ⁵² Strazzulla 2008, 259-260.
- ⁵³ Corrente 2009, 400-407.
- ⁵⁴ Su questi aspetti si veda Osanna 2012.
- ⁵⁵ Colivicchi 2011b, 113-137.
- ⁵⁶ Si pensi, ad esempio, alle trasformazioni che investirono il centro di *Herdonia* tra la fine del III e gli inizi del II secolo a.C. Distrutto da Annibale nel 210 a.C., l'abitato fu rioccupato a conclusione del conflitto e fu dotato di una nuova cinta muraria e di un'ampia area pubblica costituita da una grande piazza trapezoidale delimitata su due lati da portici e botteghe; agli inizi del II sec. a.C. fu edificato, nell'angolo meridionale della piazza porticata, un tempio di tipo italico (Mertens/Van Wouterghem 1995, 153-184). Allo stesso modo, come già evidenziato in precedenza, è solo a partire dalla fine del III sec. a.C. che sembrerebbero potersi registrare anche a *Canusium* i primi, monumentali, interventi di riorganizzazione del tessuto abitativo, di pianificazione di spazi pubblici di tipo religioso e politico, evidentemente promossi dalle influenti *familiae* filoromane (Pensabene 2011, 183-228); in questo contesto, tra la fine del III ed il pieno II sec. a.C., si può collocare, con ragionevolezza, anche la realizzazione del complesso templare *extra moenia* di Minerva (Pensabene/D'Alessio 2009).
- ⁵⁷ Osanna/Serio 2008, 11-68.
- ⁵⁸ Grelle 2008, 375-380.
- ⁵⁹ Documentazione in Osanna 2009.
- ⁶⁰ Corrente et al. 2008b, 377-378 e 382-383.
- ⁶¹ Fabbri/Osanna 2002.
- ⁶² Laimer / Larcher 2006, 17-68; Larcher / Laimer 2010, 241-258.
- ⁶³ Corrente 1994, 31-54.
- ⁶⁴ Corrente / Maggio 2008.
- ⁶⁵ Corrente et al. 2008b, 389-395.
- ⁶⁶ Goffredo 2011, 85-88.
- ⁶⁷ Grelle 2008, 365.
- ⁶⁸ In particolare nella valle del torrente Celone, tra i centri di *Luceria*, *Aecae* (Troia) ed *Arpi*: Volpe/Romano/Goffredo 2003, 349-391; 2004, 181-220.
- ⁶⁹ Goffredo 2011, 97-114.
- ⁷⁰ Goffredo/Ficco 2009, 35-38.
- ⁷¹ *Canusium* (Russo Tagliente 1992, 145; Corrente 1997, 43-45; 2009, 399); *Herdonia* (Mazzei 1996, 340-343); *Forentum* (Russo Tagliente 1992, 152-153); *Bantia* (Russo Tagliente 1992, 154-155). Numerose le attestazioni in area lucana: Serra di Vaglio, Oppido Lucano, Cancellara, Tolve-Valle di Chirico, San Chirico Nuovo per la Lucania centro-settentrionale; Roccagloriosa per la Lucania tirrenica (Russo Tagliente 1992, 196-200).
- ⁷² Corrente et al. 2008a, 353-356.
- ⁷³ Il tipo di abitazione di media estensione (200-300 m²), a pianta rettangolare con vani affiancati, aperti su un cortile o portico scoperto (*pastas*), attestato nel mondo greco e magnogreco già a partire dal V sec. a.C., è ampiamente documentato nei contesti urbani o protourbani indigeni sia lucani (Serra di Vaglio, Oppido Lucano, Muro Lucano) che apuli (Lavello-Alicandro, Minervino Murge, Monte Sannace), raggiungendo, in alcuni casi, anche dimensioni ragguardevoli (Roccagloriosa, complesso A di 450 m²; Civita di Tricarico, casa M e casa delle matrici). In ambito rurale, caratteristiche simili presentano: la fattoria di Valloni nei pressi di *Grumentum* (fase di III sec. a.C., De Vincenzo 2003, 23-62); la fattoria di Moltone di Tolve (Russo 1996, 85-87); la fattoria di Mancamasone nei pressi di *Bantia* (fase II, Russo Tagliente 1992, 155-158).
- ⁷⁴ L'abitato di *Gereonium*, menzionato dalle fonti storiche (Plb. 3.100.1-8; 101.1-4 e 8-10; 107.1-4. Liv. 22.43.5-6), è pressoché ignoto dal punto di vista archeologico: è probabile una sua localizzazione nei pressi di Masseria Finocchito, nell'attuale territorio comunale di Castelnuovo della Daunia (Russi 1983, 181-189). Ancora incerti sono i luoghi di *Acuca* (Liv. 24.20.8) e di *Planisium* (Alvisi 1970, 86-88).
- ⁷⁵ Grelle 1999, 77-96.
- ⁷⁶ Mazzei 1994.
- ⁷⁷ Goffredo 2011, 109-110.
- ⁷⁸ Goffredo 2011, 110-111.
- ⁷⁹ Corrente 1994, 37-50.
- ⁸⁰ Il termine latino è utilizzato solo per connotare la natura 'comunitaria' ed 'aggregativa' della forma insediativa rurale.
- ⁸¹ Terrenato 2007, 139-161; Attema/Burgers/Van Leusen 2010, 160-164.
- ⁸² Attema/Burgers/Van Leusen 2010, 59-79.
- ⁸³ Vinson 1972, 58-90; Small 1991, 204-222.
- ⁸⁴ Fracchia/Gualtieri 2011, 20-29.
- ⁸⁵ Small 2001, 35-54.
- ⁸⁶ Roberto/Small 1994, 19-22; Di Lieto/Osanna/Serio 2005, 117-146; Osanna/Serio 2009, 89-118.
- ⁸⁷ Fracchia/Gualtieri 2011, 11-19.
- ⁸⁸ Attema/Burgers/Van Leusen 2010, 165.
- ⁸⁹ Mazzei/Mertens/Volpe 1991, 180; Colivicchi 2011b, 131.
- ⁹⁰ Silvestrini 1990, 257-266; Silvestrini 1998, 225-232; D'Ercole 2008, 99-100.
- ⁹¹ Grelle 2008, 379.
- ⁹² Attema/Burgers/Van Leusen 2010, 164-166.
- ⁹³ Lo Cascio/Storchi Marino 2001.
- ⁹⁴ Toynbee 1983.
- ⁹⁵ Torelli 2011, 209-211.
- ⁹⁶ Liv. 31.49.6.
- ⁹⁷ Plb. 3. 107.
- ⁹⁸ Goffredo 2011, 126-127.
- ⁹⁹ Goffredo 2011, 126.
- ¹⁰⁰ Amm. Marc. 31. 13.
- ¹⁰¹ Grelle 2009, 317-340.
- ¹⁰² *Lib. Col.* I, 210L s.
- ¹⁰³ Liv. 34.45.4. Su *Sipontum*, tra età romana e Medioevo, si veda Mazzei 1999; Laganara 2011.
- ¹⁰⁴ Str. 6.3.9; si veda Volpe 1990, 98.
- ¹⁰⁵ Volpe 1990, 42; Grelle 1995, 55-72.
- ¹⁰⁶ Volpe/Romano/Goffredo 2003, 367-391; *Ibid.* 2004, 195-196.

- ¹⁰⁷ Il *Lib. Col.* (I, 210L s.), nella sua prima redazione, attesta la presenza di centuriazioni negli agri dei centri su elencati e dunque, anteriormente, di agro pubblico annesso dopo la guerra annibalica.
- ¹⁰⁸ Goffredo 2010-2011, 191-198.
- ¹⁰⁹ Mertens 1999, 73-76.
- ¹¹⁰ Goffredo/Ficco 2009, 35-43.
- ¹¹¹ Goffredo 2011, 125-126.
- ¹¹² Liv. 31.4.1; 31.49.5. Sulle assegnazioni decemvirali si veda Grelle 2009, 320-324.
- ¹¹³ Grelle 2009, 322-323.
- ¹¹⁴ Un numero di veterani pari a circa quindicimila per la sola Puglia è indicato da Grelle 2009, 324.
- ¹¹⁵ Alla tribù *Galeria* fu ascritta anche la colonia *civium* di *Sipontum*, dedotta nel 194 a.C. in agro qui *Arpinorum fuerat*; alla *Cornelia* afferirà, dopo la guerra sociale, il municipio di *Teaenum Apulum* (Silvestrini 2001, 267-283; Grelle 2009, 322-323).
- ¹¹⁶ Grelle 2009, 330.
- ¹¹⁷ Grelle 2009, 326-328.
- ¹¹⁸ Abbiamo notizia di tali forniture ancora nel 172 a.C.: Liv. 42.27.8.
- ¹¹⁹ Liv. 42.10.7-8.
- ¹²⁰ Str. 6.3.9.
- ¹²¹ Compatangelo Soussignan 2006, 167-198.
- ¹²² Così Grelle 2009, 330.
- ¹²³ Varro *Rust.* 1.8.2-3.
- ¹²⁴ Braconi 2007, 161-167.
- ¹²⁵ D'Ercole 2008, 95.
- ¹²⁶ Fiorentino 2011, 9-31.
- ¹²⁷ Cazzella, Recchia 2005, 139-150.
- ¹²⁸ Volpe 2009, 369-381.
- ¹²⁹ Braconi 2007, 163-164; 2008, 259-274.
- ¹³⁰ Cato *Agr.* 1.7; 33.1-4. Anche per Plinio il Vecchio (*Nat.* 17.214) coltivare il grano tra gli *arbusta* (vite alberata) costituiva una prassi comune; Columella consigliava una distanza di circa 40 piedi tra albero ed albero per non danneggiare con l'ombra le colture erbacee sottostanti (Colum. 16).
- ¹³¹ Braconi 2008, 264-268.
- ¹³² Cato *Agr.* 149.
- ¹³³ Plb. 2,24,3-16. Si veda Grelle 2009, 326 e nota 47.
- ¹³⁴ Grelle/Silvestrini 2001, 91-136.
- ¹³⁵ Strazzulla 2008, 259.
- ¹³⁶ Goffredo 2011, 132-133.
- ¹³⁷ Braconi 2007, 163-164.
- ¹³⁸ Varro *Rust.* 1.54.
- ¹³⁹ Colum. 3.15.1: tra i 4 e i 10 piedi ovvero da 1,20 a 3 metri circa.
- ¹⁴⁰ Grelle 2009, 332-337.
- ¹⁴¹ Colum. 4.
- ¹⁴² *Lib. Col.* I, 210.7, L; 10-13, L. Dunque ad età graccana si riferirebbero le centuriazioni attestate archeologicamente a NO di *Luceria* (Volpe 1990, p. 213), a NO di *Herdonia* (Volpe 1990, 215), a NE di *Auscium* (Volpe 1990, 215-216) e nell'ampio comprensorio esteso tra i centri di *Aecae-Troia*, *Luceria* e *Arpi* (Volpe 1990, 214-215). La documentazione aerofotografica relativa alle tracce delle centuriazioni del Tavoliere di Puglia è in corso di studio da parte di A.V. Romano.
- ¹⁴³ Grelle 2009, 334.
- ¹⁴⁴ Gabba 1982.
- ¹⁴⁵ Capogrossi Colognesi 2002.
- ¹⁴⁶ Stek 2009, 9-16.
- ¹⁴⁷ D'Ercole 1990.
- ¹⁴⁸ Strazzulla 2008, 259-260.
- ¹⁴⁹ Torelli 1966.

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Das Castellum Aquae in Pompeji

Befundbasierte Analyse oder Rückkehr zu alten Glaubenssätzen?

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Zusammenfassung

In einer 2008 erschienenen Studie machen J.-P. Adam und P. Varène unter anderem Aussagen zur Funktion der Wasserverteilung im Castellum Aquae in Pompeji. Sie stützen sich dabei auf selektive Beobachtungen von Kalkablagerungen im Zuleitungskanal und im Becken, versuchen, die zur Verfügung stehende Wassermenge zu berechnen usw., lassen dabei aber grundlegende hydrotechnische Kenntnisse vermissen. Sie datieren das Gebäude und vor allem die Fassade augusteisch, letztere im Vergleich mit einem im Haus des L. Caecilius Iucundus gefundenen Flachrelief jedoch auch (zumindest partiell) in die Zeit nach dem Erdbeben von 62 n.Chr., ohne diesen Widerspruch auflösen zu können. Insgesamt fällt ihre Studie weit hinter den aktuellen Forschungsstand zurück.

Im folgenden Beitrag werden meine eigenen Forschungsergebnisse, die im Überschneidungsbereich von Philologie, Archäologie und Hydrotechnik entstanden sind, den Thesen von Adam und Varène korrigierend gegenübergestellt. Es wird anhand von Befunden gezeigt, wie die Wasserverteilung im Castellum Aquae von Pompeji tatsächlich funktioniert hat und wie die Baugeschichte der Anlage in zwei Phasen von spätrepublikanischer bis in augusteische Zeit verlaufen ist. Ein eingeschobener Exkurs beschäftigt sich mit dem genannten Relief und seinen Deutungsproblemen.

Günther Garbrecht zum 89. Geburtstag

EINLEITUNG

J.-P. Adam und P. Varène haben 2008 ein Studie zum Castellum Aquae in Pompeji publiziert,¹ die nach meiner Kenntnis die erste größere Arbeit zu diesem Thema seit meiner Dissertation² an der damals Katholischen, heute Radboud Universität Nijmegen ist. Entsprechend meiner Ausbildung als Altphilologe hatte ich mich zuerst mit der Exegese der einschlägigen Passagen über ein *castellum aquae* bei Vitruv (8.6.1+2) und deren vermeintlichem Zusammenhang mit Pompeji beschäftigt.³ Als nachzuweisen war, dass die Herstellung dieses Zusammenhangs auf einer Fehlinterpretation des Vitruvtextes beruht, dass das *castellum aquae* in Pompeji also nicht nach der vitruvschen Vorstellung funktioniert haben konnte, drängte sich natürlich die Frage auf, wie die Anlage tatsächlich funktioniert hatte. Mir war von Anfang an klar, dass diese Frage weder von einem Philologen noch von einem Archäologen alleine, sondern nur in Zusammenarbeit mit Wasserbauingenieuren gelöst werden könnte. Damit aber nicht genug. Weil alle metallenen Gegenstände, mit deren Hilfe die Verteilung im Becken geregelt wurde, schon in der

Antike geraubt worden waren, standen als einzige noch auswertbare Spuren die bisher völlig unbeachteten Ablagerungen auf der Sohle und den Wangen der Anlage zur Verfügung, die das kalkhaltige, aus dem Apennin nach Pompeji geleitete Wasser hinterlassen hatte. Diese Ablagerungen ('Sinter' oder 'Kalksinter') stellen sozusagen 'versteinerte' Wasserstände und Strömungsverhältnisse im Zuleitungskanal und im Becken des Castellums dar. Sie wurden in einem ersten Arbeitsschritt sorgfältig analysiert und dokumentiert. Außerdem wurden Sinterproben aus dem gesamten Wasserversorgungssystem genommen und von einem Mineralogen und einem Chemiker mit ihren jeweiligen Methoden analysiert - eine weitere Ausweitung zu einem umfassenden, interdisziplinären Projekt.

Schließlich wurden aus allen Befunden und Erkenntnissen die technischen Einrichtungen und Regelvorgänge rekonstruiert, die solche Strömungsverhältnisse erzeugt hatten, wie sie in den Ablagerungen 'abzulesen' waren. Die Ergebnisse wurden schließlich sowohl theoretisch als auch praktisch im Wasserbaulabor der Fachhochschule Lübeck in einem physikalischen Modell verifiziert.



Abb. 1. Das Flachrelief aus dem Haus des L. Caecilius Iucundus, Abguss im Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rom (Foto: Fotografica FOGGIA, Napoli).

Aus der mineralogischen Analyse der Sinterproben ergab sich außerdem, dass es in der Wasserversorgung Pompejis nicht nur eine, sondern zwei Phasen mit Wasser aus unterschiedlichen Quellgebieten gegeben haben muss. Dazu passte, dass auch im baulichen Bestand eine tiefgreifende Änderung von einem vorher runden Becken unter freiem Himmel mit unregelmäßigem Abfluss zu einer durch einen Schutzbau (Castellum) gesicherten Anlage festzustellen ist, in der die Wasserabgabe durch technische Einbauten sehr genau zu regeln war. Damit stellte sich die Frage der Datierung, die bisher allgemein als 'augusteisch' angenommen wurde, neu und verlangte eine differenziertere Antwort und Begründung.

Alle Ergebnisse wurden in ein archäologisch, hydraulisch, mineralogisch-chemisch und historisch begründetes Gesamterklärungsmodell zur Wasserversorgung und -verteilung in Pompeji eingebracht.⁴

Anders als bei meinem Vorgehen beginnen Adam und Varène ihre Untersuchungen des Castellum Aquae von Pompeji als Architekten und Bauforscher mit architektonischen Überlegungen, vor allem und besonders ausführlich zur Fassade des Gebäudes. Auch sie bleiben dabei aber nicht stehen, sondern versuchen zum einen, diese Überlegungen mit Deutungen eines im Hause des Lucius Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeji gefundenen Reliefs in Übereinstimmung zu bringen. Zum anderen interpretieren sie selektiv Sinterungen im Becken, stellen Berechnungen des Wasserdargebotes an und machen Aussagen zur Funktion der Wasserverteilung, bei denen sie aber zu unhaltbaren Schlussfolgerungen kommen, die ihre gesamte Studie in Frage stellen.⁵

Um dies nachzuweisen und gleichzeitig richtigzustellen, werden im folgenden Beitrag primär hydraulisch und archäologisch relevante Befunde im Wasserverteilungssystem Pompejis und die daraus abzuleitenden technischen Gegebenheiten - sozusagen dem Lauf des Wassers folgend - dargestellt.⁶ Diese Vorgehensweise mag für Archäolo-

gen möglicherweise fremd und quälend technisch sein, sie ergibt sich aber aus dem Untersuchungsgegenstand.⁷

Für eine solche Funktionsanalyse im Überschneidungsbereich von Hydrotechnik und Archäologie hat das Relief aus dem Haus des L. Caecilius Iucundus (Abb. 1) eigentlich keine Bedeutung, so dass diese Diskussion hier entbehrlich erscheinen könnte. Allerdings spielt das Relief bei Adam und Varène (wie zuvor schon bei Maiuri) vor allem für die Datierung der Wasserversorgungsanlage eine zentrale Rolle. Im Vergleich zwischen der Darstellung des Reliefs und dem Castellum wird behauptet, vor allem die Fassade des Gebäudes sei ganz oder zumindest in Teilen nach dem Erdbeben von 62 n.Chr. restauriert worden. Weil sich die Hypothese von diesen Erdbebenschäden wie ein roter Faden durch die gesamte Studie zieht, darf ein Exkurs mit einer kritischen Hinterfragung dieser These und ihrer Widersprüche nicht fehlen, bevor die Baugeschichte des Wasserversorgungssystems aus den Befunden rekonstruiert wird. Zu Beginn soll aber der Inhalt der Studie von Adam und Varène kurz wiedergegeben werden.

1. DER INHALT DER STUDIE VON ADAM UND VARÈNE

Das erste Kapitel, 'Einleitung', beginnt mit dem Abschnitt 'Freilegung, Situation', in dem die Autoren den Standort des Wasserverteilergebäudes vorstellen und auf die Wassertürme eingehen, die zur Druckbegrenzung in der Stadt verteilt sind. Sie betonen, dass auf diesen Türmen Bleibehälter standen, die zum Schutz des Wassers vor allerlei Verunreinigungen auch an der Oberfläche geschlossen gewesen seien.

Der zweite Abschnitt, 'Ein antikes Dokument', wird dem Flachrelief aus dem Haus des L. Caecilius Iucundus gewidmet (Abb. 1),⁸ auf dem neben dem Castellum die beim Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n.Chr. einstürzende Porta Vesuvio zu sehen ist.

Der dritte Abschnitt, 'Porta Vesuvio', beschäftigt sich ausführlich mit diesem Stadttor, auch im

Kontext mit den anderen Stadttoren Pompejis. Schließlich werden im vierten und letzten Abschnitt ('Der kampanische Aquädukt') die Wiederentdeckungsgeschichte dieser bei Serino beginnenden Wasserleitung und ihre noch vorhandenen Teilstücke bis Misenum dargestellt. Diese beiden Abschnitte referieren den Stand des Wissens.⁹

Das zweite Kapitel 'Architektur und Funktionsweise des Castellum Aquae' beginnt mit dem Abschnitt 'Das Äußere des Gebäudes'. Hier kommt im Wesentlichen das Flachrelief zur Sprache, dessen Architekturelemente im Detail analysiert werden. Beim Vergleich zwischen der Darstellung des Reliefs und der seit der Ausgrabung sichtbaren Gestalt des Castellums glauben Adam und Varène, vor allem im Fehlen der mittleren Lichtöffnung und der beiden menschlichen Köpfe in der Fassade umfangreiche Gebäudereparaturen aus der Zeit nach dem Erdbeben von 62 n.Chr. feststellen zu müssen.

Der zweite Abschnitt, 'Beschreibung des aktuellen Zustandes', unterzieht zuerst die Fassade einer ausgedehnten architektonischen Analyse,¹⁰ die zu einer augusteischen Datierung führt, wobei die Autoren allerdings nicht ausschließen wollen, dass die jetzige Fassade auch einen teilrestaurierten Zustand darstellen könne. Den Lavasockel, auf dem die Fassade ruht und den die drei Rohröffnungen durchbrechen, halten sie nicht für einen Teil des augusteischen Fassadenentwurfs.

Der durchgehenden Hypothese folgend, das Castellum stelle in seiner heutigen Form eine umfassende Restaurierung nach dem Erdbeben des Jahres 62 dar, werden im dritten Abschnitt, 'Die Seitenflächen', auch die Verkleidungen der übrigen Außenwände in diese Reparaturphase datiert, wobei die ausgezeichnete Standhaftigkeit¹¹ der Mauern ausdrücklich betont wird.

Der vierte Abschnitt, 'Das Innere des Gebäudes', konstatiert bei den Wänden eine im Verhältnis zur Größe des Gebäudes ungewöhnliche Mauerstärke. Die Bedeckung des Gebäudes durch eine Kuppel wird als weiterer Hinweis auf eine augusteische Entstehung gedeutet. Dann wenden sich die Autoren dem Zuleitungskanal zu, wobei sie für die Verengung seines Querschnitts¹² im letzten Stück des Kanals 'keine vernünftige Erklärung' ('ne trouve pas d'explication rationelle') finden, außer der, dass dadurch die Fließgeschwindigkeit erhöht werde, damit sich dort keine Kalkablagerungen bilden könnten. Nachfolgend werden das Fresko über dem Kanaleinlauf und weitere dekorative Elemente behandelt, bevor die Autoren noch kurz auf die gegenüberliegenden beiden Lichtöffnungen in der Südwand eingehen.

Im Zentrum des ganzen Aufsatzes steht der nun folgende fünfte Abschnitt 'Das Dreiteilerbecken'. Zuerst wird die ungewöhnliche Geometrie des Beckens vom Einlauf des Zuleitungskanals an über die drei getrennten Ablaufkanäle am und hinter dem Dreiteilerkörper bis zur Ausmündung der Rohre des Verteilungssystems aus der Südmauer beschrieben. Die Ergebnisse der Vermessungen im Innenraum sind mehreren Abbildungen zu entnehmen.¹³ Kurz erwähnt wird eine kreisrunde Risslinie im Begehungsbereich, die dem inneren Baukörper in einer Entfernung von ca. 1½ römischen Fuß folgt. Adam und Varène geben diesem Befund keine besondere Bedeutung und vermuten eine Planmodifikation während der Bauphase, wenn man nicht auch darin eine Reparatur der Zeit nach 62 sehen müsse.

Dann werden die Spuren diskutiert, die man mit den von den Metallräubern geraubten Filtereinrichtungen ('dispositifs de filtration de l'eau') in Verbindung bringen müsse. Die Autoren beginnen mit dem aus der Nordwand herausgebrochenen Gitter, das ihrer Meinung nach offensichtlich ('manifestement') beweglich gewesen sei¹⁴ und eine doppelte Funktion gehabt habe: zum einen, schwimmende Verunreinigungen größeren Ausmaßes festzuhalten, zum anderen, den unbefugten und heimlichen Zugang von außen durch den Zuleitungskanal in die Stadt zu verhindern.

Auf den Wangen der Kanaleinschnürung glauben die Autoren im Bereich des Gitters dann eine gleichmäßige Kalkablagerung von 13 cm Höhe erkennen zu können, die am Einlauf ins Becken um 9 cm abfalle. Sie folgern, dass am Fuß des Absperrgitters eine erste Querwand befestigt gewesen sei, die aus einem Brett, einem Blech oder einem Lederstreifen von 9 cm Höhe bestanden haben könne (so auch in fig. 30, hier *Abb. 2*, dargestellt).

Dann wenden sie sich der ihrer Meinung nach zweiten Filtereinrichtung zu, die sich quer durch das ganze Becken erstreckt habe und mit sechs vertikalen Stäben in der Sohle fixiert war. Einen früheren Vorschlag für einen Rechen mit engstehenden *senkrechten* Stäben an dieser Stelle verwerfen sie zugunsten eines von ihnen selbst vorgeschlagenen Rechens mit engstehenden *waagerechten* Stäben, die an den sechs senkrecht eingelassenen Stäben befestigt gewesen seien.

Unmittelbar vor dem Dreiteiler befindet sich eine tiefe Rille in der Beckensohle, der die Autoren anschließend ihr Augenmerk widmen. Hier stand eine Bleiplatte, die in die Sohle und die Wangen des Beckens eingebettet und an die beiden Aufmauerungen des Dreiteilers angelehnt

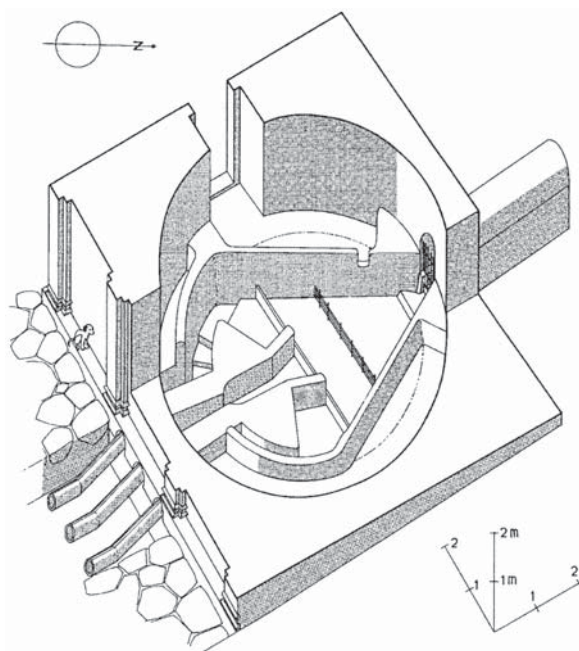


Abb. 2. Axonometrische Rekonstruktion des Castellum Aquae von Adam und Varène mit Darstellung der technischen Einrichtungen.

(‘appuyée’) gewesen sei. Ihre Höhe wird mit Bezug auf noch vorhandene Bleireste in den Wänden mit 25 cm angegeben, und dann wird festgestellt, dass die bis dahin auf den Wänden des Beckens sichtbaren Kalkablagerungen abbrechen. Weil diese vor der Bleiplatte eine Höhe von nur 13 cm haben, können Adam und Varène nicht erklären, wie dieses Maß mit der Höhe der Bleiplatte in Einklang zu bringen sei. Die Hypothese, die Platte sei nur an den Befestigungspunkten 25 cm, ansonsten nur 13 cm hoch gewesen, geben sie schnell auf zugunsten der Deutung, es habe im Becken vor dieser Platte eine lange Stagnation des Wasser auf 13 cm Höhe mit einer entsprechenden Sinterung auf dieser Höhe gegeben.

In einem eingeschobenen Absatz wird die Frage aufgeworfen, ob bei einem so niedrigen Wasserspiegel im Becken überhaupt genug Wasser für die Stadt da gewesen sei. Sie wird indirekt dahingehend beantwortet, dass es im anderen Fall nicht derartig viele Brunnen und andere Wasserversorgungseinrichtungen in der Stadt hätte geben können.

Dann erklären Adam und Varène, in den drei Ableitungskanälen unterwasserseitig der Bleiplatte befände sich keinerlei Sinter, was sie mit der starken Neigung der Kanäle begründen, durch die sich keine Ablagerungen hätten ergeben können. Noch einmal auf die 13 cm hohen Kalkablagerun-

gen im Becken vor der Bleiplatte zurückkommend erklären sie, dass die Stagnation des Wassers mit den ihrer Meinung nach daraus resultierenden Sinterungen vermutlich den Schäden zugerechnet werden müssten, die beim Erdbeben 62 eingetreten seien.

Das Stichwort Stagnation veranlasst sie, das Problem einer Ableitungsmöglichkeit des gesamten Zuflusses zu reflektieren, die bei Reparaturen im Aquädukt oder im Verteilerbecken notwendig gewesen wäre. In diesem Zusammenhang diskutieren sie drei seitliche Bauwerke im Zuleitungskanal vor der Stadt¹⁵ und kommen zu dem Ergebnis, dass für eine solche Ableitungsfunktion nur der nach Osten im Bereich eines Revisions-schachtes unweit der Stadtmauer abzweigende Kanal in Frage komme. Möglicherweise, so fahren sie fort, komme aber auch eine andere Lösung in Betracht: Ein am Dreiteilerkörper des Ostablaufes (und ausdrücklich nur dort!) beobachteter Rest eines Eisenbolzens könne Hinweis auf einen ursprünglich hier befestigten Schieber sein, mit dem der Ablauf in diesem Bereich zu unterbrechen gewesen sei. Ähnliches müsse man dann auch für die anderen beiden Abläufe postulieren. Es sei ebenfalls möglich, sich bewegliche Verschlüsse unmittelbar am Beginn der Ablaufrohre vorzustellen, aber die völlige Zerstörung des Mauerwerks an diesen Stellen mache eine genaue Klärung unmöglich.

Dieser Beschreibung des Beckens und Deutungsversuchen über seine Funktion folgt nun ein Abschnitt zur Frage, ob das Castellum nach 62 noch in Betrieb gewesen sei, was viele frühere Autoren bestritten hätten. Adam und Varène glauben jedoch, diese Frage bejahen zu sollen, weil es keinen Einbruch der Metallräuber durch die Kuppel des Gebäudes gegeben hätte, wenn dort nichts zu holen gewesen wäre. Auch die vielen offensichtlich noch funktionierenden Wasserinstallationen in der Stadt hätten sonst nicht in Betrieb geblieben sein können.

Im folgenden Abschnitt wenden sich die beiden Autoren der Frage zu, wie viel Wasser der Stadt zur Verfügung gestanden habe. Da die Ablaufrohre nicht mehr vorhanden sind, schließen sie aus der Größe der Ausbruchslöcher (wobei die größere mittlere Ausbruchsöffnung auch zur Annahme eines größeren Rohrquerschnitts führt) auf die Querschnitte der Rohre und summieren diese auf insgesamt 1.082 Quadratzentimeter. Dann versuchen sie, eine vergleichbare Größe in der Einschnürung zu ermitteln, indem sie von der Höhe der Bleiplatte rückwärts auf eine Wassertiefe im Kanal vor dem Einlauf ins Becken von 23 cm

schließen. Damit errechnen sie bei einer im Kanal angenommenen Breite von 30 cm einen Wert von 690 Quadratzentimetern. Schlussfolgerungen aus diesen Zahlen werden nicht gezogen.

Im letzten Abschnitt bezeichnen die Autoren eine Anwendung des entsprechenden Kapitels bei Vitruv (*De architectura* 8.6.1) auf das Castellum von Pompeji als 'verlockend' und geben seinen Inhalt wieder. Sie verfolgen diesen Gedanken aber nicht weiter, weil das Fehlen der Bleileitungen in der Stadt keine Aussagen über die Art der Wasserverteilung erlaube.

Die Studie schließt mit einer 'Conclusion', in der noch einmal betont wird, dass die Prüfung des Castellums zu klaren Ergebnissen gekommen sei, wenngleich die Unmöglichkeit, das genaue Ausmaß der Schäden des Erdbebens von 62 n.Chr. zu bestimmen, und das Fehlen der Rohre in der Stadt weitergehende Aussagen verhindern würden. Abgesehen davon sei die Wasserversorgungsanlage Pompejis eine optimale Referenz für die Wasserversorgung einer Provinzstadt von mittlerer Größe.

2. STAND DER FORSCHUNG

2.1. Zur Bildung von Kalkablagerungen ('Kalksinter' oder 'Sinter')

Aus dem in der Einleitung Gesagten ergibt sich, welche fundamentale Bedeutung der genauen Beobachtung und Analyse der Sinterungen zukommt, und deshalb soll hier zuerst kurz und vereinfacht erklärt werden, wie sich Sinter überhaupt bildet.¹⁶ Wenn Niederschläge im Boden versickern, verbindet sich das in der Bodenluft enthaltene Kohlendioxid mit dem Wasser zu Kohlensäure. Wenn die Kohlensäure auf Kalk trifft, wie dies in einem Karstgebirge wie dem Apennin, aus dem sich Pompejis Wasserleitung(en) speiste(n), der Fall ist, löst die Kohlensäure den Kalk (zusammen mit anderen Mineralien und Spurenelementen) auf, bis es zu einem Gleichgewicht von Kalk und Kohlensäure kommt. Wenn dieses Gleichgewicht gestört wird, entweicht Kohlensäure aus dem Wasser, und dabei fallen Kalk und andere Mineralien aus. Solange kalkhaltiges Wasser in einer Wasserleitung also unter gleichmäßigen Bedingungen und ohne Turbulenz fließen kann, kommt es zu keiner oder einer nur geringen Sinterbildung, erst recht nicht, wo Wasser regungslos steht. Wo die Strömung allerdings sehr turbulent ist, wie z.B. in einer Verengung des durchflossenen Querschnitts wie in der Einschnürung unmittelbar vor dem Castellum in Pompeji, bei

Leitungsknicken/-kurven, starken Gefälleveränderungen oder gar Sohlabschürzen, ebenso bei Quereinbauten in das Gerinne wie Rechen oder Stauwehren, kommt es zu signifikantem Ausfällen von Sinter. Deshalb kann man im Zuleitungskanal ebenso wie im Becken des Castellums von Pompeji Wassertiefen und Fließbedingungen an der Höhe und bedingt auch an der Ausprägung, Stärke und Form der Kalkablagerungen ablesen. Dass auch Temperatur bei der Sinterbildung von Einfluss ist, sieht man in Pompeji an den Drucktürmen in der Stadt. Überall, wo aus den auf den Turmspitzen sitzenden Bleigefäßen Wasser herausgespritzt und an den Wänden abgelaufen ist, ist dieses in der Hitze des süditalienischen Sommers sehr schnell verdunstet und hat an einigen Türmen eine stärkere Sinterung hinterlassen als im Becken.

Vergleicht man damit die Aussagen von Adam und Varène zu Sinter und Sinterbildung, finden sich drei Fehlertypen. Zum einen sind alle theoretischen Aussagen darüber, wo und wie sich Sinter bildet bzw. wo und warum nicht, fachlich falsch. Zum zweiten wird von mehreren Beckenabschnitten ausdrücklich betont, dort gebe es keinen Sinter, obwohl er auch an diesen Stellen deutlich zu erkennen ist. Zum dritten bleiben Sinterungen, aus denen die an diesen Stellen angebrachten technischen Einrichtungen klar zu rekonstruieren sind, unbeachtet.

2.2. Das Sintervorkommen im Wasserversorgungssystem von Pompeji und die daraus abzuleitende Rekonstruktion der technischen Einrichtungen im Zuleitungskanal und im Becken

Abbildung 3 gibt einen Überblick über den Zuleitungskanal und das Castellum in Pompeji, soweit zugänglich und zwischen 1993 und 2000 von mir untersucht, sowie die in diesem Zusammenhang verwendeten Begriffe.

Im vor 1993 noch nie systematisch untersuchten Zuleitungskanal wurden auf den Wänden durchgängig zwei unterschiedlich hohe und auch mineralogisch, chemisch wie phänotypisch unterscheidbare Sinterungen gefunden.¹⁷ Die niedrigere, auf der höheren Schicht aufsitzende und deshalb jüngere Schicht ist erheblich dicker, woraus man schließen kann, dass die 2. Phase der Wasserversorgung mit weniger Wasser sehr viel länger gedauert hat. Die höhere/ältere Schicht ist ungefähr 40 cm, die niedrigere knapp 20 cm hoch. Ausweislich der mineralogischen Analyse sind die Sinterungen dieser niedrigen Schicht, die Sinterungen auf der Sohle in den Auslaufberei-

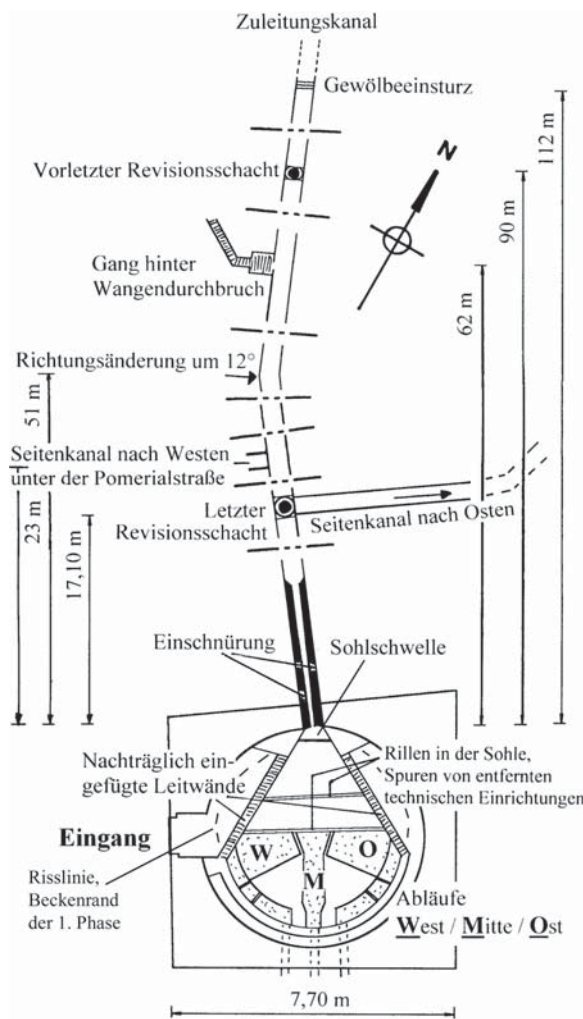


Abb. 3. Überblick über den gesamten Untersuchungsbereich mit Entfernungangaben. An den gestrichelten Linien wurde die Längenausdehnung des Zuleitungskanals stark verkürzt.

chen des Beckens und die Sinterungen im Endspeicher der Serinoleitung (Piscina Mirabilis im antiken Misenum, heute Bacoli) identisch. Das Wasser der 2. Phase kam also eindeutig aus der Serinoleitung. Weil die Sinterungen der höheren Schicht, also der 1. Versorgungsphase, sich davon deutlich unterscheiden, muss das Wasser dieser Phase aus einem anderen Quellgebiet gekommen sein, wofür aus vielen Gründen nur die Region um Avella infrage kommt.¹⁸

Der ebenfalls vor 1993 unbekannte, unter dem Revisionsschacht wenige Meter vor der Stadtmauer aus dem Zuleitungskanal nach Osten abzweigende Seitenkanal¹⁹ (Abb. 4 und 5) ist bautechnisch so an

den Zuleitungskanal angebunden (Abb. 6), dass er nur gleichzeitig mit ihm gebaut worden sein kann. Er knickt in seinem untersuchten Verlauf zweimal ab und führt letztlich nach Nordnordosten, vermutlich zum *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus*, somit also von der Stadt weg und hat deshalb sicher nicht den Osten Pompejis versorgt. Dieser Kanal wurde antik im Zuleitungskanal durch eine bis an die Bedeckung reichende Vermauerung verschlossen, die ihrerseits am Fuß, wie die Wange davor und dahinter, mit Sinter bedeckt ist. Die Wasserversorgung ins Castellum ging nach seiner Abtrennung also weiter, weshalb der Verschluss des Seitenkanals wohl mit den Erdbebenfolgen von 62 in Verbindung gebracht werden muss. Der genannte Pagus dürfte infolge des Erdbebens und seiner Schäden ganz aufgegeben worden sein, und dann wäre die Wasserversorgung dorthin eingestellt und auf das schwer beschädigte Pompeji konzentriert worden, wo für den Wiederaufbau ohnehin mehr Wasser benötigt wurde.

Warum dieser Seitenkanal aber an den Anfang der Aufzählung der hydraulischen Einrichtungen des Gesamtsystems gehört, ist in seiner ungewöhnlichen Gestaltung begründet: Er hat ein starkes Gefälle und ist jenseits der Unterquerung der Via del Vesuvio durch eine Mauer (fast) vollkommen verschlossen (vgl. Abb. 4 und 5). Lediglich ein etwas oberhalb der Mitte der Trennmauer angebrachtes Loch, in dem ursprünglich möglicherweise ein *calix* zur Mengenbestimmung eingebracht war, erlaubte einer definierten Wassermenge den Durchfluss in den dahinter weiterführenden Kanal. Zu diesem Seitenkanal gehört ein wichtiges Detail im Zuleitungskanal: Der südlichen Wange des Seitenkanals genau gegenüber ist in seiner Westwange unmittelbar über der Sohle ein Loch angebracht (vgl. Abb. 6), das ursprünglich dazu bestimmt gewesen sein muss, einen Balken aufzunehmen, der auf der anderen Seite durch die Wange des Seitenkanals gehalten wurde. Dieser quer zur Strömung auf der Sohle des Zuleitungskanals aufliegende Balken diente wahrscheinlich dazu, von der Strömung möglicherweise auf der Sohle mitgeführtes Geröll, aber auch Schmutzpartikel, die in der tieferen Schicht eines fließenden Wassers in größerer Konzentration als in seiner höheren Schicht mitgeführt werden, in den Seitenkanal abzuleiten. Weil dieser Abschnitt des Seitenkanals wie ein Absetzbecken fungierte, wurde sowohl das Wasser, das in das Castellum strömte, als auch das Wasser, das durch das weit über der Sohle des Seitenkanals angebrachte Loch in der Trennmauer weiterfloss, gereinigt. Die Tatsache, dass auch das Balkenloch

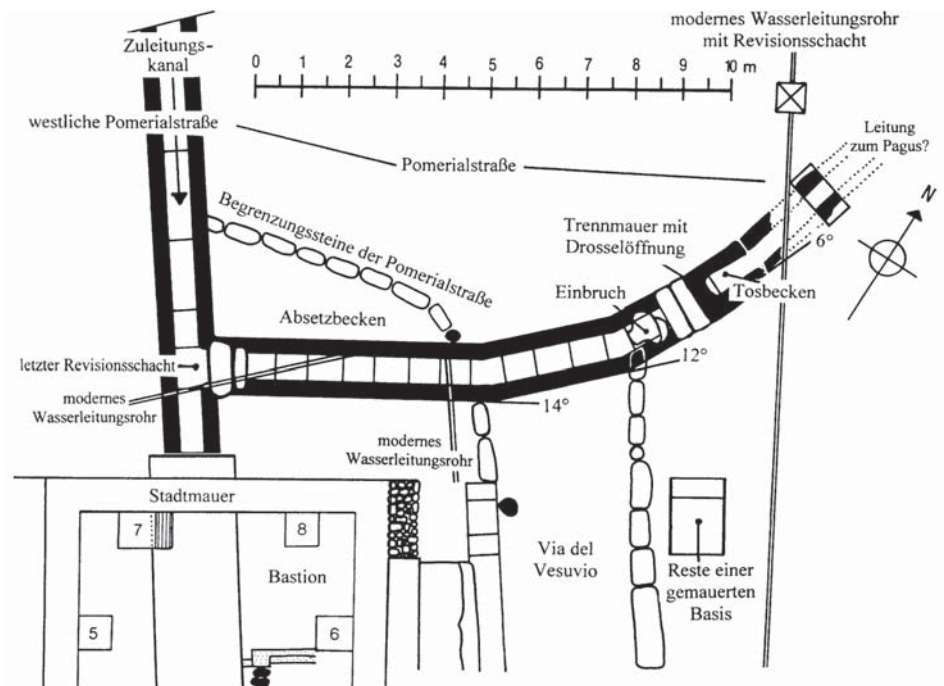


Abb. 4. Übersicht über Lage und Verlauf von Zuleitungskanal und Seitenkanal nach Osten außerhalb der Porta Vesuvio.

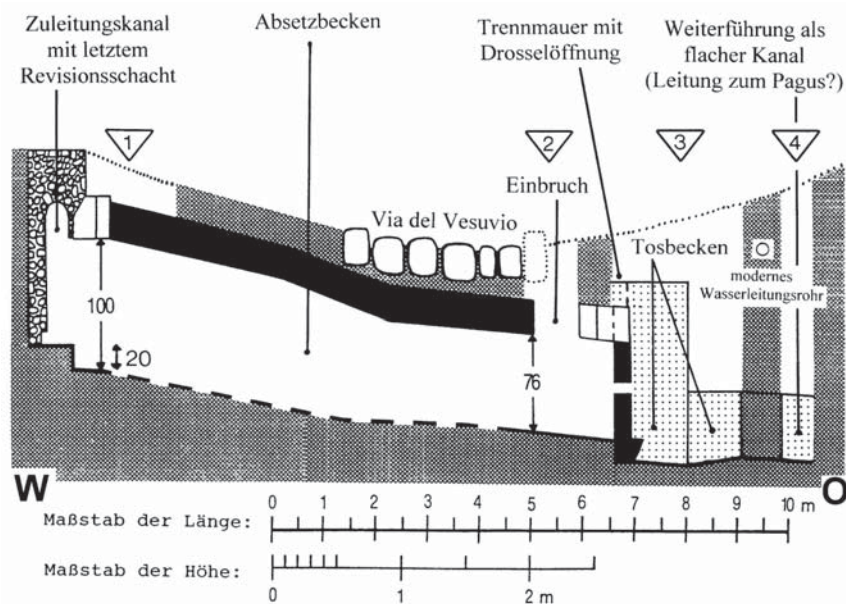


Abb. 5. Seitenkanal nach Osten mit Abzweig aus dem Zuleitungskanal, Absetzbecken, Tosbecken und Weiterführung - möglicherweise zum Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus. Der Kanal wurde oberirdisch an den vier markierten Punkten freigelegt: 1 - Von der Ostwand des Revisionsschachts aus ca. 2 m weit, in der Tiefe bis zum Wangenansatz / 2 - Gewölbeeinbruch direkt neben der Via del Vesuvio / 3 - Trennmur Ostseite und Tosbecken / 4 - Kontrollgrabung jenseits eines modernen Wasserleitungsrohrs. Die Darstellung ist durch unterschiedliche Maßstäbe für Länge und Höhe verzerrt. Da die mit Sedimenten bedeckte Sohle im Absetzbecken nicht vollständig geräumt werden konnte, war ihr genauer Verlauf nicht überall zu ermitteln.

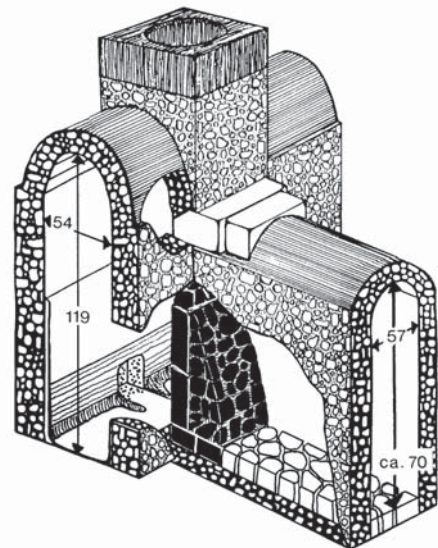
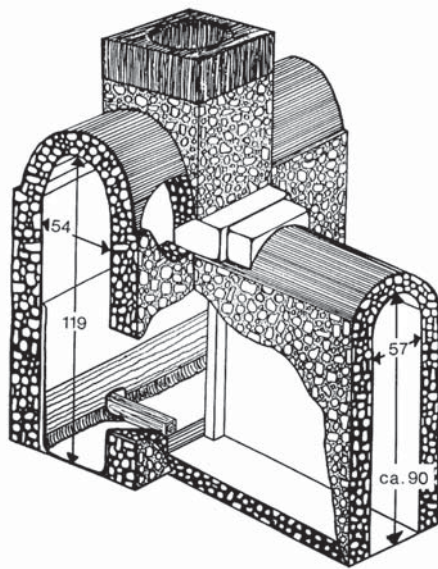


Abb. 6. Rekonstruktion der konstruktiven Verbindung von Zuleitungskanal und Seitenkanal nach Osten im Bereich des letzten Revisionsschachts.

- Oben: Situation vor der Vermauerung mit Balken auf der Sohle des Zuleitungskanals. Die genaue Höhe der Sohlschwelle am Beginn des Seitenkanals ist unter der Vermauerung (s. unten) nicht zu ermitteln.
 - Mitte: Grundriss des Abzweigebereichs
 - Unten: Situation nach der Vermauerung.
- Alle Maßangaben in cm.

stark versintert ist, beweist, dass es mit dem Verschluss des Seitenkanals seine Funktion verlor, der Zuleitungskanal aber weiterarbeitete. Die oben beschriebene Begrenzung der Durchflussmenge durch die kleine Öffnung in der Trennmauer lässt eine Ableitung des gesamten Durchflusses der Hauptleitung für den Fall einer Reparatur im Castellum - wie von Adam und Varène für möglich gehalten - nicht zu.

In der Einschnürung²⁰ kommt es, wie von Adam und Varène richtig beschrieben, zu einer Erhöhung der Fließgeschwindigkeit und infolge dieser zu einer signifikanten Verminderung der Wassertiefe. Weil es hier - auch durch die unregelmäßige Bauausführung der Einschnürungswangen (vgl. Abb. 7) - in beiden Betriebsphasen zu starken Turbulenzen gekommen ist, sind die Ablagerungen der beiden Phasen im Verlauf der Einschnürung kaum noch mit Sicherheit zu unterscheiden, sehr wohl aber wieder im Übergang von der Einschnürung in das Becken (Abb. 8 und 9). Da der durchflossene Querschnitt der Einschnürung²¹ hier eine erhebliche Aufweitung erfährt, fällt die Kurve der Sinterungen stark ab und geht etwa ab einer flachen Sohlschwelle in einen nahezu horizontalen Wulst über (Abb. 12). Hier muss betont werden, dass die Sinterungen auf den Wangen am Ende der Einschnürung einen vollkommen harmonischen, ungestörten Strömungsverlauf erkennen lassen, der irgendwelche Störungen durch eine Sperre am Gitter ausschließt (vgl. Abb. 9).

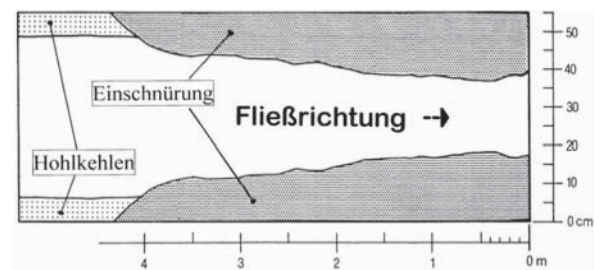


Abb. 7. Form der Einschnürung in maßstäblich verzerrter Darstellung.



Abb. 8. Blick in den Zuleitungskanal und die Einschnürung (Länge ca. 4,20 m). Im Hintergrund Licht-einfall durch den Revisionsschacht vor der Stadtmauer. Blaue Pfeile: Ausbruchslöcher des unteren Querriegels des Gitters; rote Pfeile: Sinter beim Übergang vom Kanal ins Becken. Man beachte auch die asymmetrische Endung der Einschnürung (links = Westseite steht deutlich weiter vor).

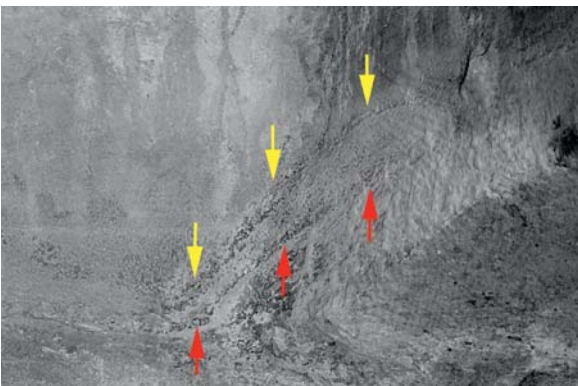


Abb. 9. Ungestörter Verlauf der Sinterungen am Ende der Einschnürung beim Übergang ins Becken. Rote Pfeile: niedriger Sinter; gelbe Pfeile: hoher Sinter.

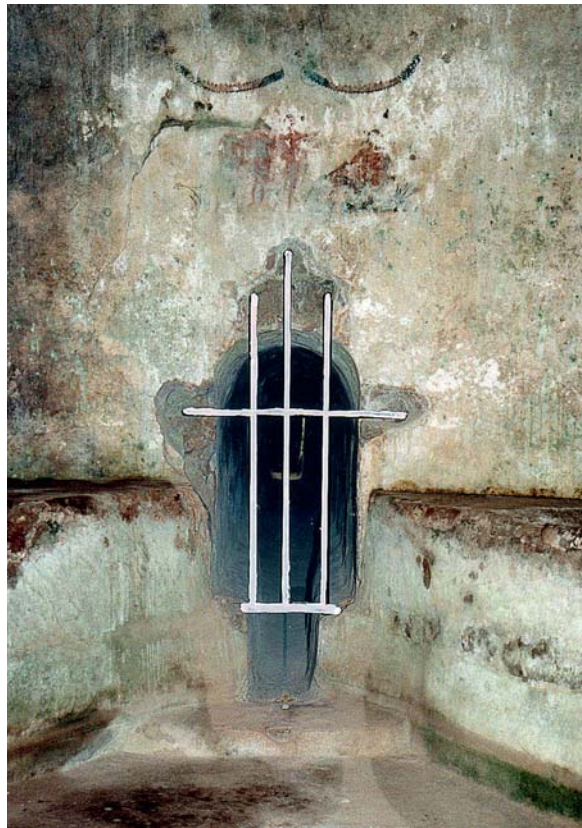


Abb.10. Rekonstruktion des Gitters vor dem Zuleitungskanal anhand der Metallreste und Löcher im Mauerwerk.

Das von den beiden Autoren für eine erste Filtereinrichtung für großformatige Verunreinigungen und für beweglich gehaltene Gitter vor Kopf des Kanals, an dessen unterem Ende sich eine 9 cm hohe Sperre befunden hätte, hat in ihrer axonometrischen Rekonstruktionszeichnung (fig. 30, hier Abb. 2) fünf vertikale Stäbe und reicht nicht bis zum oberen Rand des Kanalgewölbes. Tatsächlich beweisen die noch vorhandenen Metallreste in den Ausbruchslöchern der Nordwand des Castellums aber, dass das Gitter mit drei vertikalen Stäben oberhalb des Gewölbes eingelassen war, einem oberen Querstab am Ansatz des Gewölbes und einem unteren Querstab, der am oberen Rand der Einschnürung fest ins Mauerwerk der Kanalwangen eingriff (Abb. 8 und 10). Hätten die vertikalen Stäbe bis ins fließende Wasser gereicht, müssten sie Turbulenzen verursacht haben. Weil es aber im Sinter auf den Wangen an dieser Stelle keinerlei Störung gibt (vgl. Abb. 9), kann, wie erwähnt, auch die Annahme einer 9 cm hohen Sperre am Ende der Einschnürung auf der Kanal-



Abb. 11. Aqueduc de Vieu (Blanchet 1908, 63).



Abb. 12. Sinterwulst auf der Westwange im Bereich der Sohlschwelle im Einlaufbereich des Zuleitungskanals.

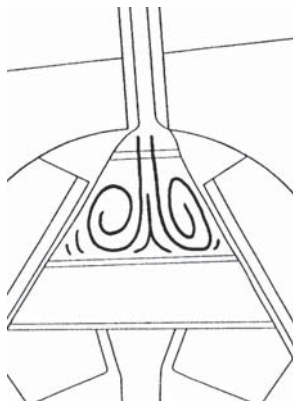


Abb. 13. Prinzipskizze: Strömungsverhalten des Wassers mit starken Turbulenzen in der ersten Beckenzone.

sohle nicht existiert haben.²² Dieses Gitter hatte ausweislich aller Befunde also keinerlei hydraulische Funktion, sondern dürfte nur so erklärt werden können, dass es in der ersten Phase, in der es noch kein Castellum als Schutzbau gab, sondern ein Becken unter offenem Himmel, in das der Kanal einmündete, den Zugang Unbefugter von der Stadtseite in die Wasserleitung hinein verhindern sollte, vergleichbar der Mündung des Acqueduc de Vieu (Abb. 11).²³ Und weil es schon einmal da war, hat man es in der zweiten Phase nach dem Bau des Castellums, auch wenn es da nicht mehr nötig war, an Ort und Stelle belassen. Die gesamte Art der Befestigung im Mauerwerk spricht für ein starres Gitter, das, wie die Löcher (vgl. Abb. 8 und 10) zeigen, nur mit großen Beschädigungen des Mauerwerks entfernt werden konnte.

Kurz hinter dem Einlauf befindet sich in der Beckensohle eine kleine Sohlschwelle, die aber auf den Wasserstand im Becken und damit auf die Höhe der Sinterungen keinen Einfluss hat. Abbildung 12 lässt einen ausgeprägten Wulst erkennen. Die Modellversuche haben ergeben, dass sich in diesem Beckenabschnitt Strömungsverhältnisse wie in Abbildung 13 skizziert einstellen, die sich wie zwei gegeneinander drehende Wirbel beschreiben lassen, starke Turbulenzen hervorrufen (vgl. Abb. 22) und eine ständig wechselnde Wassertiefe verursachen. Solche Strömungsverhältnisse führen mit der Zeit zur Ausbildung eines solchen Sinterwulstes.²⁴ Bezüglich der etwa 8 cm breiten scheinbaren Rille in der Sohle (vgl. Abb. 14, 18 und 19), von Adam und Varène für den Standort eines zweiten Filters gehalten, ist zu sagen, dass es sich nicht um eine wirkliche Vertiefung handelt, sondern dass hier eine technische Einrichtung stand, die eine Art Fuß in Form eines etwa 8 cm breiten Blechs gehabt haben muss. Der Eindruck einer Vertiefung entsteht dadurch, dass sich auf der Sohle vor und hinter diesem Blech Sinter in einer Höhe von 4-5 mm abgesetzt hat (vgl. Abb. 14 und 18). Das Blech muss also relativ gleichmäßig und fest auf der verputzten Beckensohle aufgestanden haben und war mit sechs Eisenbolzen befestigt, die mit Blei in vorher freigelassene Öffnungen eingegossen waren/sind (Abb. 14).

Von entscheidender Bedeutung für die Funktionserklärung dieses Gebildes sind die Sinterungen an den Seitenwangen auf Höhe dieser scheinbaren Vertiefung. Sie enthüllen einen Befund, der nicht nur die Hypothese von Adam und Varène von einem Filter als Rechen mit engstehenden horizontalen Stäben widerlegt, sondern zugleich und vollkommen kongruent auf beiden Seiten die

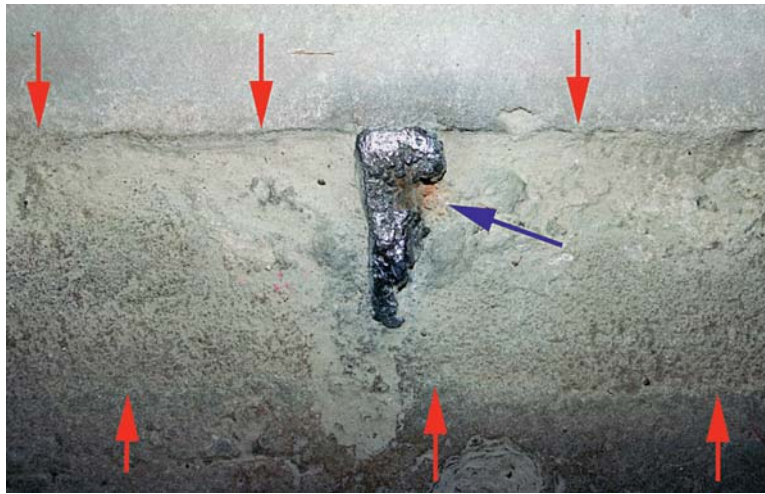


Abb. 14. Rest eines verrosteten Bolzens (blauer Pfeil), in die Beckensohle mit Blei eingegossen. Rote Pfeile: Sintergrenzen. Fließrichtung des Wassers von oben nach unten.



Abb. 15. Befunde über der ersten Rille in der Westwange. Blauer Pfeil: Fließrichtung des Wassers, rote Pfeile: Sinterausschnitt der querliegenden Rinne.

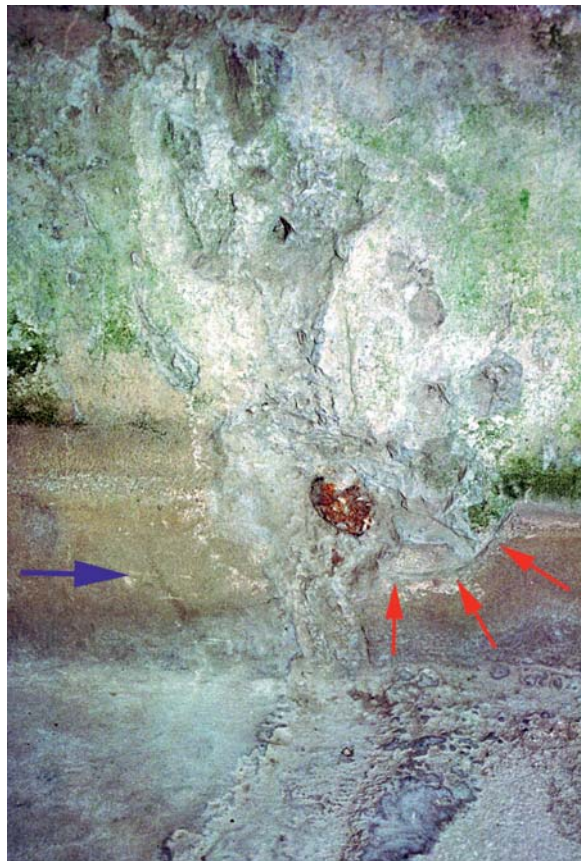


Abb. 16. Befunde über der ersten Rille in der Ostwange. Blauer Pfeil: Fließrichtung des Wassers, rote Pfeile: Sinterausschnitt der querliegenden Rinne.

Gestalt dieser technischen Einrichtung sozusagen im Schnitt erkennen lässt: Über dem Fuß muss es, quer durch das Becken reichend, einen schmalen, der Strömung leicht entgegen gewölbten Gegenstand (Platte/Blech) gegeben haben, der an seiner Oberseite in eine horizontale Rinne überging, deren Form scharfkantig und auf beiden Seiten fast deckungsgleich zu erkennen ist (Abb. 15 und 16). Die Rückseite dieser Rinne war etwas höher als die Seite, auf die das heranfließende Wasser traf, so dass die Rinne normalerweise nicht überströmt wurde. Darüber, auf Höhe der Rinne beginnend, ist der Verputz der Wangen beschädigt und lässt auf beiden Seiten nicht viel mehr erkennen als Reste von eisernen Bolzen. Dies zeigt, dass dieser Gegenstand, wie auch immer er aussah, nicht nur auf der Sohle, sondern auch in beiden Wangen befestigt war. Adam und Varène erwähnen alle diese Befunde nicht.

Die hydraulische Funktion dieses Gebildes ist klar zu bestimmen: Die querliegende Rinne sollte und konnte eventuell auf der Oberfläche des Wassers schwimmende Verunreinigungen festhalten, die dann vom *castellarius* beseitigt werden konnten. Weil die Sinterungen belegen, dass diese Konstruktion einen nur leichten Wasseraufstau rückwärts in den vor ihr liegenden Beckenbereich hinein bewirkte, ist zu schließen, dass sie kein großes Abflusshindernis darstellte. Das Wasser konnte sie ohne großen Widerstand durchfließen; es muss sich also um eine Art Rechen gehandelt haben. Wie dieser gestaltet war, ob durch horizontale oder vertikale Schlitzöffnungen (vgl. Abb. 17) oder siebartig mit zahlreichen Löchern (vgl. Abb. 22), muss offen bleiben und ist unter hydraulischen Gesichtspunkten ohne Bedeutung.

In jedem Fall hatte dieser Rechen auch die Wirkung eines Gleichrichters der Strömung und hat,

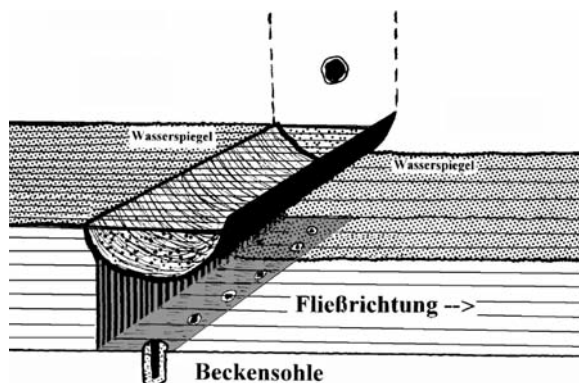


Abb. 17. Prinzipskizze des Rechens mit obenliegender Rinne.

ausweislich der beschriebenen Sinterungen, zu einer außerordentlichen Verstärkung der Strömungsverhältnisse im folgenden Beckenabschnitt geführt. Damit die querliegende Rinne ihre Reinigungsfunktion beibehalten konnte, durfte sie nicht überspült werden. Der Wasserspiegel musste also auf konstanter Höhe gehalten werden. Dies war selbst bei unterschiedlichem Zufluss (z.B. Sommer/Winter) leicht dadurch zu bewerkstelligen, dass der *castellarius* durch entsprechendes Öffnen oder Verschließen der Stauplattenöffnungen (s. folgenden Abschnitt) für einen konstanten Rückstau und damit für eine konstante Wassertiefe am Filter sorgte. Dass dies tatsächlich so funktionierte, zeigen die Sinterungen, die über den hinteren Rand der Rinne nicht hinauf reichen.

Anders als in dem Bereich vor dem Rechen bildet der Sinter zwischen diesem und dem Dreiteiler bzw. der dort vor Kopf eingelassenen Bleiplatte eine fast homogene Schicht mit einem scharfkantig ausgeprägten, horizontal ausgerichteten oberen Rand (vgl. Abb. 19, Ziffer 5), der auch auf beiden Seiten gleich hoch ist. Das alles sind Hinweise darauf, dass es hier eine durchgängig ruhige Wasserströmung mit einer fast immer konstanten Wassertiefe von ca. 13 cm gegeben hat (vgl. Abb. 22). Die Bleiplatte war ungefähr 1 römischen Fuß (ca. 30 cm) hoch und 1 *digitus* (ca. 2,5 cm) dick. Weil sie mit rund 5 cm in die Beckensohle eingelassen war, überragte sie diese um rund 25 cm. In Abbildung 19 erkennt man bei Ziffer 2 den Rest der von Metallräubern herausgebrochenen Bleiplatte. Ausweislich der Sinterungen ist sie nie überströmt worden.

Jenseits der Bleiplatte erlauben die charakteristisch ausgeprägten Sinterungen auf allen Mauerwerksteilen (Abb. 18 und 19) sowohl eine sehr genaue Rekonstruktion der Gestaltung der vor dem Dreiteiler stehenden Bleiplatte als auch Einsicht in ihre hydraulische Wirkung: Anders als vor der Bleiplatte ist auf den Seitenwangen in dem Bereich unmittelbar hinter ihr nur eine geringe Sinterhöhe (etwa fingerbreit) festzustellen. Es hat also vor der die Sohle um 25 cm überragenden Platte eine Wassertiefe von 13 cm und unmittelbar hinter ihr eine nur ganz geringe Wassertiefe gegeben. Die Platte ist also niemals überströmt worden, sondern muss sohlennahe Öffnungen gehabt haben, was einerseits zu einem Aufstau führte, andererseits aber den Durchfluss einer definierten Wassermenge erlaubte. Wenn man von einer Gestaltung mit sohlennah angebrachten schlitzartigen Öffnungen in der Bleiplatte vor jeder Ablauföffnung ausgeht, die, wie die Modellversuche ergaben, einen *digitus* hoch und drei

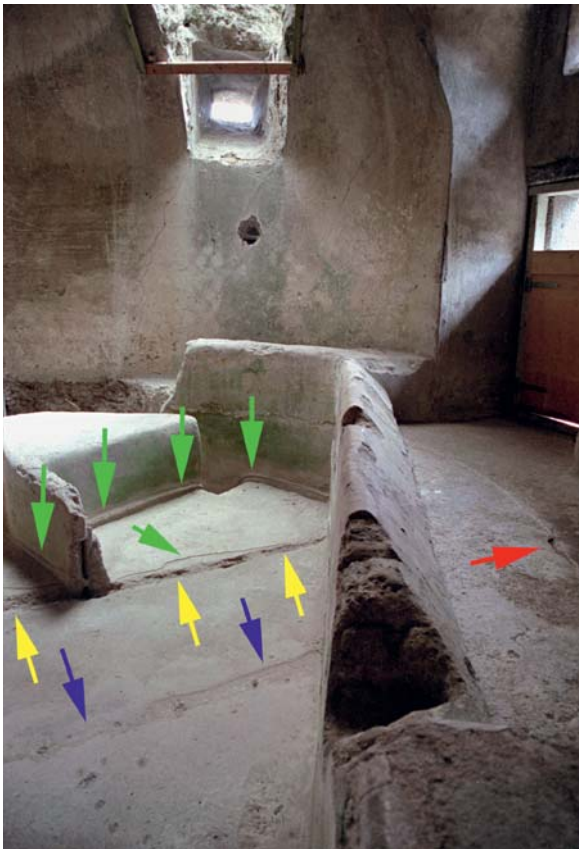


Abb. 18. Blick in Fließrichtung des Wassers in das Becken. Blaue Pfeile: 1. Sinterausparung mit sechs Resten von Metallbolzen (Filter); gelbe Pfeile: Ausbruchsrinne der Stau- und Regelplatte aus Blei; grüne Pfeile: deutliche Sinterungen auf den Wange und der Sohle im Bereich der Abläufe; roter Pfeil: Beschädigung in der umlaufenden Risslinie, Beckenrand der 1. Phase; Beschädigung vorne in der aufgesetzten Mauer: nach Adam/Varène Einstieghilfe ins Becken.

römische Fuß breit gewesen sein dürften, hätten diese von einem *castellarius* leicht mit eingeschobenen Holzkeilen von genormter Breite, je nach gewünschtem Abfluss, differenziert geöffnet oder geschlossen werden können.²⁵ (Weil sich - dies soll schon an dieser Stelle zur Baugeschichte gesagt werden - mithilfe dieser sohlennah unterströmten Stauplatte eine sehr differenzierte Weiterleitung bzw. Kontingentierung des Wassers auf die drei ableitenden Rohrstränge mit sehr einfachen Mitteln, buchstäblich mit wenigen Handgriffen, durchführen ließ, wäre sie genauso so leicht zu missbrauchen gewesen. Um dies zu verhindern, dürfte das verschließbare Castellum nach dem Einbau dieser Filter- und Regeleinrichtungen über



Abb. 19. Das umgebaute Becken im Bereich des Dreiteilers mit Blick von Osten (Erklärung der Ziffern im Text).

dem zuvor offenen Becken mit der Funktion eines Schutzbaus errichtet worden sein.)

Auf den Wänden der Dreiteileraufmauerungen kann man, ähnlich wie in der ersten Zone, allenthalben flächige bis wulstförmige, mehrere cm starke Ablagerungen erkennen, die sich in den drei Ablaufbereichen aber deutlich voneinander unterscheiden. Abbildung 21 zeigt Profile von Sinterungen im östlichen und westlichen Ablauf, und man erkennt hier sowohl die Auswirkungen starker Turbulenzen als auch, dass über lange Zeit wahrscheinlich täglich mehrfach wechselnde Wasserabflüsse zu in Form und Stärke ganz unterschiedlichen Sinterungen geführt haben. Weil diese Formationen aber die wechselnden Wasserstände der gesamten Betriebszeit darstellen, lässt sich über einzelne Regelstellungen nichts aussagen.²⁶

Die 'Nasen' im oberen Kopfbereich der Dreiteilermauern (Abb. 19, Ziffer 4) zeigen, dass die Bleiplatte dort nicht, wie Adam und Varène behaupten und in ihrer figure 30, hier Abbildung 2,

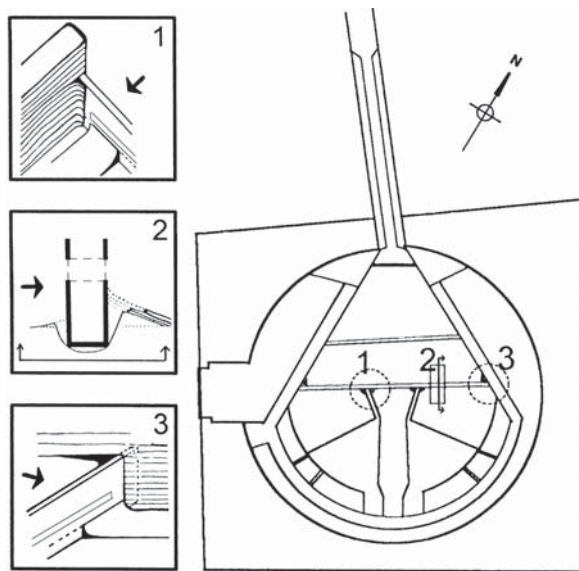


Abb. 20. Prinzipskizze der wasserdichten Einbindung der Bleiplatte vor dem Dreiteiler in den Verputz der nördlichen Trennmauern (1), der Sohle (2) und der Beckenwangen (3).

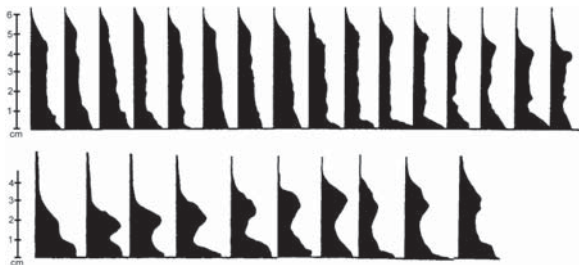


Abb. 21. Kurze Abschnitte der Abtastungen von Sinterungen auf dem Dreiteiler; oben Ostseite, unten Westseite.

zeigen, 'angelehnt', sondern fest in den Verputz des Mauerwerks integriert war, was eine genaue Betrachtung auch für alle anderen Berührungspunkte der Platte mit Mauerwerk zeigt (vgl. Abb. 20). Abbildung 19, Ziffer 3 weist auf die Ausbruchsrinne hin, Abbildung 19, Ziffer 5 auf die horizontal ausgerichtete Sinterschicht der Beckenzone unmittelbar vor der Bleiplatte und Abbildung 19, Ziffer 6 auf die Spuren des Rechen mit querliegender Rinne. Besonders aufschlussreich ist der in Abbildung 19 mit Ziffer 1 markierte Befund: Die Sinterung auf der Wange zeigt in Verlängerung der Stufe sowohl eine horizontal weiterführende Schicht als darüber auch eine Schicht in Form einer Sprungparabel. Diese Konfiguration beweist erstens, dass es jenseits der Bleiplatte



Abb. 22. Hydraulisches Modell mit Rechen und unterströmter Stauplatte.

unterschiedliche Strömungsverhältnisse gab, dass an der Bleiplatte also geregelt wurde. Sie beweist zweitens, dass die Bleiplatte niemals überströmt war,²⁷ denn sonst hätte auf den Wangen nicht nur oberwasserseitig bis zur Oberkante der Platte Sinter sein müssen, sondern es hätte jenseits der Platte ebenfalls irgendeine Art von Sprungparabel von ihrer Oberkante herab entstehen müssen (ganz davon abgesehen, dass bei einer derartigen Wassertiefe der niedrigere Rechen/Filter mit der querliegenden Rinne immer hoch überstaut gewesen und damit funktionslos geworden wäre).

Adam und Varène erwähnen einen einzigen Metallrest an der Spitze des östlichen Dreiteilerkörpers. Sie deuten ihn so, dass hier möglicherweise eine Vorrichtung zum Absperren dieser Ableitung gewesen sein könnte.²⁸ Weil eine solche Vorrichtung nicht in dieser Weise befestigt worden sein könnte und an dieser Stelle hydraulisch sinnlos gewesen wäre, ist diese Hypothese äußerst unwahrscheinlich.

In der auf dem niedrigsten Niveau der gesamten Anlage liegenden Bruchfläche im Bereich der Ablaufrohre²⁹ finden sich u.a. zwei Rohrbettungen aus Feinmörtel, die beweisen, dass sohlennah quer durch die Trennmauern hindurch Bleirohre lagen (Abb. 23), an diesen Bettungen auch chemisch nachgewiesen. Dass diese Rohre genau so groß waren wie die Ablaufrohre, lässt sich aus dem zu rekonstruierenden Radius dieser Rohrbettungen schließen. Es scheint auf den ersten Blick widersinnig, am Beginn des Dreiteilers das Wasser zu kontingentieren und unmittelbar vor dem Verlassen des Beckens wieder zusammenzuführen. Die Lösung dieser Frage brachten theoretische Berechnungen und Versuche im Modell: Die quer in den Trennmauern liegenden Rohre müssen im Normalbetrieb durch Rohrstopfen verschlossen gewesen



Abb. 23: Querliegende Rohrbettung aus Feinmörtel in der Abbruchfläche der östlichen Trennmauer, Blickrichtung vom mittleren Ablaufbereich nach Osten.

sein (Abb. 24, oben). Wenn aber im Sonderfall nur ein einziges Rohr hätte beaufschlagt werden müssen (z.B. im Brandfall oder bei Reparaturen an einem Rohrstrang in der Stadt) und man dies durch kompletten Verschluss von zwei Öffnungen in der Bleiplatte hätte bewerkstelligen wollen, wäre an der Bleiplatte ein großer Teil des Wassers über die Platte hinweg auch in die beiden anderen Abläufe geflossen. Der erwünschte Effekt wäre nicht eingetreten, weil die Stauhöhe an der Bleiplatte nicht ausgereicht hätte, um das gesamte Wasser durch eine Öffnung zu pressen. Deshalb ließ man für einen solchen Sonderfall alle Schlitzöffnungen an der Bleiplatte offen und das Wasser ungehindert bis vor die erheblich tiefer liegenden Rohröffnungen laufen, wo die größere Stauhöhe einen für die Weiterleitung des Wassers in ein einziges Rohr ausreichenden Druck erzeugte (Abb. 24, unten). Und weil alle Rohre denselben inneren Querschnitt hatten, konnte man zu diesem Zweck mit den normalerweise zum

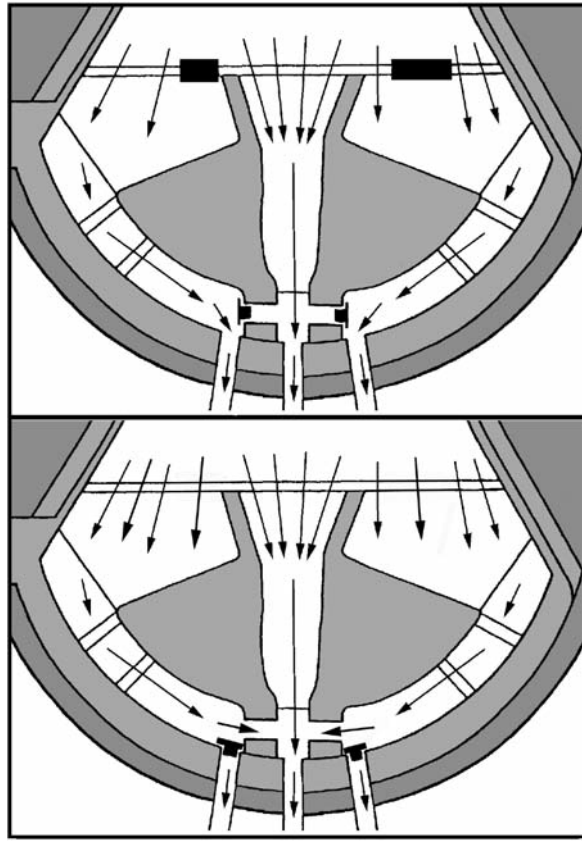


Abb. 24. Schematische Darstellung der Regulierungsmöglichkeiten im Becken.

- Oben: Normalbetrieb; die Öffnungen an der Stauplatte sind unterschiedlich weit geöffnet und lassen unterschiedliche Wassermengen in die drei Ableitungsrohre fließen. Die Verbindungsrohre in den Trennmauern sind mit Rohrstopfen verschlossen.
- Unten: Sonderbetrieb; die Öffnungen an der Stauplatte und die Verbindungsrohre in den Trennmauern sind geöffnet. Zwei von drei Ableitungsrohren sind mit den umgesetzten Rohrstopfen verschlossen, so dass das gesamte Wasser in ein Rohr fließen kann.

Verschluss der Querrohre dienenden Stopfen die beiden nicht zu beaufschlagenden Ablaufrohre verschließen.

2.3. Ausbruchslöcher in der Fassade, Größe der Ablaufrohre, Berechnung des Wasserdargebotes und Bleibehälter auf den Drucktürmen

Adam und Varène versuchen, die Größe der Ablaufrohre aus der Größe der Ausbruchslöcher bzw. der Weiten in den Öffnungen des Lava-sockels zu bestimmen.³⁰ Da die mittlere Öffnung

im Lavasockel stärker beschädigt ist, schließen sie auch auf ein größeres Rohr in der Mitte.³¹ Bei diesen Überlegungen wird nicht erwähnt, dass auf der Westseite die Mörtelpackung, die den Abstand zwischen dem Rohr und der zu großen Öffnung im Lavasockel verschloss, weitgehend unversehrt erhalten ist (Abb. 25). Diese Mörtelpackung belegt ein rundes Rohr mit einem äußeren Durchmesser zwischen 23 und 24 cm. Das Rohr ist offensichtlich ohne Beschädigung des umgebenden Mauerwerks aus dem Sockel entfernt worden. Wenn man bei Rohren dieser Größe eine Wandstärke von mindestens 1 cm³² voraussetzt, bleibt ein innerer Durchmesser von ca. 21 cm. Dies ist der einzige gesicherte Befund über die Größe der Ablaufrohre.

In der wichtigen Frage der Berechnung des Wasserdargebotes ist die Vorgehensweise von Adam und Varène fachlich falsch, denn der Durchfluss einer Leitung ergibt sich nicht als *Fläche* in der Dimension m² bzw. cm², sondern als *zeitbezogenes Volumen* in der Dimension m³/s bzw. l/s.³³ Außerdem kann das Wasserdargebot hydraulisch weder im Becken noch in den Ableitungsrohren, sondern ausschließlich im Zuleitungskanal erfasst werden.³⁴ G. Garbrecht und H. Fahlbusch haben anhand der im Kanal ermittelten Daten (zusätzlich durch eine im Leichtweiß-Institut der TU Braunschweig angefertigte Simulation) mit Hilfe der in solchen Fällen von Hydraulikern angewandten Fließformel von Gauckler-Manning-Strickler das Wasserdargebot errechnet. Die darin berücksichtigten Parameter (r_{hy} = hydraulischer Radius [m], I = Gefälle und k_{st} = Beiwert für die Gerinnrauheit [m^{1/3}/s]) sind bekannt bzw. wurden auf der Basis von Erfahrung geschätzt. Garbrecht



Abb. 25. Blick auf den Lavasockel mit der mittleren und der westlichen Auslassöffnung für die ableitenden Rohre. Man beachte die gut erhaltene Mörtelpackung im westlichen Auslass.

legte deshalb Wert darauf, dass es sich bei den Ergebnissen um 'rechnerisch abgesicherte Schätzungen' handelt. Diese lauten: Pompeji bekam in der ersten Phase, dokumentiert in der höheren Sinterschicht, etwa 45 l/s = 4000 m³/Tag, in der zweiten Phase, dokumentiert in der niedrigeren Sinterschicht, etwa 22 bis 23 l/s = rund 2000 m³/Tag.³⁵ Weil diese Mengen im Castellum in unterschiedlichen, sich ständig ändernden Anteilen in die Stadt geleitet wurden, lassen sich weitere Einzelheiten über die konkrete Verteilung nicht bestimmen.³⁶

Bei ihren wenigen Bemerkungen am Anfang der Studie zum innerstädtischen Rohrnetz kommen Adam und Varène auch auf die Drucktürme zu sprechen. Sie nehmen an, die Behälter auf der Spitze dieser Türme seien zum Schutz gegen allerlei Verschmutzungsmöglichkeiten geschlossen gewesen. Dagegen sprechen mehrere Gründe: Zum einen war der einzige erhaltene Bleibehälter auf einem Wasserturm an der NW-Ecke der Regio II,2, der im 2. Weltkrieg leider verloren ging, oben offen. Die Autoren glauben aber, dass dieser Behälter nicht repräsentativ sei. Der wesentliche Grund gegen ihre Annahme ist aber hydraulischer Art: Eine Funktion dieser Türme bestand darin, den sonst wegen der starken Neigung des Stadthügels zu groß werdenden Druck in den Leitungen zu begrenzen. Die Türme wurden so positioniert und so hoch gebaut, dass das Wasser unter Druck durch eine zu Tal führende Leitung auf einen Turm hinauf und in diesen offenen Behälter geleitet wurde. Dort war es dem Luftdruck ausgesetzt und wurde deshalb drucklos. Von diesem Behälter wurde das Wasser nicht nur an alle in der Umgebung des jeweiligen Turms angeschlossenen Verbraucher, sondern auch auf den nächsten Turm weitergeleitet. Von dort wiederholte sich alles bis hinab in die tiefliegenden Stadtregionen. So erreichte man überall, trotz des starken Gefälles innerhalb des Stadthügels, annähernd identische Druckverhältnisse. Wenn die Behälter geschlossen und das Wasser damit nicht dem Luftdruck ausgesetzt gewesen wäre, hätte das System nicht funktioniert und die gesamte Installation der Türme wäre unsinnig gewesen.

Ein weiterer Grund dafür, dass die Behälter offen gewesen sein müssen, besteht darin, dass bei einem Übergang von einem Freispiegelsystem (im Becken) zu einem Druckleitungssystem (im städtischen Rohrnetz) Luft in die Rohre eingesaugt werden konnte, was gegebenenfalls zu schweren Störungen im Rohrnetz geführt hätte. Diese Luft konnte aus den Behältern entweichen, wie die oben schon einmal erwähnten Sinterungen auf

den Druckreduzierungstürmen belegen, die durch die Verdunstung des mit den Luftblasen überge-
laufenen Wassers entstanden sind.

3. DIE TATSÄCHLICHE WASSERVERTEILUNG IM CASTELLUM

Aus allem bisher Gesagten lässt sich klar ermitteln, wie die Wasserverteilung im Castellum funktioniert hat, und die Beschreibung ist ebenso kurz wie die Verteilung einfach war: Nachdem das Wasser im Zusammenhang mit dem Seitenkanal eine erste Reinigungsstufe für Geschiebe³⁷ durchlaufen hatte, wurde es durch eine (zusammen mit dem Kanal gebaute, also in die erste Phase gehörende) Einschnürung am Ende des Kanals stark beschleunigt. Der dadurch entstandene 'schießende' Abfluss³⁸ des Wassers war für die erste Phase gewollt.³⁹ Ähnlich wie das Gitter vor dem Einlauf hat man die Einschnürung in der zweiten Phase beibehalten können, weil sie jetzt zwar ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung verloren hatte, aber nicht störte. Der nachfolgende Rechen mit der querliegenden Rinne hatte die Aufgabe, nachdem eventuell mitgeführtes Geschiebe schon eliminiert war, eventuell mitgeführtes Geschwemmsel festzuhalten und die Wasserströmung zu verstetigen.

An der Bleiplatte als unterströmtem Wehr am Kopf des Dreiteilers wurde das Wasser mit Hilfe eines stärkeren Öffnens oder Verschließens der sohlennah angebrachten Öffnungen in gewünschter Menge auf die drei Ablaufrohre verteilt. Sollte eine Einleitung des Wassers in ein einziges oder in zwei Ablaufrohre erfolgen, wurde dies durch entsprechendes Öffnen und Verschließen der quer in den Trennmauern liegenden Verbindungsrohre und der entsprechenden Ablaufrohre bewerkstelligt, was wegen ihrer identischen Rohrgröße durch Versetzen derselben Stopfen ohne Probleme möglich war.

4. EIN NOTWENDIGER EXKURS: DAS FLACHRELIEF AUS DEM HAUS DES L. CAECILIUS IUCUNDUS UND DIE FRAGWÜRDIGKEIT DARAUS ABGELEITETER DATIERUNGEN

Adam und Varène datieren die Fassade des Castellums nach Analyse von Maßen und Proportionen mit aller Bestimmtheit in augusteische Zeit. Dasselbe gelte für den für diese Zeit typischen Kuppelbau. Die baulichen Abweichungen, die die Fassade im Vergleich mit der Darstellung auf dem Relief aufweise, können sie sich nur so erklären, dass das Castellum beim Erdbeben des Jahres 62 schwere Zerstörungen erlitten habe und deshalb

entweder ganz oder zumindest in wesentlichen Teilen habe neu errichtet werden müssen. Das gelte auch für die übrigen Wandverkleidungen, soweit sie nicht durch den Agger im Rücken und den Stadtmauerflügel der Porta Vesuvio im Osten verdeckt waren.

Mit dieser Hypothese stehen sie in der Nachfolge Maiuris und sie übernehmen dabei auch einen inneren Widerspruch, den weder Maiuri selbst noch alle, die seiner These folgen, bemerkt zu haben scheinen: Maiuri beschäftigt sich in seiner Publikation 1942 intensiv mit den beiden Reliefs aus dem Haus des L. Caecilius Iucundus, zuerst mit dem, das den Zusammenbruch des Jupiter-tempels zeigt, dann mit dem hier besonders interessierenden (*Abb. 1*). Über die Darstellung des Castellums auf diesem Relief führt Maiuri aus, dass dieses dank seiner hervorragenden Konstruktion und seiner Einbettung in den Agger als vollkommen in Ordnung dargestellt sei,⁴⁰ während das schwer beschädigte Stadttor direkt neben ihm zusammenstürze. Von Maiuri wird diese Szene also eindeutig so verstanden, dass der *Zeitpunkt des Erdbebens* dargestellt ist⁴¹ und dass das Castellum dieses Ereignis *vollkommen unbeschadet* überstanden hat. Das heißt aber doch, dass es logischerweise auch nach dem Erdbeben, also in der Zeit, als L. Caecilius Iucundus dieses Relief anfertigen ließ, 'perfettamente a posto' war.

Im späteren Kapitel über das Castellum wird dieser Gedanke am Anfang eines langen Einführungssatzes auch noch einmal vollinhaltlich wiederholt ('gleichsam immun gegen jede Zerstörung'),⁴² doch dann in der Fortsetzung plötzlich ganz anders weitergeführt: Bei genauer Untersuchung ergebe sich aber, dass sich auch dieses Gebäude Reparaturen und Restaurierungen seiner äußeren und inneren (!) Strukturen habe unterziehen müssen.⁴³ Damit verschiebt sich die Perspektive: Das Relief zeigt jetzt vermeintlich nur den Zustand des Castellums *vor* dem Erdbeben, denn nur unter dieser Prämisse ist es möglich, im Vergleich mit dem Ausgrabungsbefund die angeblichen Restaurierungen *nach* dem Erdbeben festzustellen. Der lange Satz endet mit dem Schlüssel für diesen plötzlichen Wandel, indem Maiuri den angeblichen Zeitpunkt und Anlass für diese Restaurierungen benennt: im Rahmen der Ersetzung und Erneuerung des Rohrleitungsnetzes.⁴⁴ Auf diesen letzten, in der Argumentation Maiuris sehr wichtigen Gedanken wird später noch einmal eingegangen.

Wie Maiuri beschreiben auch Adam und Varène das Flachrelief aus dem Haus des L. Caecilius Iucundus (*Abb. 1*), zuerst als ein 'document ico-

nographique', das den Zeitpunkt des Erdbebens darstelle ('afin de confirmer la dynamique de l'instant')⁴⁵ interpretieren es dann aber nicht wie ein Bild, sondern sehen in ihm - wie Maiuri - eine *realistische* Darstellung des Zustandes des Castellums vor dem Erdbeben. Dabei ist vollkommen klar, dass die Porta Vesuvio - obwohl so dargestellt - beim Erdbeben nicht als Ganze mit geöffneten Torflügeln zur Seite gekippt sein kann. Der überwölbte Teil dieses Tores befand sich auch nicht, wie auf dem Relief dargestellt, in einer Fluchtlinie mit dem Castellum, sondern lag gut 17 m weiter nach Norden. Dennoch machen Adam und Varène für (fast) alle Details der Fassade des Castellums, die auf dem Relief dargestellt sind, aber *nicht* der Realität entsprechen, das Erdbeben von 62 n.Chr. verantwortlich. Weil sie aber damit in einen unlösbaren Konflikt mit ihrer *augusteischen* Datierung der Fassade kommen, äußern sie die Vermutung, dass die Fassade zwar grundsätzlich in augusteischer Zeit errichtet, dann nach dem Erdbeben möglicherweise aber nur teilrestauriert worden sei.⁴⁶ Welche Teile unversehrt erhalten und welche restauriert worden sein sollen, erklären sie nicht.

Es soll hier genügen, diese Position mit drei Argumenten zu widerlegen:

1. Die drei Flächen zwischen den Pilastern sind in der Realität gleich breit, in der Reliefdarstellung aber ist die mittlere deutlich breiter als die seitlichen Flächen (Abb. 1). Die von Adam und Varène für die tatsächliche Gestaltung der Fassade angeführten Proportionsüberlegungen sind für die Fassadengestaltung auf dem Relief also nicht anwendbar. Wenn das Relief deshalb den realistischen Zustand vor dem Erdbeben darstellen würde, wäre die aus den Proportionen abgeleitete augusteische Datierung hinfällig. Und sie wäre auch nicht durch eine Teil-Restaurierung sanierbar, denn um eine gleichmäßige Aufteilung, wie jetzt vorhanden, zu erreichen, hätte man die vermeintlich beschädigte Fassade nicht nur teilweise restaurieren, sondern vom Sockel an aufwärts komplett neu bauen müssen. Also: Entweder augusteisch, dann keine Restaurierung, oder Restaurierung, dann nicht augusteisch, sondern nach 62 n.Chr. zu datieren; einen Kompromiss kann es nicht geben.
2. In jedem der drei Bögen in der Fassade habe es, wie auf dem Relief dargestellt, eine Lichtöffnung gegeben, wobei die mittlere nach dem Erdbeben bei der Reparatur der Fassade weggefallen sei. Wäre dies richtig, müsste man im Inneren, wo sich, wie bei den beiden seitlichen Lichtöffnungen, auch in der Mitte eine tiefe,

schießschartenartige Aufweitung ins Gebäudeinnere befunden haben müsste, ein nachträglicher Verschluss an Baufugen erkennen; davon ist aber nichts zu sehen (vgl. Abb. 26), obwohl selbst das *opus reticulatum* unter dem Verputz großflächig durchscheint.

3. Das Relief zeigt im Sockel nur ein einziges Ablaufrohr, was zu keiner Zeit der Realität entsprochen haben kann. Es wäre nämlich unsinnig gewesen, das Wasser im Inneren in *drei* Teile zu teilen, um es dann durch *ein* einziges Rohr herauszuleiten.

Das Relief darf also nicht als dokumentarische Bauaufnahme, sondern muss ausschließlich als Bild verstanden werden, was A. Mau in Bezug auf das andere Relief grundsätzlich auch schon so gesehen hat: 'Die abweichende Zahl und Form der Frontsäulen [des Iupitertempels] darf uns nicht irre machen; solche Ungenauigkeiten sind auf antiken Darstellungen von Bauwerken gewöhnlich.'⁴⁷ Die in diesem Bild vermittelte Botschaft für das vom Steinmetz in freier Gestaltung dargestellte, aber dennoch als solches zu identifizierende Castellum kann deshalb nur lauten: Das Wasserverteilergebäude neben der einstürzenden Porta Vesuvio blieb ohne Schaden.⁴⁸

Wie oben schon angedeutet, kann man Maiuris Interpretation und Datierung nur verstehen, wenn man seine Ausführungen über das innerstädtische Rohrnetz kennt. Schon in seinem Aufsatz von 1931 diskutierte er das Problem, wie es sein könne, dass bei den Ausgrabungen unmittelbar vor dem Castellum und bei Freilegungen von langen Strecken von Gehwegen an manchen Stellen zwar auch noch mehr oder weniger kurze Rohrabschnitte, sehr viel öfter aber mit Lapilli verfüllte Gräben gefunden wurden, in denen sich keine Rohre, manchmal lediglich Bettungsabdrücke von Rohren befanden.⁴⁹ Die Erklärungsmöglichkeit, dass Metallräuber diese Rohre nach dem Vesuvausbruch geraubt hätten, glaubte er verwerfen zu müssen. Dazu wären mehrere Meter tiefe, ausgedehnte Grabungen nötig gewesen, die ihm ohne den Aufbau aufwendiger Abstützungen undenkbar erschienen. Maiuri glaubte vielmehr, dass die Rohrentnahmen unmittelbar vor dem Vesuvausbruch erfolgt seien und es sich dabei um eine großangelegte Sanierungsmaßnahme des gesamten innerstädtischen Rohrnetzes gehandelt haben müsse, die in flächendeckenden Erdbeschäden begründet gewesen sei.⁵⁰ Damit schien das Erdbeben von 62 n.Chr. als Ursache für die umfangreichen Beschädigungen der innerstädtischen Wasserleitungen identifiziert, die unmittelbar am Fuß



Abb. 26. Die Verfärbung zeigt die Höhe der Verfüllung des Castellums mit Verschüttungsmaterial durch das Loch in der Kuppel. Es gibt keinen Hinweis auf ein zugesetztes mittleres Lichtloch zwischen dem westlichen (unter dem Kuppelloch rechts) und dem östlichen (links).

des Castellums begonnen und das gesamte Versorgungsnetz betroffen hätten.

Wie eine Erklärungsschablone sozusagen rückwärts auch auf das Castellum übertragen und dafür durch die Interpretation des Reliefs (= Zustand *vor* dem Erdbeben) scheinbar bestätigt, interpretierte Maiuri dann nicht nur die Fassade,⁵¹ sondern auch die äußere Verkleidung der Seitenwände, schließlich sogar - wie oben gezeigt - die Zerstörungen im Inneren und die Entfernung aller Rohre und Metallteile, auch der 'Bleiplatten' ('le lame di piombo'), als Maßnahmen im Rahmen von Reparaturen.⁵² Wenn aber der Ausgrabungszustand des Castellums im Wesentlichen der Zustand unmittelbar nach 62 sei, so folgert Maiuri weiter, könne das Castellum bis zum Vesuviusausbruch nicht mehr in Betrieb gewesen sein. Diese Annahme stellt ihn vor ein neues Problem, nämlich zu erklären, dass in vielen Häusern⁵³ die ausgedehnten Wasserspiele bis zum Schluss funktioniert hatten, was dann schließlich zu der Hypothese führte, dass es eine schnell wiederhergestellte Notversorgung gegeben haben müsse. Wie

die aber funktioniert haben soll und woher das Wasser gekommen sein könnte, wenn nicht aus dem Castellum, wird nicht diskutiert.

Auch wenn in diesem Zusammenhang nicht direkt angesprochen, werden Maiuris oben dargestellte Bewertungen vermutlich auch durch seine Datierung von Ziegelmauerwerk beeinflusst. K. Wallat fasst diese so zusammen: 'A. Maiuri hat in seiner Publikation zur "ultima fase edilizia" den Gebrauch von Ziegeln fast ausschließlich der letzten Phase Pompejis zwischen 62 und 79 n.Chr. zugerechnet. ... Flickungen schreibt er ausschließlich der Zeit nach dem Erdbeben von 62 n.Chr. zu, ebenso auffällige Neubauten mit Ziegelmauerwerk... Das Werk Maiuris prägte in der Folgezeit die Überzeugung, alle gleichmäßig rotfarbenen und regelmäßig geformten Ziegel automatisch der Zeit nach 62 n.Chr. zuschreiben zu müssen, Flickungen sowieso. So präsentiert auch die letzte größere Arbeit, die sich mit römischer Bautechnik im allgemeinen und pompejanischer Bautechnik im besonderen beschäftigt, beim Opus testaceum keinerlei neue Erkenntnisse, sondern referiert zu

diesem Themenkomplex im wesentlichen die Ergebnisse Maiuris.⁵⁴

Wenn man diese Quellenlage kennt und die Argumentationskette systematisch zurückverfolgt, muss man feststellen, dass es ohne den fragwürdigen Vergleich mit dem Relief und ohne den Rückschluss von den Rohrnetzproblemen auf das Castellum und ohne die generelle Zuordnung von Ziegelmauerwerk auf die Zeit nach 62 n.Chr. kein einziges belastbares Argument aus dem Gebäude selbst heraus gibt, das einen Zusammenhang mit dem Erdbeben von 62 rechtfertigt. Es gibt auch keinen einzigen wirklich gesicherten Beleg dafür, dass die Wasserversorgung wegen innerer oder äußerer Schäden am Castellum vor dem Vesuviusausbruch hätte aufgegeben werden müssen. Im Gegenteil: Wenn die Abtrennung des Seitenkanals zum *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* einen Zusammenhang mit dem Erdbeben von 62 hat, wofür alles spricht, dann belegen die Sinterungen auf dem Verschlussmauerwerk und dem gegenüberliegenden Balkenloch einen fortdauernden Betrieb der Leitung ins Castellum über 62 hinaus bis 79 n.Chr.

Die heute erkennbaren Restaurierungen von Schäden am Castellum stammen alle aus der Zeit unmittelbar nach der Freilegung des Gebäudes, also aus den Jahren 1902/1903. Um die Entstehung dieser Schäden zu verstehen, muss man ein wenig in der Ausgrabungsgeschichte Pompejis zurückgehen: Als 1860 mit Fiorelli die Ära der wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen begann, war es lange ein großes Problem, wohin man das ausgegrabene Verschüttungsmaterial schaffen sollte.⁵⁵ Deshalb musste vor allem die Nordregion Pompejis als Zwischenlager für Grabungsmaterial von anderen Stellen der Stadt herhalten. 1897 wurde dann als Ablagerungsfläche für Grabungsmaterial aus der Stadt der 'Fondo Barbatelli' gekauft,⁵⁶ ein großes Grundstück aus Privatbesitz, das sich im Norden unmittelbar an die Stadtmauer zwischen der Porta Ercolano und der Porta Vesuvio anschloss. Im Juli 1902 baute man dorthin eine Lorenbahn, die an der Casa dei Vetti begann,⁵⁷ um das auch dort schon angetroffene Grabungsmaterial von vorhergehenden Grabungen⁵⁸ entfernen zu können. Wie das handschriftliche Grabungstagebuch 'Giornale di Scavo' unter dem 1. März 1902 vermerkt, wurde auch das Material aus dem Bereich des Castellums⁵⁹ dorthin gebracht. Wenn also 1902 das Castellum durch eine Schicht von nicht näher zu bestimmendem Mischmaterial bedeckt war (vgl. Abb. 27) und die Ausgräber - von oben kommend - erst seine Dachfläche freilegen mussten, hatte man es nicht mit der Situation zu



Abb. 27. Das Castellum Aquae nach der Freilegung, Zustand 1902/1903 (NSc 1903, 27). Man erkennt im Hintergrund das hoch anstehende, hier abgelagerte Ausgrabungsmaterial aus anderen Teilen der Stadt.

tun, die der Lage unmittelbar nach dem Vesuviusausbruch entsprach, sondern mit Aufschüttungen des 18. oder 19. Jahrhunderts. Dass das Castellum erst bei diesen Aufschüttungen auch im Inneren durch das Einbruchloch hindurch verfüllt wurde, belegen die Verfärbungen auf den Innenwänden, die eine Schüttung vom Loch in der Kuppel bis an den Beginn der Einschnürung im Kanal (etwa 4,50 m vor dem Castellum) in einer abfallenden Linie dokumentieren (vgl. Abb. 26).

Auf den ältesten Fotos ab 1902 (vgl. Abb. 27) ist zu erkennen, dass die bei der Freilegung angetroffenen Schäden nur den oberen Teil des Gebäudes (beginnend etwa auf Höhe der Lichtöffnungen) betreffen. Daraus ersieht man, dass das Castellum mit etwa seinem oberen Fünftel nach dem Vesuviusausbruch das Verschüttungsniveau überragte⁶⁰ und damit nicht nur für die Metallräuber leicht zu finden, sondern mit diesem Teil jahrhundertlang jeder Art von Beschädigung ausgesetzt war, bis die ganze Umgebung irgendwann innerhalb der oben genannten Zeitspanne vollständig mit Grabungsmaterial überdeckt wurde.

Auch in Bewertung dieser Sachverhalte ist davon auszugehen, dass das außerordentlich kompakt gebaute Castellum mit seinen überdimensionierten Mauern, mit seiner mächtigen Kuppel und mit den äußeren Verkleidungen der Wände nicht nur das Erdbeben überstanden hat, sondern bis zum Vesuviusausbruch voll funktionsfähig geblieben war.

5. DIE BAUGESCHICHTE DES CASTELLUMS

Wenn man (Adam und Varène befinden sich damit sozusagen im 'mainstream') davon ausgeht, dass

das gesamte Wasserversorgungssystem, also Zuleitungskanal, Becken, Castellum und innerstädtisches Verteilungssystem eine unauflösbare logische, bauliche und zeitliche Einheit bilden, muss man alles zusammen mit Verweis auf die Serinoleitung und die Architektur der Fassade augustinisch datieren. So einfach ist die Situation aber nicht, denn tatsächlich lassen sich im Wasserversorgungssystem Pompejis *zwei* Bauphasen feststellen: Neben vielen (wenig beachteten) baulichen Veränderungen rund um die Porta Vesuvio⁶¹ gehören zur ersten Bauphase der (auch in der 2. Phase weitergenutzte) Zuleitungskanal,⁶² ein rundes Becken unter freiem Himmel⁶³ (Abb. 28-30) und ein innerstädtisches Leitungssystem, das im Laufe der Zeit ständig erweitert, angepasst und erneuert wurde (so dass man weder bei Brunnen noch bei anderen Einzelelementen, wenn sie datierbar sind, auf die Datierung des Gesamtsystems schließen kann). In der zweiten Bauphase wurde dieses Becken grundlegend umgebaut und

mit Regeleinrichtungen ausgestattet, und zusätzlich wurde über der vorher offenen Anlage ein Schutzbau errichtet. Man muss also auch in der Terminologie differenzieren zwischen der Wasserversorgungsanlage (= Zuleitungskanal und Becken) einerseits und dem Castellum (= auf dem Beckenrand aufgesetzter Schutzbau) andererseits.

Folgende Befunde belegen direkt oder indirekt den Umbau der ursprünglichen Anlage zur noch heute sichtbaren – und damit auch die ursprüngliche – Form:⁶⁴

- Die Sinterungen aus der niedrigen/jüngeren Schicht im Zuleitungskanal und aus dem Verteilerbecken in Pompeji sowie die aus der Piscina Mirabilis sind chemisch/mineralogisch identisch. Sie unterscheiden sich vom Sinter der höheren/älteren Schicht im Zuleitungskanal insofern, als dieser einige der untersuchten Mineralien und Spurenelemente in wesentlich *höherer* Dosierung enthält. Sie unterscheiden sich aber auch vom Sinter, der der Serinoleitung

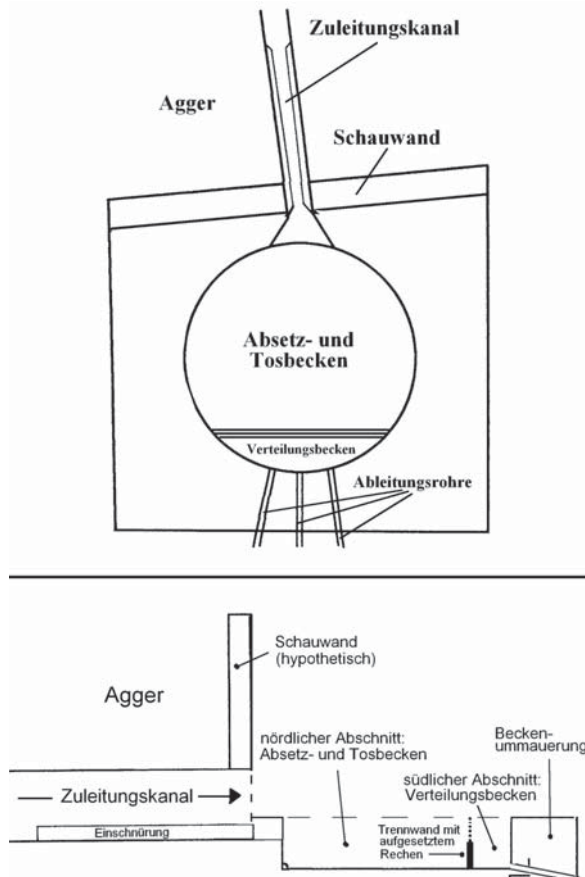


Abb. 28. Rekonstruktion der 1. Phase des Beckens.



Abb. 29. Querschnitt durch das Becken der ersten Phase mit erhöhter Beckenummauerung auf der West- und der Südseite.

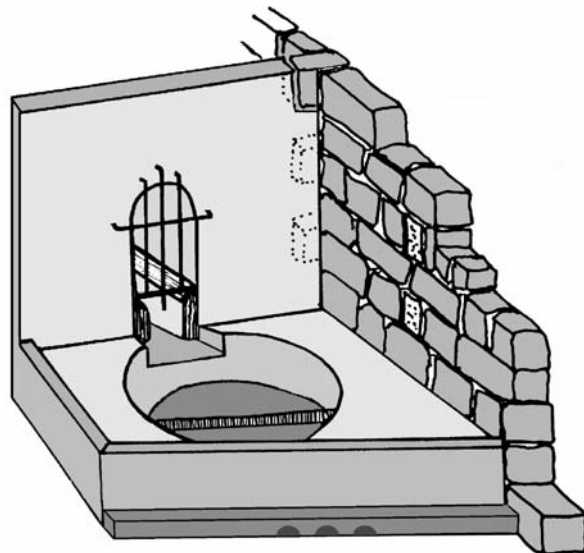


Abb. 30. Hypothetische Rekonstruktion des offenen Beckens in der 1. Phase.

(weiter östlich in der Nähe von Sarno) entnommen wurde: Dieser enthält diese Mineralien und Spurenelemente in deutlich *geringerer* Dosierung als in den drei zuerst genannten, identischen Sinterungen. Das Wasser der Serinoleitung bekam also von dem einzigen Punkt an, von dem die Leitung nach Pompeji aus topographischen Gründen abzweigen konnte, eine *höhere* Dosierung, als es vorher hatte, genau der Elemente, die in *noch erheblich höherer* Dosierung im Sinter der älteren Schicht im Zuleitungskanal anzutreffen ist. Dieser Sachverhalt ist nur so zu erklären, dass die Serinoleitung auf eine ältere Leitung getroffen und mit ihr zusammengeführt worden ist. Es gibt viele Gründe anzunehmen, dass diese Leitung aus dem Quellgebiet von Avella kam. Durch diese Zusammenführung entstand ein Mischwasser aus Avella- und Serinoquellen.⁶⁵ Und da in beiden Phasen derselbe nach Pompeji führende Kanal genutzt wurde, finden sich dort beide Sinterungen.

Das bedeutet: Mit der augusteischen Datierung der Serinoleitung sind nur der Sinter und die *Umbauten* im Becken sowie die *niedrigel/jüngere Sinterschicht* im Zuleitungskanal datiert. Es muss aber, belegt durch die *ältere* Sinterschicht, eine *frühere* Nutzung der Anlage gegeben haben. Dass sich deren Sinter nirgendwo im Becken nachweisen lässt, beruht darauf, dass der Totalumbau des Beckens diese Schicht vollständig überdeckt.

- Die nachweislich zusammen mit dem Kanal gebaute Einschnürung führt dazu, dass das Wasser mit deutlich erhöhter Geschwindigkeit und deshalb auch in größerer Entfernung ins Becken *geschossen* bzw. *gestürzt* ist, während es ohne die Einschnürung ruhig über den Beckenrand hinab *geströmt* wäre. Diesen Effekt der Einschnürung muss man beim Bau des Kanals beabsichtigt haben, und das spricht dafür, dass den vor dem offenen Becken stehenden Betrachtern mit dem optisch und akustisch beeindruckend einschießenden Wasserstrahl ein *spectaculum* geboten werden sollte, was bei einem im Castellum verschlossenen Becken sinnlos gewesen wäre.
- Der Zuleitungskanal ist im Inneren durchgängig etwa 2 römische Fuß (ca. 60 cm) hoch mit wasserundurchlässigem *opus signinum* verputzt, völlig ausreichend bei einer Höchstwassertiefe von ca. 40 cm. Auf den letzten 4 m (also fast identisch mit dem Beginn der Einschnürung) ist der gesamte Kanal einschließlich des Gewölbes verputzt. Das alles ist hydraulisch unnötig

und nur erklärbar, wenn der Kanal in der 1. Phase vom um einiges tiefer liegenden Vorplatz aus einsichtig war und der vor dem Becken stehende Betrachter beim Blick von unten nach oben in den Kanal hinein nicht rohes Mauerwerk sehen sollte. Dieses Kriterium hätte bei einem Kanal, der in ein verschlossenes Castellum einmündet, keine Bedeutung, denn der einzige Zugangsberechtigte, der *castellarius*, hätte sich schon fast auf den Boden legen müssen, um das Kanalgewölbe betrachten zu können.

- Das Gitter vor dem Zuleitungskanal ist aus den schon genannten Gründen nur so sinnvoll zu erklären, dass nicht ein unbefugtes Eindringen durch die Wasserleitung in die Stadt, sondern ein unbefugtes Eindringen vom offenen Becken aus in die Wasserleitung verhindert werden sollte (vgl. Abb. 10, 11 und 30).
- Die Abmessungen sind beim Umbau des Beckens erstaunlich ungenau geraten. Beispielsweise sind die Leitwände unterschiedlich lang und die Durchlässe an der Spitze des Dreiteilers, die wahrscheinlich drei Fuß breit sein sollten, sind, auf der Sohle gemessen tatsächlich 117 cm (Ostseite), 96 cm (Mitte), 119 cm (Westseite) breit;⁶⁶ die Einbauten sind auch keineswegs achsensymmetrisch.⁶⁷ Der Durchmesser des runden Beckens hingegen betrug exakt 16 römische Fuß.⁶⁸ Dies ist insofern bemerkenswert, als das Becken von der Grundstücksgröße her und auch in Bezug auf die hydraulischen Bedingungen durchaus größer oder kleiner hätte gebaut werden können, könnte aber damit zusammenhängen, dass die Zahl 16 als *numerus perfectissimus* (Vitruv 3.1.5-8) in der antiken Architektur eine besondere Bedeutung hatte. Zusammen mit der 5 Fuß breiten Beckenummauerung ergab sich ein 26 Fuß breites Bauwerk, und dieses Maß war die Vorgabe für die spätere Fassadengestaltung.
- Römische Wasserbauwerke wurden immer zur Erhöhung der Dichtigkeit in dem kritischen Bereich zwischen Sohle und Wange verstärkt, und zwar wahlweise (hydraulisch gleichwertig) durch einen Viertelrundstab oder durch eine Hohlkehle. Im Bereich der untersten Sohle befinden sich vor den Ablaufrohren Viertelrundstäbe, ab der untersten Stufe bis hinauf ins Becken selbst und auch da Hohlkehlen - Indiz für verschiedene Bauphasen.
- Die von Adam und Varène beiläufig abgehandelte Fuge auf der Begehungsebene 1½ römische Fuß (rund 45 cm) von der kreisförmigen Gebäudeinnenwand entfernt nimmt die Kur-

vatur der (alten) südlichen Beckenwanne auf beiden Seiten auf (Abb. 18), berührt im Norden den unteren Rand der flachen Sohlschwelle unterhalb des Kanalaustritts (vgl. Abb. 3) und bildet zusammen mit diesen Elementen einen vollkommenen Kreis. Wie man an tieferen Beschädigungen dieser Fuge, bei denen das *opus signinum* der nachträglich angebauten Fläche abgeplatzt ist, eindeutig nachweisen kann, handelt es sich nicht um eine einfache Baufuge, sondern um den ehemals nach innen abgerundeten Rand des Beckens, an den die Verfüllungsschicht der 2. Phase angrenzt (Abb. 31 und 32). Die Kreissegmente, die zwischen dem ursprünglichen Beckenrand und den neuen Leitwänden verfüllt wurden, haben außerdem eine geringfügig andere Neigung und andere Mörtelmischungen als der ursprüngliche Umgang. Dass Leitwände eingebaut wurden, um die Totwasserzonen im runden Becken zu verringern, in denen sich Sedimente ablagerten,⁶⁹ und dass die Beckensohle aufgehöhht, die Dreiteilerkörper sowie Filter- und Regelanlagen eingebaut wurden, stellt eine so umfassende Neukonzeption dar, dass es sich nicht lediglich um eine geringfügige Planmodifikation während der Bauzeit handeln kann, sondern eine generelle Funktionsänderung aufgrund völlig anderer Bedingungen darstellt, als sie vorher von dem Bauwerk erfüllt werden mussten.

- Die Leitwände selbst zeigen am südlichen Ansatz an die ursprüngliche Beckenwanne einen senkrechten Schwundriss, wie er typischerweise entstehen muss, wenn frisches Mauerwerk an älteres angebaut wird, sich durch den mit dem Trocknen verbundenen Schrumpfungsprozess geringfügig zusammenzieht und dabei von der älteren Mauer absetzt (vgl. Abb. 19, links von der Ziffer 1).
- Auf den beiden äußeren Beckenwangen befinden sich, oberhalb des Ansatzes der untersten Stufe, einander genau gegenüberliegend, zwei ca. 20 cm breite senkrechte Verputzstreifen, die leicht zu übersehen sind (Abb. 33). Auf den diesen Verputzstreifen gegenüberliegenden inneren Wänden der Abtreppung gibt es keine Entsprechung. Diese beiden Streifen können als Hinweis gedeutet werden, dass hier im ursprünglichen Becken in geringer Entfernung vor den ableitenden Rohren ein Rechen als technisches Element eingefügt war, der mit dem Einbau des Dreiteilers entfernt werden musste, was zusätzlich von der über diese Verputzstreifen ungestört hinweggehenden Sinterschicht aus dem Betrieb der 2. Phase belegt

wird. Dieser Befund begründet die Darstellung eines Reches in den Abbildungen 28 und 30.

- Die auch von Adam und Varène festgestellte Zäsur im Verkleidungsmauerwerk der Westwand (unten *opus incertum* mit Verputz, oben



Abb. 31. In einer Beschädigung der Risslinie ist deutlich zu erkennen, dass der ursprüngliche Beckenrand der 1. Bauphase (links) abgerundet erhalten ist (Pfeil), während der nachträglich angesetzte Bodenbelag aus grobkörnigem *opus signinum* hier abplatzt.

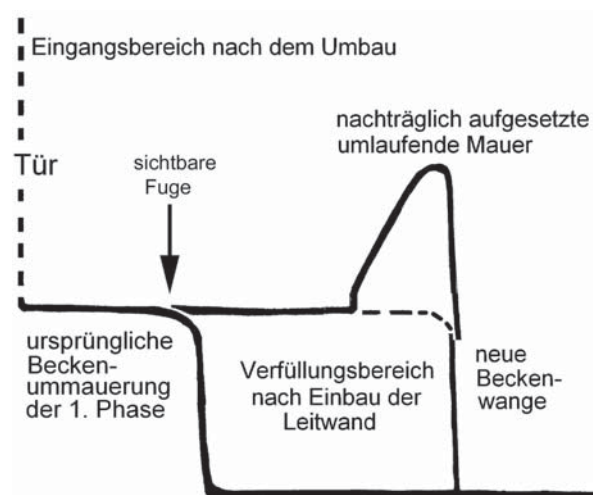


Abb. 32. Rekonstruktion der Umbaugeschichte und Lage der aufbrechenden Fuge.

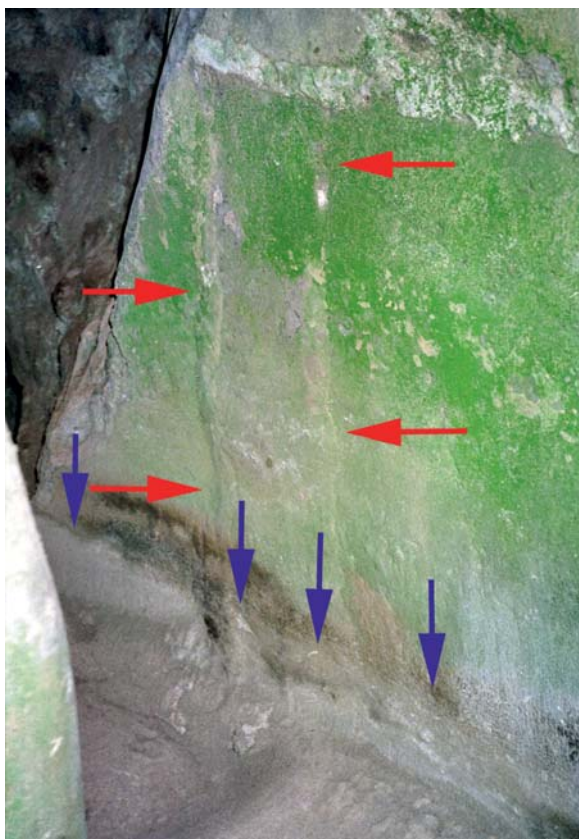


Abb. 33. Nachträglich verputzter senkrechter Streifen auf der Westseite der Beckenwange der 1. Phase (rote Pfeile), über die die Sinterung (blaue Pfeile) ungestört weitergeht.

opus reticulatum), von ihnen (wie schon von Maiuri)⁷⁰ ebenfalls als Indiz auf eine Reparatur nach 62 gedeutet, muss anders interpretiert werden: Bei dem unteren Teil handelt es sich genau um die Höhe, die die aus *opus incertum* gebaute und verputzte Beckenummauerung einschließlich eines kleinen Randsockels (vgl. Abb. 29 und 30) gehabt haben muss. Beim späteren Aufbau des Castellums ist dessen Westwand hier aufgesetzt worden, und zwar bündig mit dem verputzten Sockel. Dies ist nur noch an wenigen Stellen nachzuweisen, weil der originale Verputz des Sockels an vielen Stellen abgeplatzt ist, an einigen Stellen jedoch auch modern (unfachmännisch) repariert wurde. Insofern entsteht an manchen Stellen der Eindruck, als würde das *opus reticulatum* überstehen (Abb. 36), aber tatsächlich war es ursprünglich bündig über und mit dem verputzten Sockel angesetzt. Einzelne Retikulatsteine mit

ganz dünnen Putzresten könnten ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass auch diese aufgehende neue Wand insgesamt verputzt war.

- Um dieses runde, offene Becken gut sichtbar, also buchstäblich 'prominent', positionieren zu können, wurde die Außenmauer des vorher doppelschaligen Westflügels der Porta Vesuvio abgebrochen,⁷¹ wobei die ursprünglichen Bindersteinblöcke des stehen gebliebenen Mauerzuges⁷² erhalten blieben. Die Wand, die das Becken gegen den dahinter ursprünglich ansteigenden Agger schützte, wurde mit diesen Bindersteinblöcken verzahnt (vgl. Abb. 30), und diese Mauer wurde in der zweiten Bauphase die Rückwand des Castellums. Daraus ergab sich für das spätere Gebäude eine im Grundriss trapezförmige Gestalt.⁷³
- Dass der Sockel an der Front des Gebäudes, den Adam und Varène von ihrer architektonischen Analyse der Fassade ausnehmen, in der Tat nicht zu den augusteischen Proportionsbestimmungen passt, erklärt sich daraus, dass dieser schon zur ersten Phase gehört und beim Bau des Castellums und seiner Fassade mit- samt der unter ihm herausführenden Rohre schon lange da war.

Mit dem Bau der augusteischen Serinoleitung änderten sich die Versorgungsverhältnisse grundlegend: Um alle Ressourcen nutzen zu können, wurden die beiden Leitungen zu einem System verbunden, Pompeji bekam jetzt insgesamt weniger Wasser, wurde aus dem Avella-/Serinosystem aber konstant versorgt, erhielt also vor allem auch im Sommer Wasser. Über frisches, kaltes Wasser nun auch im Sommer zu verfügen führte zu einschneidenden Baumaßnahmen im öffentlichen⁷⁴ wie im privaten⁷⁵ Bereich.

Weil man jetzt aber die geringere Wassermenge kontingentieren musste, baute man das Becken vollständig um (Anhebung der Beckensohle, Aufmauerung des Dreiteilers und der beiden Leitwände) und installierte technische Einrichtungen zur Regulierung und Steuerung des Durchflusses. Weil diese Regeleinrichtungen so einfach zu bedienen waren, also in einem offenen Becken auch einfach zu manipulieren und zu missbrauchen gewesen wären, baute man auf die ursprüngliche Beckenummauerung nachträglich ein verschleißbares Gebäude, dessen wesentliche Funktion als die eines Schutzbaus anzusehen ist. Dies alles lässt sich, wie gezeigt, aus Befunden begründen und ist ganz sicher nicht durch architektonische Überlegungen zur Fassade zu widerlegen.

Wenn man von der Zweiphasigkeit der Anlage

ausgehen kann und die zweite Phase anhand des Zusammenhangs mit der Serinoleitung und der Architektur des Castellums (= Gebäude oberhalb des Beckens) augusteisch datiert werden muss, dann muss man zur Datierung der ersten - notwendigerweise vor-augusteischen - Phase indirekte Indikatoren heranziehen, um sie möglichst nahtlos - wie ein Zahnrad in ein Uhrwerk - in die Stadtentwicklung Pompejis einzufügen. Eine ganze Reihe dieser Indikatoren, die für die Zeit nach der Eroberung der Stadt durch Sulla sprechen, wurden schon an anderer Stelle genannt.⁷⁶ Hier müssen Stichworte reichen: Abbruch der äußeren Mauer- schale des Westflügels, um das Becken möglichst gut sichtbar platzieren zu können, zugleich Aufhö- hung der äußeren Pomeriastraße um mindestens zwei Meter, um den Zuleitungskanal zu über- brücken - beides Entfestigungseffekte, die frü- hestens nach Romanisierung der Stadt möglich waren/Ansiedlung von Veteranen und Gründung des *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus*, der, wie die Stadt selbst, mit einer gleichzeitig gebauten Zweig- leitung mit Wasser versorgt wurde/offenes Be- cken mit nymphäumartiger Gestaltung als Demon- stration der Leistungsfähigkeit der römischen Kultur, zugleich Werbung um Akzeptanz durch die altansässige Bevölkerung/gewaltige Baumaß- nahmen - Bau einer ca. 37 km langen⁷⁷ Wasserlei- tung, großflächige vorstädtische Geländeauffül- lungen, um die Wasserleitung über einen Gelän- desattel vor der Stadt führen zu können, Öffnung der Stadtmauer und der in der Ecke von Stadt- mauer/Porta Vesuvio positionierten Bastion, Auf- höhung des Straßenpflasters auf dem Vorplatz des Castellums und der nördlichen Via del Vesuvio, um den Seitenkanal überqueren zu können,⁷⁸ innerstädtisches Versorgungssystem mit Druck- türmen und Brunnen. Man kann sich schwer vor- stellen, dass eine vergleichsweise unbedeutende Provinzstadt dies alles aus eigener Kraft hätte rea- lisieren können. Auch aus diesem Grund erscheint es plausibel, alle diese umwälzenden Maßnahmen in die Phase der Romanisierung zu datieren.⁷⁹

Abschließend sollen zwei weitere, bisher nicht genannte Argumente zur indirekten Datierung angeführt werden. Wenn eine Baustelle einge- richtet wird, muss zuerst für Energie und Wasser gesorgt werden. In der Antike dürfte Energie vor allem die Bereitstellung von Bauarbeitern in Form von Sklaven oder Legionären bedeutet haben. Nun ist bekannt, dass nach dem Bundesgenossen- krieg und der Ansiedlung einer großen Zahl von Veteranen in Pompeji und im *Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus* ein gewaltiges Bauprogramm aufge- legt wurde (u.a. Amphitheater, Odeon, Forums-

thermen und vieles andere), und es erscheint aus- geschlossen, dass das für ein solches Baupro- gramm notwendige Wasser (für Mörtel, Verputz, Reinigung, Versorgung der Bauarbeiter) aus Haus- zisternen, Tiefbrunnen oder dem tiefer liegenden Sarnus entnommen worden sein könnte. Wie in anderen Fällen kann man mit hoher Wahrschein- lichkeit auch in Pompeji davon ausgehen, dass die Fernwasserleitung, die ein Bauen im großen Stil erst ermöglichte, eine der ersten Baumaß- nahmen der neuen Colonia war.

Das zweite Argument bezieht sich auf die Grün- dungssituation des Castellums. In dem seit der Ausgrabung offen gebliebenen Loch unmittelbar vor dem mittleren Auslauf des Castellums war unter dem Sockel des Gebäudes eine Schicht aus



Abb. 34. Die Situation des (1995 zugeschütteten) Lochs vor dem Castellum im Jahr 1994: rechts unter den Öffnungen im Sockel die von Maiuri festgestellte massive Schicht aus opus caementicium. Die Pflaster- steine schließen bündig an den Sockel des Castellums an und liegen höher als dessen unterer Rand.

opus caementicium sichtbar (Abb. 27 und 34), bevor dieses Loch 1995 aus Sicherheitsgründen verfüllt wurde. Maiuri, der hier eine tiefe Sondage durchgeführt hatte, hat in seinem Aufsatz von 1931 festgestellt, dass sich unter einer 0,70 m starken Schicht aus *opus caementicium* ein alter Straßenbelag aus der Tuff- oder Kalksteinepoche befindet.⁸⁰ In Maiuris Abbildung der damaligen Gesamtsituation (hier Abb. 35) ist in dem schmalen Gang zur Tür des Castellums kein Steinbelag dargestellt. Dieser wurde, zuvor von einer Art Rampe aus gestampfter Kalk-Tuff-Erde etwa von der Verlängerung der Front des Castellums an bis zu einer querliegenden Schwelle aus Steinblöcken in der Nähe der Tür (in Abb. 35 in grau eingefügt) verdeckt, erst im Jahr 2000 von mir freigelegt. In einer zwischen der genannten Schwelle und der Sitzbank des *castellarius* vor Kopf der nördlichen Begrenzungsmauer des Ganges durchgeführten

Sondage (Buchstabe S in Abb. 35) kam ebenfalls ein durch die Steinblöcke nach Süden begrenzter

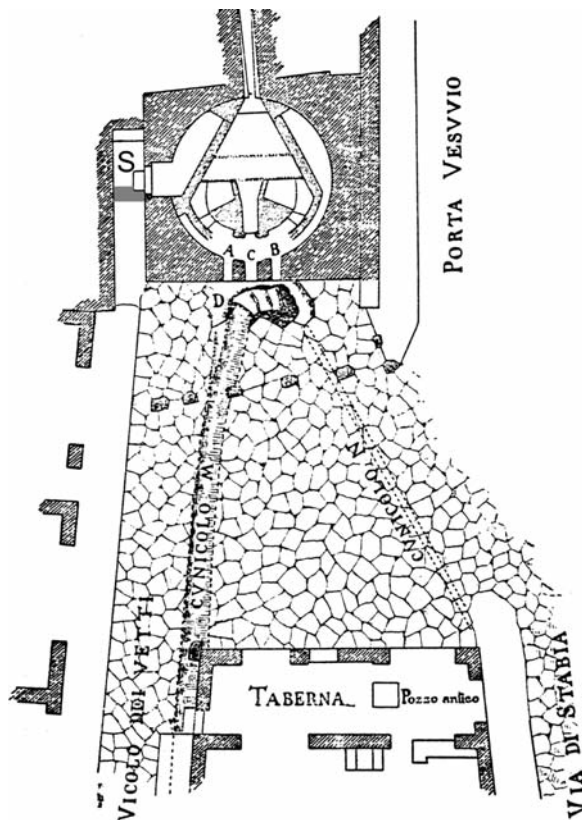


Abb. 35. Die Umgebung des Castellums nach Maiuri (Maiuri 1931, 555). In grau hinzugefügt der Querriegel vor dem Trittstein ins Castellum (vgl. Abb. 36); S = Sondagefläche vor der Bank des *castellarius* zur Erkundung der Gründungssituation des Castellums unter der Westwand.



Abb. 36. Blick in den schmalen Gang westlich des Castellums. Links die zum größten Teil modern errichtete Stützmauer gegen den Agger, rechts unten die westliche Ecke des Sockels unter der Fassade; vor dem Trittstein unter der Tür des Castellums der Querriegel (unten Tuff, oben Sarnokalk), ursprünglich der südliche Abschluss der dahinter/darunter liegenden vor-römischen Straße, die in der hier durchgeführten Sondage zum Vorschein kam (vgl. Abb. 38). Die unmittelbar vor der Abschlussmauer nach Norden, die an die Westwand des Castellums angesetzt ist, positionierte Bank wird hier vom Aushub der Sondage verdeckt.

In der Westwand des Castellums gut erkennbar die Begrenzungslinie zwischen unten der ursprünglichen Beckenummauerung aus *opus incertum* (1. Phase), von der der ursprüngliche Verputz weitgehend abgeplatzt ist; darüber aufgesetzt die Wand des Verteilergebäudes (2. Phase), verkleidet mit *opus reticulatum*. Anders als vor dem Castellum (vgl. Abb. 33) grenzen die Pflastersteine hier nicht bündig an, sondern reichen unter die Wand. Außerdem liegen sie ca. 10 cm tiefer als die vor dem Castellum.

alter Straßenbelag aus gestampfter Kalk-Tuff-Erde zum Vorschein (Abb. 38).⁸¹

Es ist unbekannt, ob die von Maiuri angesprochene Schicht aus *opus caementicium* nur den Unterbau des Sockels im Bereich der ableitenden Rohre bildet oder sich seitlich weiter ausdehnt. An der Westwand erscheint es jedenfalls sicher, dass die Verteileranlage auf einen älteren Straßenbelag gesetzt wurde: im Norden auf die vor-römische Straße, ab dem Querriegel nach Süden auf das Straßenpflaster (Abb. 36), das seinerseits auf einem etwa 10 cm tieferen Niveau liegt als das (im Rahmen der Umbauten der 1. Phase aufgehöhte)⁸² Pflaster vor dem Castellum. Da das Straßenpflaster in Pompeji mit Bezug auf Inschriften, davon eine in der Via del Vesuvio unweit des Castellums, auf eine nicht näher zu bestimmende Zeit vor 44 v.Chr. datiert werden kann,⁸³ dürften sowohl die Pflasterung als auch die Aufhöhung des Pflasters zur Überbrückung der Kanäle in diesem Zeitraum (deutlich vor-augusteisch) erfolgt sein.

Anders als an der Westwand grenzt das Pflaster des Vorplatzes bündig an den Lavasockel (vgl.

Abb. 34), dessen Gründung an der Süd-West-Ecke nicht erkennbar ist. Er liegt jedenfalls nicht auf dem dortigen Pflaster auf, weil der angrenzende Pflasterstein neben ihm abgehackt wurde, um dem Sockel Platz zu geben, was bedeutet, dass diese Pflasterung beim Bau des Sockels schon existierte. Es ist nicht mehr erkennbar, wie groß die gepflasterte Fläche, auf der heute das Castellum steht, insgesamt war. In jedem Fall muss sie, wenn es sie dort gab, in dem Bereich der eigentlichen Beckensohle der 1. Phase entfernt worden sein, weil diese ungefähr auf dem Niveau der vor-römischen Straße liegt (Abb. 37).

Ausweislich der in der Sondage erkennbaren Gründung der Westwand direkt auf dem vor-römischen Straßenbelag (Abb. 38) bzw. auf dem Pflaster (Abb. 36) hat man dort kein tiefergehendes Fundament für nötig gehalten. Offensichtlich hat man geglaubt, dass die etwa 1,50 m (= 5 römische Fuß) breite, also außerordentlich massive Beckenummauerung die Baulast auf eine ausreichend große Fläche verteilen würde, so dass eine tiefere Fundamentierung verzichtbar und die Gründung

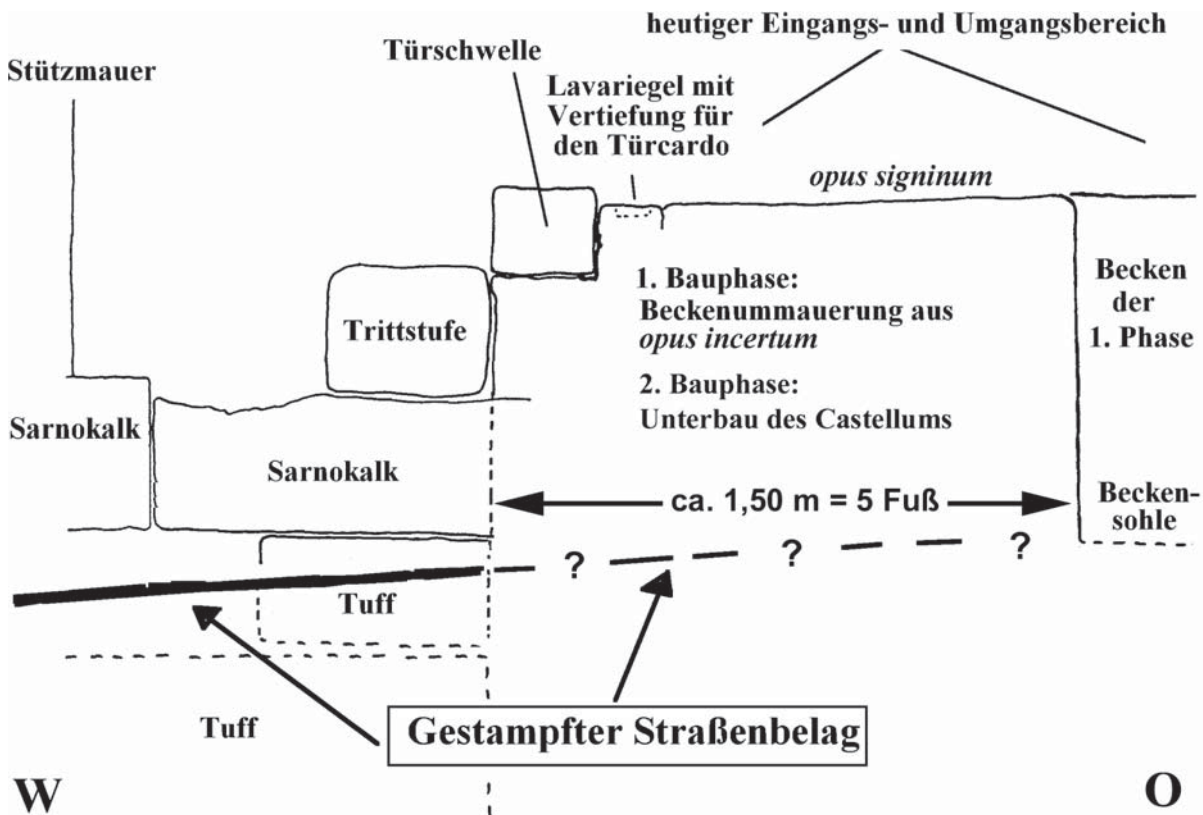


Abb. 37. Querschnittsskizze in West-Ost-Richtung auf Höhe der Eingangstür ins Castellum: Lage des in einer Sondage freigelegten vor-römischen Straßenbelages im Verhältnis zum späteren Zugang und Becken der 1. Bauphase.



Abb. 38. Die Situation in der Sondage an der Westwand des Castellums mit Blick nach Süden:

1 = Trittstein vor der Tür des Castellums;
 2 = Querriegel aus Steinblöcken, Begrenzung der vor-römischen Straße nach Süden;
 3 = vor-römischer Straßenbelag aus gestampfter Tuff-Kalk-Erde.

In der Erweiterung der Sondage bis an die Westwand des Castellums (im Bild nach links) wurde sichtbar, dass diese hier direkt auf dem alten Straßenbelag steht.

direkt auf der bestehenden Straßensituation vertretbar erschien.⁸⁴ Als dann in der 2. Phase das Castellum aufgesetzt wurde, war an der Gründungssituation nichts mehr zu ändern. Nun könnte man denken, in Bezug auf das aufzusetzende Castellum sei ein möglichst leichter Baukörper sinnvoll gewesen, um die zusätzliche Baulast möglichst gering zu halten. Tatsächlich aber hätten die Horizontalkräfte des Gewölbes, die auf die Auflagepunkte der Seitenwände einwirken, weniger stark ausgeführte Seitenwände auseinanderdrücken und zum Einsturz des Gebäudes führen können. Sicher nicht aufgrund von stati-

schen Berechnungen, sondern gestützt auf ihre Erfahrung haben die Baumeister des Castellums besonders massive Seitenwände hochgezogen, die ausreichend in der Lage waren, die Horizontalkräfte des Gewölbes nach unten abzuleiten. Dabei werden sie eher zum Überdimensionieren geneigt haben, und die Tatsache, dass das Gebäude alle großen Erschütterungen bis heute überstanden hat, gab und gibt ihnen Recht.

6. DAS CASTELLUM VON POMPEJI UND VITRUV

Das Castellum von Pompeji kann mit der Idee einer vernünftigen Wasserversorgung bei Vitruv (8.6.1+2) nichts zu tun haben.⁸⁵ Weil Adam und Varène dennoch mit dieser Vorstellung zu liebäugeln scheinen und sie nur wegen des in Pompeji geraubten Leitungsnetzes nicht abschließend beantworten zu können glauben, sei hier kurz darauf eingegangen. Wenn Vitruv in seinem Vorschlag sagt, dass das von den Privaten und den Thermen nicht benötigte Wasser von den beiden äußeren *receptacula* in das mittlere *receptaculum*, aus dem sich die öffentlichen Brunnen speisen, hinüberfließen soll, hat dies eine einfache technische Voraussetzung: Das Wasser aus den beiden Versorgungssträngen müsste sich (bei Nichtabnahme von Wasser der angeschlossenen Verbraucher) bis in das an das *castellum* angegliederte *triplex immisarium* mit den beiden betroffenen *receptacula* zurückstauen, um überhaupt in das mittlere *receptaculum* überfließen zu können. Abgesehen davon, dass es in Pompeji kein *triplex immisarium* mit Überleitungsmöglichkeiten gibt, wäre ein solcher Rückstau bis ins *castellum* hier auch technisch ausgeschlossen gewesen, weil das von angeschlossenen Verbrauchern nicht abgenommene Wasser sich allenfalls bis in den Behälter auf dem zugehörenden nächsten Druckturm zurückgestaut hätte und dort übergelaufen wäre.

7. FAZIT

Der Beitrag von Adam und Varène geht im Wesentlichen nicht über das hinaus, was J.-P. Adam in seinem 1984 in erster Auflage erschienen Buch *La construction romaine* über das Castellum in Pompeji geschrieben hatte. Die hier diskutierte Studie gibt keine Veranlassung,

- die Zweiphasigkeit der Wasserversorgungsanlage,

- * bei der die 1. Phase (Zuleitungskanal, wahrscheinlich von Avella kommend, offenes Becken, innerstädtisches Verteilungsnetz) in die Frühzeit der Colonia,

- * die 2. Phase (Anschluss an die Serinoleitung, Beckenumbau, Bau des Castellums, Ausbau des innerstädtischen Netzes) in augusteische Zeit datiert wird,
- die Funktionsbeschreibungen der technischen Anlagen auf Basis der Sinteranalysen,
- und schließlich die Annahme eines schadlosen Weiterbetriebes der Verteilung im Castellum bis zum Vesuvausbruch 79 n.Chr.

zu revidieren.

Die Schlussbemerkung, dass die Wasserversorgung Pompejis insgesamt eine optimale Referenz für die Wasserversorgung einer Provinzstadt von mittlerer Größe darstelle, ist nahe an der häufig anzutreffenden Vorstellung, Pompeji sei eine Art 'Typus' für römische Wasserversorgung schlechthin. Auch dies kann aber so nicht stehenbleiben, denn Forschungen aus jüngerer Zeit belegen, dass die römischen Wasserbaumeister nirgendwo nach einem stereotypischen Muster, sondern überall unterschiedliche und auf die jeweiligen Randbedingungen der Städte optimal zugeschnittene Systeme gebaut haben.⁸⁶ Insofern sollte das Castellum in Pompeji als eine Anlage *sui generis* betrachtet werden, nicht mehr und nicht weniger.

Sehr wohl könnte die Untersuchung der Wasserversorgung Pompejis jedoch in Bezug auf etwas ganz Anderes als Referenz dienen, nämlich dafür, dass die Archäologie in vielen Bereichen (beispielsweise bei Wasserbauwerken, aber nicht nur dort) dringend auf interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit mit Ingenieur- und Naturwissenschaften angewiesen ist und viele Fragen erst zusammen mit diesen beantwortet kann.

ANMERKUNGEN

- ¹ Adam/Varène 2008.
- ² Ohlig 2001.
- ³ Ohlig 2001, 34-48; 2002; 2004b.
- ⁴ Ich hatte das Glück, in Prof. Dr. Jos de Waele † (Universität Nijmegen) einen profunden Altertumswissenschaftler zur Seite zu haben. Prof. (em.) Dr.-Ing. Günther Garbrecht (Leichtweiß-Institut für Wasserbau der TU Braunschweig) und Prof. Dr.-Ing. Henning Fahlbusch (Institut für Wasserbau, FH Lübeck), zwei der weltweit anerkanntesten Fachleute für antiken Wasserbau, haben mich nicht nur ständig beraten und die nötigen fachwissenschaftlichen Berechnungen angestellt, sondern haben auch jedes Wort, das ich jemals mit Bezug auf hydrotechnische Fragen geschrieben habe, überprüft. Das oben genannte funktionsfähige Modell des Verteilerbeckens im Maßstab 1:5 habe ich unter Beratung durch Prof. Dr.-Ing. Klaas Rathke (FH Höxter) gebaut. Zusätzlich bin ich dabei in Form einer an der Fachhochschule Lübeck von Dipl.-Ing. Wulf Reinberg angefertigten Diplomarbeit mit dem Titel 'Das Castellum Aquae. Hydraulische Modelluntersuchungen' unterstützt worden. Die Sinterproben wurden von Dr. rer. nat. Armin

- Fröhlich analysiert. Allen Genannten und auch denen, die in anderer Form beratend tätig waren, sei auch hier noch einmal herzlich gedankt.
- ⁵ Und deshalb eignet sich die Studie von Adam und Varène auch nicht, Ergebnisse meiner Arbeit zu 'widerlegen' (so z.B. Schmölder-Veit 2012, 274).
 - ⁶ Weil hier nicht alle Nachweise diskutiert werden können, wird häufig auf ausführlichere Darstellungen an anderer Stelle verwiesen.
 - ⁷ Umso mehr danke ich den Herausgebern von *BABESCH* für die Annahme dieses Beitrages.
 - ⁸ Auf einem als fig. 3 beigelegten Foto von A. Normand (1885) dieses seit langem gestohlenen Flachreliefs ist dieses teilweise verdeckt, deshalb ist als fig. 4 ein Bild von einem Abguss des Reliefs im Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rom beigelegt. Leider wird dieser Abguss aber nicht in voller Breite dargestellt, so dass im Text besprochene Details vom Leser nicht nachvollzogen werden können. Als Abb. 1 wird deshalb hier das gesamte Relief wiedergegeben.
 - ⁹ Allerdings kritisieren die beiden Autoren meine Hypothese, dass es einen vor-augusteischen Aquädukt aus der Gegend von Avella nach Pompeji gegeben haben müsse, mit der Begründung, dass die Fassade des Castellums augusteisch zu datieren sei.
 - ¹⁰ Die genannten Maße entsprechen mit geringen Abweichungen, die sich beim Vermessen der teilweise stark verwitterten Fassade fast zwangsläufig ergeben, meinen eigenen Messergebnissen, vgl. Ohlig 2001, 263-268.
 - ¹¹ '... son excellente tenue aux effets de l'éruption', Adam/Varène 2008, 59.
 - ¹² Hydrotechniker verwenden dafür den Fachbegriff 'Einschnürung'.
 - ¹³ Vgl. ihre fig. 28 und 29. Wo sich zu meinen Messergebnissen (Ohlig 2001, 198-199 und 264-268) geringe Unterschiede ergeben, beruhen diese wahrscheinlich darauf, dass die gemessenen Punkten nicht völlig identisch sind.
 - ¹⁴ Die Autoren geben keine Begründung für diese Annahme.
 - ¹⁵ Ohlig 2001, 129-154.
 - ¹⁶ Vgl. Schulz 1986, 263; Döring 2012a, 297-299.
 - ¹⁷ Vgl. Ohlig 2001, 61-72; 300-304.
 - ¹⁸ Vgl. Ohlig 2001, 49-60. Ein Team aus den USA um Wayne Lorenz versucht zurzeit, diese Leitungstrasse zu verifizieren. Lorenz et al. 2011: 'The aim of this paper is to study water sources, routes and slopes of aqueducts serving ancient Pompeii. In particular, the main focus of the research was to perform a study of the topography between Avella and Pompeii by means of field GPS investigations to validate the hypothesis of the existence of an own aqueduct of Pompeii coming from the mountains due north east of Avella. When the Aqua Augusta was built under Augustus (between 33 and 12 B.C.), it crossed the course of the older Avella aqueduct between the Apennines and Mount Vesuvius, and both aqueducts were united into a single system. Based on historical accounts, archeological sites, chemical/mineralogical analysis, and topographical study we conclude that the existence of an Avella Aqueduct that carried water from the Avella springs to Pompeii prior to the construction of the Aqua Augusta is highly likely.'
 - ¹⁹ Vgl. Ohlig 2001, 135-154 und 345-347.
 - ²⁰ Die Einschnürung ist ca. 4,20 m lang und nicht 15 m, wie Adam und Varène (2008, 60) angeben.
 - ²¹ Die lichte Weite der Einschnürung auf der Sohle beträgt nicht, wie Adam und Varène angeben, 30 cm, sondern wird von anfänglich ca. 30 cm auf nur noch wenig mehr

- als 20 cm am Einlauf verengt. Dies ist deshalb wichtig, weil Adam und Varène mit dem von ihnen genannten Wert Berechnungen zum Wasserdargebot anstellen.
- ²² Zu Einzelheiten s. Ohlig 2001, 171-176, und Abbildungen, 423; Ohlig 2005, 291-292.
- ²³ Die von Adam und Varène umgekehrt erklärte Funktion dieses Gitters, nämlich Menschen, die die 'taxes de passage' am Stadttor umgehen wollten (Adam/Varène 2008, 65), einen unbeobachteten Zugang durch die Leitung in die Stadt unmöglich zu machen, ist nicht überzeugend. Denn zum einen waren die Revisions-schächte sicher verschlossen (vgl. Ohlig 2001, 135-138 und Abbildung, 410), zum anderen wäre ein solcher Eindringling nicht weit gekommen, weil auch die Tür des Castellums ausweislich der noch vorhandenen Befunde mit einem Schloss gesichert war (vgl. Mau 1904, 44 und 131, wo er gerade dem Türschloss einen ergänzenden Nachtrag widmet; Ohlig 2001, 160-161, und Abbildung, 416). Ähnlich wie Adam und Varène glaubt Schmölde-Verit, man habe den Zugang in das Castellum vom Kanal aus verhindern wollen. Ihre Begründung: 'So konnte verhindert werden, dass man durch die Revisions-schächte in den Kanal und zum Becken vor-drang, um illegal Rohre zu verlegen.' (Schmölde-Verit 2009, 121), ist allerdings in Kenntnis der örtlichen Gegebenheiten völlig indiskutabel.
- ²⁴ Zur genauen Erfassung (Abformung) dieser Schichten und zu sonstigen Einzelheiten s. Ohlig 2001, 175-177.
- ²⁵ Paul Kessener (2005, 303; 2006, 350-351) hat vorge-schlagen, statt der Schlitzöffnungen nebeneinander lie-gende runde Löcher für den Abfluss von Quinarien zu diskutieren, um damit gleichzeitig den Abfluss genau messen zu können. Darüber lässt sich diskutieren, es ändert aber nichts an der prinzipiellen Konfiguration.
- ²⁶ Auch in den seitlichen Abläufen - nach Adam und Va-rène ohne Sinter - gibt es, durch die Stufen und durch scharfe Richtungsänderungen bedingt, außerordentlich auffällige Sinterungen (vgl. Ohlig 2001, 183-190, und Abbildungen, 429-434), an einer Stelle ist sogar - un-übersehbar - ein nicht definierbarer kleiner Gegenstand eingesintert; es würde aber den Rahmen dieses Auf-satzes sprengen, auf diese Sinterformationen näher ein-zugehen.
- ²⁷ Eine Platte, vor der sich das Wasser im Becken nur auf-staut, um es dann zu überströmen (vgl. Adam/Varène, fig. 30, hier Abb. 2), wäre sinnlos, denn diesen Effekt hätte man auch gehabt, wenn man das Wasser ohne eine sol-che Platte einfach in die Ablaufkanäle hätte weiterflie-ßen lassen.
- ²⁸ Tatsächlich gibt es abgerostete Eisenbolzenreste an den Ecken *beider* Dreiteilerkörper, auf der Ostseite auch noch einen weiteren in der Sohle, der aber schwerlich mit dem an der Ecke des Dreiteilers in Zusammenhang zu bringen ist (vgl. Ohlig 2001, Abbildungen 431, 442).
- ²⁹ Vgl. Ohlig 2001, 191-195, und Abbildungen, 440-442.
- ³⁰ Ähnlich sind zahlreiche Autoren von Mau (Mau 1904, 50) bis Hodge (Hodge 1992, 282; 1996, 263) vorgegangen.
- ³¹ Vermutlich spielt bei einer solchen Hypothese immer noch unreflektiert die Darstellung einer Wasserverteilung bei Vitruv (8.6.1+2) eine Rolle, die der Versorgung der in der Mitte seines Denkmodells angeschlossenen öffentlichen Brunnen eine größere Priorität zuspricht.
- ³² Das einzige in Pompeji geborgene (tropfenförmige) Groß-rohr hat eine Wandstärke zwischen 1,2 und 2,0 cm (vgl. Ohlig 2001, 195-196).
- ³³ Darüber hinaus ist die Vorgehensweise auch in sich un-logisch und widersprüchlich: Die Autoren stellen sich einen horizontalen Wasserspiegel wie bei einem ste-henden Gewässer vor, der von der Spitze der Bleiplatte zurück über die Sohlschwelle hinweg in den Zuleitungs-kanal reichte. Ausgangswert ist also die Wassertiefe an der Bleiplatte von 25 cm. Logischerweise müsste diese über der Sohlschwelle im Einlauf des Zuleitungskanals aber um die Höhe der Sohlstufe geringer sein. Sie wird dort mit 14 cm angenommen, und zu diesen 14 cm *ad-dieren* (!) Adam Varène dann den 'Höhenunterschied beim Einlauf ins Becken' [= Höhe der Sohlstufe], ange-gaben mit 9 cm, und kommen so auf eine 'errechnete' Wassertiefe im Kanal von 23 cm, die mit der angenom-menen Kanalbreite multipliziert wird. (Adam/Varène 2008, 71: 'Le sommet de la lame de plomb se trouve 14 cm au-dessus du fond du *specus*; si l'on ajoute les 9 cm de dénivellation à l'entrée du bassin, on obtient une hauteur de 23 cm,...'). Dass außerdem keiner der von ihnen genannten Werten zu den von ihnen selbst we-nige Seiten vorher (Adam/Varène 2008, 65-66) mit maximal 13 cm Höhe angegebenen Sinterungen am Ende des Zuleitungskanals passt, wird übersehen.
- ³⁴ Zu den Ergebnissen der kleinschrittigen Ermittlung aller Parameter des Zuleitungskanals vgl. Ohlig 2001, 299-304.
- ³⁵ Ohlig 2001, 49-50.
- ³⁶ Ich würde diese Mengenangaben heute in Bezug auf Pompeji nicht mehr auf die geschätzte Einwohnerzahl umrechnen, um einen fiktiven Durchschnittsverbrauchs-wert zu ermitteln, weil die Hauszisternen in Pompejis Häusern fast durchgehend in Betrieb blieben und das Fernleitungswasser dort kaum zum Konsum, sondern zum überwiegenden Teil zum Betrieb der Springbrunnen verwendet wurde (vgl. Jansen 2002, 48-56). G. Jansen hatte den Verlauf der Rohrleitungen in allen zugäng-lichen Häusern Pompejis mit Anschluss an die Fern-wasserleitung mit einem Metalldetektor verfolgt und konnte so die Verwendung des Wassers vor allem in [Zier-]Brunnenanlagen umfassend dokumentieren. Zum Effekt der Springbrunnen als 'Klimaanlagen' vgl. Ohlig 2009 und 2012, 287-293.
- ³⁷ Wasserbauer unterscheiden bei dem allgemeinen Begriff Verunreinigung 'Geschiebe' (an der Sohle wanderndes Material wie Sand, Kies, oder auch, wie in Pompeji gefunden, Scherben von keramischen Gefäßen), 'Ge-schwemmsel' (an der Oberfläche treibendes Material wie Laub, kleine Äste usw.) und 'Schwebstoffe' (im und mit dem Wasser bewegtes sehr feines Material wie Schlamm, Schluff u.ä.).
- ³⁸ Hydraulische Fachterminologie: Beim '*schießenden*' Ab-fluss wirken sich Störungen im Gegensatz zum '*strömen-den*' Abfluss nur ins Unterwasser aus.
- ³⁹ Näheres in Kap. 5.
- ⁴⁰ Maiuri 1942, 17: 'Mentre infatti il Castello acquario, gra-zie alla sua più recente e ottima costruzione e al trovarsi inserito entro il terrapieno dell'aggre, è raffigurato con i suoi pilastri e con i suoi appiombi laterali perfetta-mente a posto, ...'
- ⁴¹ So auch Maiuri 1942, 10: 'i due rilievi ...rappresentati al momento della catastrofe sismica...'
- ⁴² Maiuri 1942, 90-91: '... il Castello d'acqua sia raffigu-rato, accanto al crollo del fornice della Porta, con la sua facciata e con i suoi spigoli in perfetto appiombo ..., quasi che fosse rimasto immune da ogni rovina ...'
- ⁴³ Maiuri 1942, 91: '... tuttavia da un attento esame si rica-va che anch'esso dovè subire rifacimenti e restauri alle sue strutture esterne ed interne, ...' Dies steht auch in einem merkwürdigen Gegensatz zu einer Äußerung

einige Seiten vorher: 'Lo scavo del 1902 e i saggi di esplorazione da me condotti negli anni 1926-7 intorno alle mura, hanno confermato l'esattezza del rilievo. Fedele fino alla minuzia, ..., la riproduzione del Castello acquario,' (Maiuri 1942, 19).

⁴⁴ Maiuri 1942, 91: 'nel momento stesso in cui si provvedeva alla sostituzione e al rinnovamento delle tubazioni.'

⁴⁵ Adam/Varène 2008, 41.

⁴⁶ Adam/Varène 2008, 52: 'Pour reprendre une supposition chronologique formulée plus haut, on peut voir dans ces bases sans plinthe une présomption de structure originelle, plaidant en faveur d'une façade revêtue de briques dès la conception, dans la mesure où l'absence de plinthe au pied des ordres perdure jusque durant l'époque augustéenne, pour disparaître ensuite. Dans cette hypothèse, la façade de 79 ne serait que la restauration partielle du parement originel.'

⁴⁷ Mau 1908, 60. Und mit Blick auf das andere Relief, das den beim Erdbeben kippenden Tempel mit nur vier Säulen darstellt, würde wohl niemand behaupten, dass der Jupitertempel auf der Nordseite des Forums mit seinen sechs Säulen in der Front eine 'Reparatur' aus der Zeit nach 62 n.Chr. darstelle.

⁴⁸ Die aufgrund weiterer Bildelemente, jeweils auf der rechten Reliefseite (Altar, Opfertier, Opferinstrumente, Baum, usw.), begründete Deutung der Reliefs als Votivgaben (Maiuri 1942, 10-21; Thédenat 1905, 467-469) kann hier nicht behandelt werden, ebenso wenig die nicht mehr zufriedenstellend aufzuklärende Fundsituation der beiden Reliefs (vgl. dazu Maiuri 1942, 10-11).

⁴⁹ Zu diesem komplexen Problem, das bis heute nicht abschließend geklärt werden konnte, vgl. Nappo 1996 und Marturano et al. 2006.

⁵⁰ Selbst wenn die Voraussetzungen tatsächlich so gewesen wären, wie von Maiuri angenommen, wären Praktiker niemals so vorgegangen, dass sie zuerst das komplette Rohrnetz herausgenommen, bevor sie mit seiner Erneuerung begonnen hätten, zumal die überall geöffneten Gehwege und Straßenkreuzungen den Verkehr in der gesamten Stadt weitgehend zum Erliegen gebracht hätten. Sie hätten vielmehr Stück für Stück überschaubare Abschnitte erneuert, um die Versorgung der übrigen Stadtbereiche nicht zu gefährden und auch alle übrigen Beeinträchtigungen zu minimieren. Ein damit vergleichbares Vorgehen lässt sich beim Bau des Zuleitungskanals nachweisen: Dieser musste in voller Höhe die äußere Pomeriastraße kreuzen, der Seitenkanal nach Osten zumindest mit dem oberen Teil seines Gewölbes die Via del Vesuvio, eine der wichtigen Einfallsstraßen in die Stadt. Diese Baumaßnahme musste den gesamten überregionalen Verkehr zum Erliegen gebracht und auch dem innerstädtischen Verkehr und damit für die Versorgung der Stadt massive Probleme bereitet haben. Ganz offensichtlich, um die Zeit der Beeinträchtigungen zu verkürzen, hat man den Leitungsbau vor dem Pomerium gestoppt, zuerst den Durchgang durch die Stadtmauer und die Bastion bis zum Becken gebaut, und dann erst das fehlende Teilstück über die Pomeriastraße hinweg und den Seitenkanal durch die Via del Vesuvio sozusagen 'im Akkord' in die Lücke gesetzt (vgl. Ohlig 2001, 102-152). Wenn man beim Bau der Kanäle solche Überlegungen zur Minimierung der Beeinträchtigungen angestellt hat, dürfte man eine vergleichbare Umsicht auch bei einer Reparatur des Wasserleitungsnetzes voraussetzen können.

⁵¹ Bezüglich der Argumentation, die Ziegelfassade sei

eine spätere Restaurierungsarbeit, verweist Maiuri (1942, 91) u.a. darauf, dass die Fassade in der Darstellung des Reliefs glatt verputzt sei. Wie noch heute vorhandene Putzreste in zahlreichen Ecken der Fassade belegen, war jedoch das Castellum tatsächlich verputzt (vgl. Ohlig 2001, 242, 451-452 (Abbildungen)).

⁵² Maiuri 1942, 92. Hätte man jedoch tatsächlich nur die Ablaufrohre austauschen wollen, hätte man mit Sicherheit nicht derartig umfangreiche Beschädigungen am Mauerwerk angerichtet, wo ja nicht nur die Trennmauern zwischen den Ablaufbereichen, sondern auch der Umgang und ein großer Teil der Südwand rund um die Rohröffnungen trichterförmig in die Mauertiefe hinein weggebrochen wurden. Dieses Ausmaß an Verwüstungen steht in keiner vernünftigen Relation zu der unterstellten Absicht, das Becken und seine Einrichtungen nach einer Reparatur möglichst schnell wieder in Betrieb nehmen zu können. Dass Maiuri die hydraulische Funktion des Beckens als Sammel- und Absetzbecken (Maiuri 1942, 91: 'bacino di raccolta e di sedimento') missversteht, sei nur am Rande erwähnt.

⁵³ Maiuri 1942, 92. Er nennt namentlich die Casa dei Vettii, Casa del Menandro, Casa dell'Efebo, Casa di Trebio Valente und Casa di Loreio Tiburtino.

⁵⁴ Wallat 1993, 358. Und in der zugehörigen Fußnote wird diese Arbeit genannt: J.-P. Adam, *La construction romaine*, Paris 1984.

⁵⁵ Maiuri hatte später zur Freilegung der 'Nuovi Scavi' östlich der Theater eine Lorenbahn Richtung Mittelmeer bauen lassen, wo das Grabungsmaterial als Unterbau einer neuen Straßentrasse diente. Kaum jemand, der heute an Pompeji vorbei die Autobahn A3 befährt, ahnt, dass er über eine Straßenbettung aus dem antiken Pompeji fährt.

⁵⁶ Sogliano 1900, 584-586.

⁵⁷ Spano 1902, 399.

⁵⁸ Spano 1902, 468.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Ohlig 2001, 355.

⁶⁰ Nach Etienne (1974, 30-32) betrug die Verschüttungshöhe in der Großen Palästra ca. 3,60 m, nach Rittmann (1950, 460) 3,50 m; die Lichtöffnungen des Castellums liegen etwa 3,50 m über dem Pflaster des Vorplatzes.

⁶¹ Vgl. Ohlig 2004a.

⁶² Wegen der Kürze der nachgewiesenen Abschnitte lässt es sich nicht zwingend beweisen, aber der Zuleitungskanal und der Seitenkanal nach Osten scheinen vor-augusteischen Zenturiationen zu folgen (vgl. Ohlig 2001, 154-156), was ebenfalls ein Hinweis auf eine frühe Datierung des Wasserversorgungssystems sein kann. Zu den Zenturiationen im *Ager Pompeianus* vgl. Oettel 1996, 147-162.

⁶³ Der immer wieder vorgebrachte Einwand (zuletzt erneut von Schmolder-Weit 2009, 121), ein offenes Becken sei aus hygienischen Gründen undenkbar, erledigt sich von selbst, wenn man an die vielen selbstverständlich offenen Straßenbrunnen in Pompeji und Herculaneum, an das offene Sammel- und Absetzbecken am Beginn der Kölner Wasserleitung im 'Grünen Putz', an das sehr viel größere offene Verteilerbecken in Nîmes und an die zahlreichen großen und kleinen Nymphäen der römischen Welt (vgl. Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001 und Letzner 1990) denkt. Zum unterschiedlichen Verhältnis von Griechen und Römern zur Hygiene vgl. Fahlbusch 1982, 3-6.

⁶⁴ Vgl. Ohlig 2001, 247-263. Ohlig 2004a.

⁶⁵ Vgl. Ohlig 2001, 67-75 und Anhang III, 293-298.

⁶⁶ Das war unter hydraulischen Gesichtspunkten unwichtig, weil die Wasserverteilung mittels der unterström-

- ten Bleiplatte davon nicht beeinflusst wurde.
- ⁶⁷ Ohlig 2001, 159.
- ⁶⁸ Ohlig 2001, 206-209; 2005a, 292-293.
- ⁶⁹ Auch dies wurde in einem zweiten Modell mit einem runden Becken überprüft.
- ⁷⁰ Maiuri 1942, 91.
- ⁷¹ Wäre es nicht um genau diese gut sichtbare Position gegangen, hätte man das Becken völlig problemlos und mit deutlich weniger Arbeitsaufwand weiter nach Westen in den Agger setzen können, vgl. Ohlig 2001, 249-262; 2004a, 92-93.
- ⁷² Es gibt gute Gründe anzunehmen, dass die verbliebene Mauer nach Süden hin abgetrepppt wurde, um den Gesamteindruck der Anlage nicht durch eine unverhältnismäßig hohe Mauer zu stören (vgl. Ohlig 2004a, 93).
- ⁷³ Würde das Castellum mit allem anderen zu einer einzigen Bauphase gehören, hätte ein Grundriss außen in Form eines Quadrates, innen in Form eines Kreises nahe gelegen. Und weil außerdem die Wände derart massiv aufgeführt wurden, wäre eine Verzahnung mit den Binderblöcken des Stadttorflügels unnötig gewesen.
- ⁷⁴ Für den öffentlichen Bereich sind vor allem Umbauten in den Forumsthermen und in den Stabianer Thermen zu nennen.
- In den Forumsthermen wurde ein bisher als Laconicum genutzter Raum zu einem Frigidarium umgebaut, wobei der vorherige Feuerraum unterhalb des Raumbodens dazu genutzt wurde, die Sohle des Badebeckens tiefer zu legen, um die Anlage eines Kaltwasser-Tauchbeckens zu ermöglichen. Außerdem wurden in den Heißbaderäumen Labra mit Sprungdüsen eingebaut, damit sich die Badenden mit kaltem Wasser erfrischen konnten (Eschbach 1991, 264-265; 273).
 - Auch in den Stabianer Thermen wurde ein Laconicum zum Frigidarium umgebaut (Eschbach 1973, 238; 1991, 273), und zusätzlich wurde westlich der Palästra eine ca. 12,50 m x 6,80 m große und ca. 1,50 m tiefe (Eschbach 1979, 18), mit kaltem Wasser gefüllte Natatio eingerichtet (Eschbach 1979, 69). Alle diese Um- und Neubaumaßnahmen dürften damit zu begründen sein, dass, sobald frisches, kaltes Wasser aus der Fernleitung auch im Sommer zur Verfügung stand, dessen Nutzung einen größeren und abwechslungsreicheren Badegenuss bot als vorher möglich war.
- ⁷⁵ Hier sind vor allem die in die Kaiserzeit datierten zahlreichen Springbrunnenanlagen in den Atria und Peristylia der Häuser zu nennen, die durch Ausnutzen der Verdunstungskälte für ein angenehmeres Raumklima sorgen sollten (vgl. Ohlig 2009, 22-24; 2012, 287-293). Auch der Anstieg der Zahl der Privatbäder dürfte in der ständigen Verfügbarkeit von Wasser ab dieser Zeit mitbegründet sein (vgl. De Haan 2010, 44).
- ⁷⁶ U.a. Ohlig 2004a, 104-106.
- ⁷⁷ Lorenz 2011.
- ⁷⁸ Ohlig 2001, 102-105.
- ⁷⁹ Der Versuch von Schmölder-Veit (2009, 121), die beiden (von ihr nicht bestrittenen) Phasen so zu datieren, dass die erste in die augusteische Periode, die zweite mit den Umbauten und Einrichtungen zur Regulierung des Wassers in die Zeit nach dem Erdbeben gehörten, muss scheitern: Zum einen müssten nach dieser Zuordnung ausweislich der mineralogischen Sinteruntersuchungen der Anschluss Pompejis an die Serinoleitung und auch die Nutzung der Piscina Mirabilis in Misenum, die vor allem die augusteische Flotte versorgen sollte, erst nach 62 n.Chr. erfolgt sein; das ist ausgeschlossen. Zum anderen ist es unmöglich, dass die Sinterschicht der zweiten Phase im Zuleitungskanal, die sich nach dieser Theorie höchstens in der Zeit von 62 bis 79 n.Chr. (= in 17 Jahren) hätte bilden können, um ein mehrfaches dicker ist als die der ersten, sehr viel längeren Phase.
- ⁸⁰ Maiuri 1931, 562-563.
- ⁸¹ Einzelheiten zur Westwand des Castellums, zum Zugangsbereich sowie zum bei der Sondage im Untergrund aufgefundenen Straßenbelag aus vorrömischer Zeit vgl. Ohlig 2001, 251-221; 2004a, 95-98.
- ⁸² Wie oben in der Aufzählung der mit der 1. Phase notwendig gewordenen Baumaßnahmen erwähnt, wurde das Pflaster vor der Verteileranlage zusammen mit dem Pflaster der Via del Vesuvio, beginnend etwa von einer gedachten Linie vor dem Haus mit der Taberna gegenüber dem Castellum (VI, 16,21), nach Norden hin stärker werdend aufgehöhrt, um den vor der Stadt querenden Seitenkanal nach Osten, und danach in der Kurve nach Westen noch einmal erheblich mehr, um den Zuleitungskanal überqueren zu können (Einzelheiten dazu s. Ohlig 2001, 102-105).
- ⁸³ Vgl. Nissen 1877, 529; Mau 1908, 231.
- ⁸⁴ Da die ca. 18 m weit entfernte Stadtmauer (und das Fundament des Zuleitungskanals) auf einem prähistorischen Lavasporn gegründet sind (vgl. Ohlig 2001, 87-99), ist man möglicherweise auch bei der Eintiefung, die im Bereich des eigentlichen Beckens nötig war, auf eine tragfähige Lavaschicht gestoßen. Maiuris Untersuchung des Tiefbrunnens in der o.g. Taberna, noch einmal knapp 25 m weiter südlich, weist allerdings erst ab einer Tiefe von ca. 5,60 m eine kompakte Lavaschicht aus (vgl. Maiuri 1931, 548-550).
- ⁸⁵ Ohlig 1995; 2001, 34-48; 2002; 2004b.
- ⁸⁶ Döring für die Dekapolis in Jordanien (Döring 2004, 2009 und 2012b), Ohlig für die Colonia Ulpia Traiana in Xanten (Ohlig 2007), Fahlbusch für die Villa Hadriana in Tivoli (Fahlbusch 2008), Döring für den Sinus Baianus (Döring 2012a).

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The Cancelleria Reliefs, Vespasian the Younger, and Domitian's dynastic program

Guido Petruccioli

Abstract

*The present article discusses the various scholarly interpretations of the events depicted on the Cancelleria Reliefs, and identifies the scene in Panel B as the appointment of Titus Flavius Vespasianus the Younger as crown prince by his adoptive father, the emperor Domitian. This event, mentioned by historical accounts and commemorated in one provincial coin issue, was the climactic moment in Domitian's program for the celebration of the Gens Flavia, which found its most grandiose manifestation in the public buildings that he dedicated in Rome to the cults of his father, brother, and extended family.**

The so-called Cancelleria Reliefs are among the most famous and most discussed monuments of ancient Roman art and have been the object of an active scholarly debate since their discovery in 1937. The date in which they were carved, the historical event they commemorate, the identification of key figures they portray, and the appearance or location of the monument they adorned, are still disputed. Since the Cancelleria Reliefs were found dismantled in a secondary context, nothing of them is known beyond what can be ascertained from critical observation. It is from there that this article commences.

After a brief presentation of the Cancelleria Reliefs and a survey of previous suggestions on the historical events they narrate, this contribution will concentrate on the most controversial of the reliefs - Panel B. With the support of literary sources and numismatic evidence, I argue that this panel illustrates a ceremony through which the emperor Domitian officially appointed his adoptive son, T. Flavius Vespasianus the Younger, as crown prince and future successor. The political reasons that would have led to the depiction of a dynastic succession in the Cancelleria Reliefs are explored here within the framework of Domitian's political agenda, which prioritized the celebration of the *Gens Flavia* and the consolidation of its legacy.

THE RELIEFS: FINDING LOCATION, DESCRIPTION, RE-CARVING

In 1937, during efforts to reinforce the substructures of Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica in Rome, a group of sculpted white marble panels were fortuitously discovered in close proximity to

the Republican sepulcher of Aulus Hirtius. The majority of the slabs that composed what since then is known as the Cancelleria Reliefs, were found carefully stacked and leaning against the funerary monument, with the sculpted side facing the wall. This deliberate arrangement, devised to protect the reliefs from any accidental damage, indicates that at some point in antiquity the Cancelleria Reliefs were detached from the monument to which they were originally affixed and stored with the purpose of being re-used. The discovery of other marble *spolia* near the sepulcher of Aulus Hirtius and in the greater Campus Martius, suggests that marble stockyards and workshops were active here during the last decades of the 1st century AD.¹

The Cancelleria Reliefs are composed of two panels (conventionally known as A and B) of same height (approx. 2 m) and thickness (approx. 20 cm).² Their length - at least 6 m - is speculative, since both panels are incomplete.³ The marble slabs that composed the reliefs were carved after being mounted on a monument of considerable size. In a later phase, when they were removed, they cracked beyond repair.⁴ On each panel at least seventeen individuals are portrayed in close proximity to one another against a plain background. The scenes of both Panel A and B feature one figure - the emperor - as protagonist, surrounded by divinities, personifications, representatives of state offices and religious colleges, and other secondary figures.

In Panel A (*fig. 1*),⁵ the emperor (A6), wearing a tunic and *paludamentum*, raises his right hand in a gesture of greeting (or adoration, or modesty),⁶ which is mimicked by the personifications of the Senate (*Genius Senatus*) (A11) and the People of

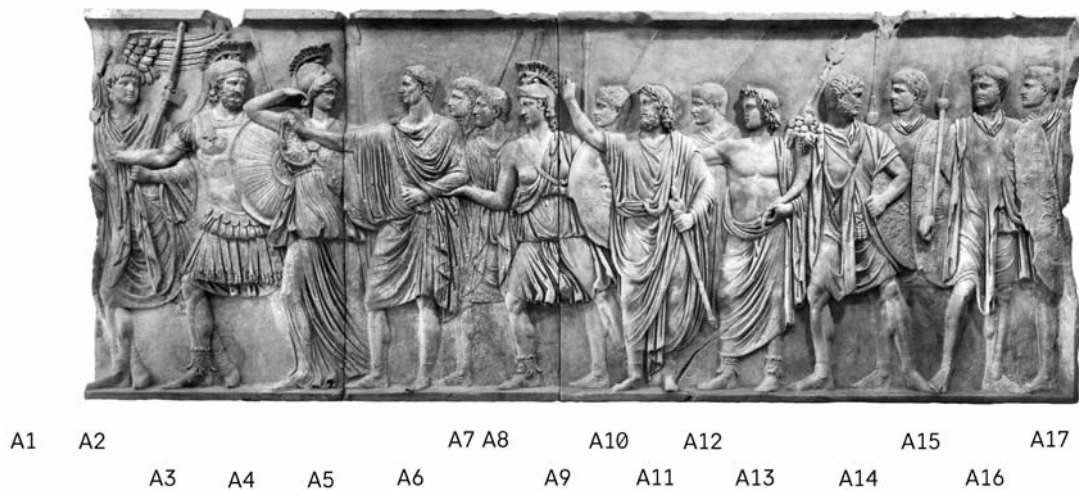


Fig. 1. Cancelleria reliefs, Panel A (photo Neg. D-DAI-ROM 2007.0010).

Rome (*Genius Populi Romani*) (A13) situated several paces behind him.⁷ The glances of the ruler and his followers are directed ahead, toward a point in the leftmost part of the panel that did not survive. Remnants of a Victory's wing (A1) are preserved on the edge of the adjacent slab. F. Magi originally supplemented the missing part with a depiction of the city's gate, on which the flying Victory is about to place a festoon.⁸ Some, however, contend that in the leftmost edge of Panel A was not represented a city gate, but rather a cult statue - such as that of *Juppiter Capitolinus* - or the emperor's horse.⁹ The latter reconstruction, suggested by A. Linfert, is based on a possibly contemporary relief found in Anacapri, in which a horse is being brought to a parading emperor.¹⁰ Since, however, the presence of a Victory, a simulacrum, or a horse in the missing part of Panel A would be essential to the interpretation of the scene depicted, the choice of scholars to support any of these reconstructions was influenced by the meaning that they attributed to the scene as a whole.

In front of the emperor are standing Mars (A4) and Minerva (A5),¹¹ her right hand tilting the helmet back to reveal her face.¹² A personification of manly courage (*Virtus*) (A9), in a crested helmet and Amazonian costume, holds the emperor's arm by the elbow.¹³ Lictors (A2-3, A7-8), bearing *fascēs* decorated with laurel twigs and axes, stand in the background.¹⁴ Three soldiers equipped with javelins and shields (A15-17), led by a bearded officer (A14) bearing parade arms (perhaps the emperor's own), occupy the remaining portion of the relief.¹⁵

Panel B (fig. 2) is almost entirely complete and its missing portion can be supplemented with confidence. The scene has its thematic focus at approximately two-thirds of its length, where two figures clad in *togae* stand in the foreground facing each other: a young man (B12) and the emperor (B14). Two men (B11 and B13) stand in the background: their costumes, attributes, and idealized physical appearances identify them as personifications or divine figures. The latter is resting his naked foot on a molded pedestal. According to the majority of scholars they are the *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* respectively.¹⁶ Others, however, disagree on the grounds of the few iconographic differences that exist between the representations of these personifications in Panel A and Panel B.¹⁷ If the couple was meant to appear in both panels, why did the artist of the Cancelleria Reliefs represent them in a partially different attire? Moreover, the meaning of the pedestal upon which the younger figure is resting his naked foot is still open to question: is it an allegorical attribute that defines the figure's identity or does it function as a topographic marker for the whole scene?¹⁸

A flying Victory (B15) is about to place a laurel wreath over the emperor's head. Lictors (B8-B10, B16), their *fascēs* mounted with axes resting on their shoulders, stand close to the emperor and his young companion. One of them (B16) calls the attention of the emperor by tugging to the back of his toga, perhaps to announce the arrival of the man in a short tunic (B17) - an *apparitor*,¹⁹ a *servus publicus*,²⁰ or an imperial messenger²¹ - who is holding a scroll in his left hand.²² The goddess

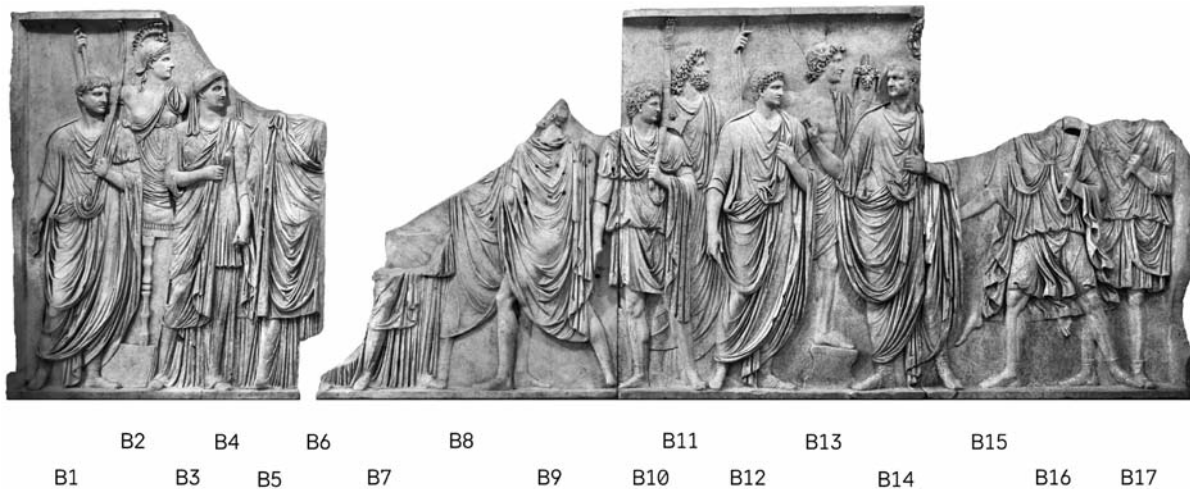


Fig. 2. Cancellaria reliefs, Panel B (photo Neg. D-DAI-ROM 2007.0013).

Roma (B2) witnesses the scene from a distance,²³ surrounded by a group of Vestals (B3-B7) and their assistant (B1). Since the priestesses are not *capite velato*,²⁴ they are not represented here in the act of performing a ritual, but rather spectating, as the representatives of the most sacred and ancient religious college in Rome.²⁵

Re-carving of the imperial portraits and dating of the reliefs

In the majority of cases, historical reliefs of the imperial period are comfortably datable within a narrow chronological period. On the contrary, the chronology of the Cancellaria Reliefs is not straightforward, since the imperial portraits - the most reliable dating evidence - were re-carved in antiquity. The most evident signs can be seen in the portrait of Panel A (A6; fig. 3), whose head looks disproportionately smaller than its body.²⁶ Emendation was selective and targeted the face only, leaving the surrounding areas untouched. A roughly chiseled edge along the hairline clearly shows the boundaries of this alteration.²⁷ As it shows now, the face is without doubt that of the emperor Nerva (AD 96-98); the hair is not. The sinuous waves rising over the forehead and temples with a small forking above the right eye do not correspond with Nerva's official portrait type, but rather seem to resemble a *coma in gradus formata*, described by Suetonius (*Ner.* 51) as Nero's signature coiffure,²⁸ and adopted by Domitian in his later portrait types.²⁹

As far as hairstyle, the suggestion of H. Meyer, followed by H. Herzog,³⁰ that the re-carved por-

trait in Panel A originally depicted Nero, seems sustainable from a typological perspective. A Julio-Claudian dating for the Cancellaria Reliefs, however, has never been met with much support, on account of the fact that stylistically, the sculpting technique is comparable to monuments of the late 1st and early 2nd centuries AD. Most of all, a Neronian dating of this monument requires a convincing explanation of what happened to the Cancellaria Reliefs from their creation to their dismantlement more than thirty years later. In order to reconstruct the history of the reliefs from Nero's fall to the accession of Nerva, Meyer is forced to postulate that the portrait in Panel A was re-carved twice: once into a portrait of Domitian and later into Nerva. His argument for a Neronian dating is insufficient to sustain such an elaborate chain of events.³¹ Even less likely seems to be Herzog's argument that the reliefs were not affected by Nero's *damnatio memoriae* because they belonged to a secluded monument located in an 'almost private' context.³² Since the late Flavian dating appears to be favorable, the mainstream opinion attributes the likeness of the original portrait to the emperor Domitian. Similarly to Nero, Domitian's public image was subjected to iconoclasm and therefore the re-carving of the portrait face in Panel A into that of Nerva would be consistent with such identification.

As A. McCann brought to the attention of scholars many years ago, the imperial portrait in Panel B (B14; fig. 4) bears signs of heavy-handed re-carving.³³ In this case, the re-working would be more extensive than in the portrait head of Domitian/Nerva in Panel A, covering the area of both hair

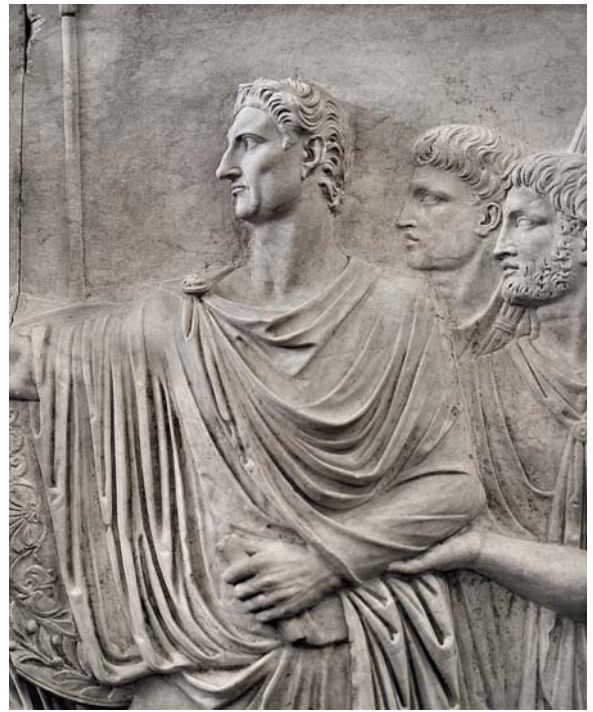
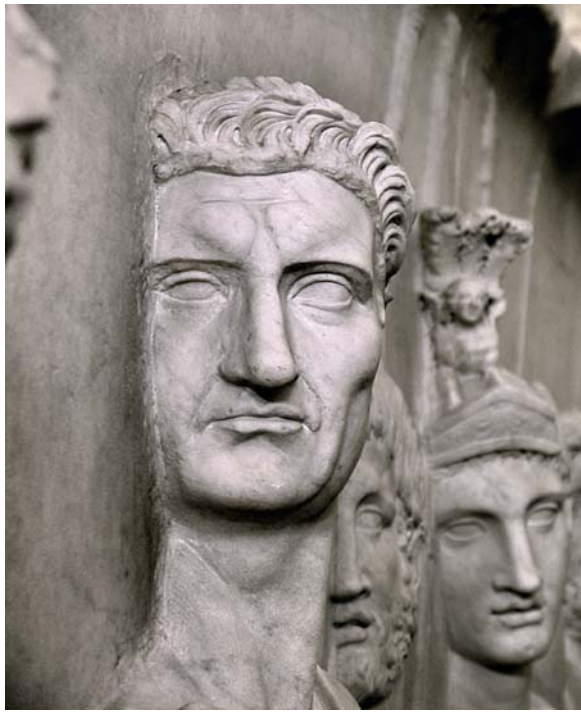


Fig. 3. Portrait of Nerva in Panel A (photo author/© Musei Vaticani).

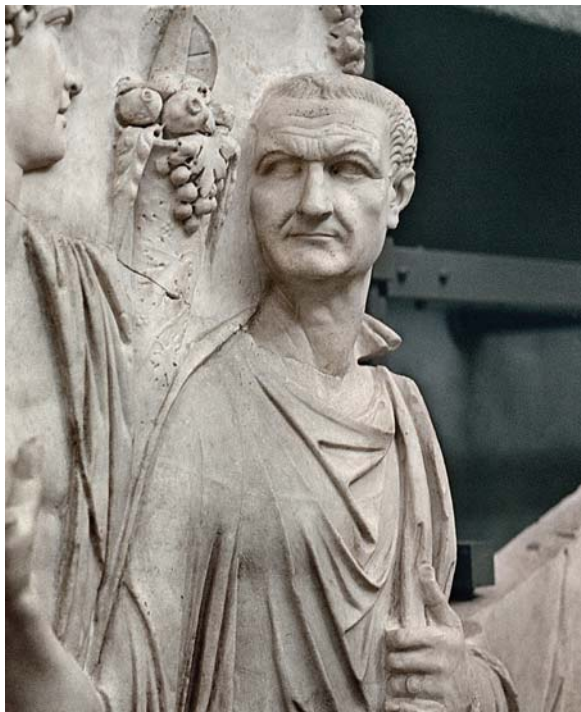


Fig. 4. Portrait of Vespasian in Panel B (photo author/© Musei Vaticani).

and face: the carver almost entirely erased the facial features and coiffure of the original portrait, of which faint remnants are noticeable only at close observation. The traces of rasp on the surface of the face as well as the rough sketching of his hair locks by flat chisel indicate that the work was left unfinished. As it is now, the likeness represented is that of the emperor Vespasian, but the crude execution and the unfinished surface suggests to the majority of scholars that it is very likely a re-carving. Had the portrait of Vespasian been the original, it would have received the same detailing and finishing as the other portraits in the reliefs.³⁴ According to M. Bergmann, the re-carvings of both imperial portraits in Panel A and B can be attributed, on technical similarities, to the same sculptor and therefore were probably carried out at the same time.³⁵ It seems very likely then in both cases they originally represented Domitian.³⁶

Before detailed studies of the imperial portraits in Panel A and B, scholars attributed discordant dates to the Cancellaria Reliefs; all of them can now be dismissed with confidence. The Hadrianic date, suggested by McCann (approx. AD 118) on account of an alleged desire of the emperor Hadrian to create an ideological connection with the Flavian dynasty, seems rather forced and whimsical. A later dating between the principate of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, proposed by D. Thimme and A. Rumpf, is discredited by stylistic analysis.³⁷ Having assigned the creation of the Cancellaria Reliefs to the Domitianic period, their placement within a more precise chronology depends entirely on the historical interpretations of the scenes depicted.

THE NARRATIVE OF THE RELIEFS

Panel A

The presence of armed soldiers and divinities associated with the sphere of war in Panel A would suggest that the scene represents an imperial ceremony of departure (*profectio*) or return (*adventus*) from a military campaign. Both interpretations have supporters. To some, the emperor (A6) is represented here in the moment in which, clad in his traveling clothes, he bids farewell to the city.³⁸ The flying Victory (A1), of which only one wing is now preserved, would then stand for a metaphorical reference to the future success of the emperor's campaign. If the bearded high-ranking soldier (A14) is carrying the emperor's parade weapons, as some have suggested, it seems

more likely that such a scene would have taken place before, rather than after, a military campaign. Other iconographic details, however, lead to different interpretations, as the supporters of the *adventus* theory argue.³⁹ According to their reconstruction of Panel A, the emperor is depicted in the moment in which the Senate and the People met him at the city's gate upon his return to Rome. The uncertainty on what was shown in the now missing left-most part of Panel A further complicates the interpretation of the entire scene. Currently, the majority of scholars seem to support the *adventus* theory, if only because scenes of triumphal return are more common than imperial departures in Roman state art of the 1st century AD.⁴⁰

With the exception of the few who would attribute more metaphorical meanings to Panel A, most have tried to interpret the reliefs as the illustration of specific historical events, that took place either in the early or the late years of Domitian's principate. Whether a *profectio* or an *adventus*, the scene could refer to his successful campaigns against the Chatti in AD 83 or against the Dacians and the Germans in AD 89, for which Domitian was awarded triumphal honors.⁴¹ Alternatively, the chronology can be pushed down to around AD 93, when Domitian defeated the Sarmatians. On this occasion, the emperor is said to have declined the Senate's offer of triumphal honors and opted for a more modest ritual of dedicating a golden crown in the temple of Jupiter on the *Capitolium*.⁴² Domitian's half-suspended arm in Panel A would then represent a gesture of modesty, a symbol of his refusal of imperial honors and acceptance of a simpler *ovatio* in AD 93.⁴³

Panel B

Panel B seems to carry more civic or religious overtones. Postulating complementary subject matters between the two panels, some scholars identify Panel B as an *adventus* or a *profectio*.⁴⁴ Several elements, however, argue against either reading. In the first place, the emperor and other main figures wear the toga, which would have immediately signaled the Roman viewer that the event depicted pertains to a non-military imperial ceremony. The emperor is not accompanied by deities associated with the sphere of war (such as Mars, Minerva, and *Virtus*) or by a representative group of armed soldiers - a telltale detail that seems to exclude a military context for the scene in Panel B. The key figures here are Domitian (B14) and the young *togatus* (B12) standing before

one another. Their interlocking glances and the touch of the emperor's hand over the young man's shoulder stress the closeness between the two (fig. 5).

Among those scholars advocating for a civic or cultic event, H.-W. Ritter has read Panel B as a visual account of the ceremony of restoration of the *Capitolium* damaged during the civil war of AD 69 and by the fire of AD 80.⁴⁵ According to what is reported in Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.53) Domitian assigned the restoration project - concluded with a grandiose ceremony on 21 June AD 82 - to Lucius Vestinus, a member of the equestrian order. On this occasion the Vestal Virgins and their attendants, led by the praetor Helvidius Priscus and the high-priest Plautius Elianus, dedicated the newly re-built temple. According to Ritter's reconstruction of the events, Panel B would then represent the moment in which Lucius Vestinus received the mandate for the rebuilding of the temple by Domitian.⁴⁶

However, as already noted by E. Simon, Lucius Vestinus cannot be the *togatus* standing in front of Domitian. Having already served as a magistrate under Claudius, by AD 82 Lucius Vestinus was a man of quite advanced age, and he must have looked considerably older than the young man on



Fig. 5. Young *togatus* and Vespasian in Panel B (photo author/© Musei Vaticani).

the relief.⁴⁷ F. Ghedini also objected that Panel B does not represent a ceremony in which Domitian celebrated the reconstruction of the *Capitolium* because at the time the emperor was engaged in his military campaign against the Chatti.⁴⁸ Most of all, it seems highly unlikely that the event described in Panel B could have taken place on the Capitoline hill, because the lictors have an ax mounted on their *fascēs*, which would have been allowed only outside the perimeter of the *pomerium*.⁴⁹

Several years later, Simon suggested that Panel B represents the ceremony of institution of the *Sodales Titiales* - the religious college in charge of the cult of Domitian's brother and former emperor Titus after his death and deification.⁵⁰ Specifically, the Cancelleria sculptor chose to represent the most meaningful moment in which Domitian designates the priest in charge of the newly-established cult. If that were the case, the date of the Cancelleria Reliefs should be moved to the earliest years of Domitian's reign and no later than AD 82, when the ancient sources report that the cult of *Divus Titus* had already been established.⁵¹ A passage from Suetonius (*Tit.* 11) seems to suggest that the senatorial decree on Titus' *consecratio* was issued soon after his death, confirming the epigraphic evidence from several parts of the Empire.⁵²

Such an early date for the Cancelleria Reliefs, however, would not agree with the general interpretation of Panel A as a *profectio* or an *adventus*; an event that could not have happened before AD 83, date of Domitian's first military success. It is possible that the reliefs were commissioned in AD 83 to celebrate Domitian's triumph over the Chatti even though in Panel B were represented events that happened two years earlier. What makes Simon's hypothesis questionable, however, is the fact that as a result of her analysis the scenes in the two panels of the Cancelleria Reliefs would be neither complementary in theme nor related in any way chronologically.

If Panel A and Panel B describe contemporaneous events, it is possible to attribute a unifying thematic element to them. Along this line runs the explanation by Ghedini, who sees the scene in Panel B as the ceremony of *consecratio* of the temple of *Fortuna Redux*, which Domitian is said to have built (Mart. 8. 65) as a triumphal monument on the return from one of his victorious campaigns of AD 83 or AD 93.⁵³ The ceremony took place in the Campus Martius, outside the *pomerium*, and therefore is in agreement with the axed *fascēs* born by the lictors in Panel B.⁵⁴ Domitian, as *pontifex maximus*, would appear in the act of



Fig. 6. Relief on the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus
(dim: 566x83 cm), Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. Ma 975 (drawing author).

encouraging a young magistrate to repeat the sacred formula of *consecratio* that led to the inauguration of the temple's sacred enclosure.⁵⁵ One iconographic aspect, however, challenges the hypotheses of Ghedini and others - the lack of any reference to a sacrifice that would have sanctioned the validity of the ceremony.

The same objection applies to the most recent proposition, advanced by L. Baumer, that Panel B represents Domitian, as censor, in the act of symbolically enlisting a young Roman citizen. Three lictors (B8-B10) dance in circle in front of the emperor, performing the *lustratio* that traditionally anticipated the censorial ceremony.⁵⁶ The strength of Baumer's argument lies in the resemblance of Domitian's hand gesture, which finds a close parallel in the census scene of the so-called 'Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus' carved in between the 2nd and the 1st century BC (fig. 6).⁵⁷ Domitian would then be acting here as a *iurator*, who vouched for the identity of the citizen about to be enlisted in the official registers (*tabulae census*) (fig. 7).⁵⁸ Besides the peculiar hand gesture of

the emperor, whose interpretation is not at all univocal, there are many element of divergence between the census ceremony on Ahenobarbus' relief and Panel B. Where is the solemn sacrifice that would have 'marked the climax of the entire census act' and that features so prominently in the Republican monument?⁵⁹

With few exceptions, authors have been trying to make sense of Panel B without paying due attention to Domitian's gesture, around which the entire drama unfolds.⁶⁰ Described by Magi as a "gesto di saluto paterno ed affettuoso," Domitian's right hand over the young man's shoulder denotes a level of closeness and familiarity generally shared by close friends or family members.⁶¹ Yet, for as immediate and evident as it may appear, the majority of scholars have misunderstood or underestimated the significance of this gesture, perhaps because they found it difficult to re-reconcile the sense of intimacy transmitted by this hand motion with the overtly public nature of the monument.

THE YOUNG TOGATUS IN PANEL B



Fig. 7. 'Census' scene, Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. Ma 975 (© RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre)/Hervé Lewandowski).

In the opinion of a few scholars, the young *togatus* represents an idealized figure or a personification.⁶² Their arguments remain unconvincing, for neither his facial features nor his hairstyle imitate the idealized or classicizing style conventionally used by Roman artists to represent non-human or anonymous figures. His identity is still an object of contention among those who believe him to be a historical figure. He appears only in the Cancelleria Reliefs: no other copies of his portrait, in relief or in the round, are known. He appears to be too young to have held any magistracy, which rules out at once all the identifications thus far proposed.⁶³ He holds no attribute that might have clarified his institutional function or status. Instead, he clasps the folds of his garment in a fashion customarily assumed by Roman citizens



Fig. 8. Portrait of young togatus in Panel B (photo: author/© Musei Vaticani).

on public and funerary monuments.⁶⁴ On account of the boots that he is wearing, several scholars have hypothesized that he is a member of the equestrian rank. Gabelmann has identified this type of gaiter-boots with the *calicae equestres* mentioned in the Edict of Maximum Prices (IX. 7-9).⁶⁵ Their function as status signifiers in statuary has been confirmed in a study by Goette, who related gaiter-boots to the portraits of several individuals whose equestrian status is certain or very likely.⁶⁶ There are, however, cases in which this footwear carries no reference as to the social rank of his wearer. A compelling case in point are the lictors on Panel B, who wear gaiter-boots although technically they were members of the lower class.

Other iconographic inconsistencies call into question the equestrian status of this young man. He wears a voluminous toga that reaches down to his ankles, identical in size and form to that of the emperor standing in front of him. According to Martial (5.41.5), however, the members of the equestrian order wore a short tunic (*trabea*) from which they took the name of *trabeati*.⁶⁷ Scholars have diverging opinions on the origin of this equestrian garment and its relation to the traditional toga; in sculpture, however, the two are easily distinguishable.⁶⁸ Knights also wore a gold ring (*anulus aureus*) as sign of distinction - a feature that the young

man on Panel B is clearly lacking.⁶⁹ In the absence of distinctive attributes, all that clothing and footwear can say with certainty about this individual is that he was a Roman citizen.

The young *togatus* has a light beard that covers the lower part of the cheeks and the chin (fig. 8). Meyer has identified this unusual grooming style as evidence of foreign - non-Roman - ethnicity. In particular, his goatee has been likened to that of the Armenian king Tiridates.⁷⁰ Unlike this king, whose portrait is well-known through a series of coin issues, the young togate in the Cancellaria Reliefs does not have a fully grown and neatly trimmed goatee, but rather a sparse patch of hair, a *lanugo*, characteristic of an individual that has not yet entered adulthood.⁷¹ According to Roman tradition, men did not start cutting their beards before the age of twenty and it was common for Roman youths to perform the ritual of the first shave (*depositio barbae*) and to assume the *toga virilis* between the eighteenth and the twenty-fourth birthday.⁷² Imperial members seem to have followed a similar practice. Some young Julio-Claudian princes were sometimes represented with unshaven chins; their fuzzy portraits have survived in glyptic and sculptural forms.⁷³

His hair, arranged in two tiers of neatly ironed sickle-shaped curls over the forehead and tem-

ples, recalls the fashionable style of Domitian's last portrait type.⁷⁴ This elaborate coiffure featured an upper tier of locks brushed to the front and forking over the middle of the left eye. The lower tier of locks, brushed from the temples inward, converges in a pincher over the inner corner of the left eye. After an exacting investigation, Bergmann argued that the portrait of Domitian in Panel B, later re-carved into Vespasian, originally had the same fancy hairstyle as that of the young *togatus*.⁷⁵

The deployment of similar signature hairstyles and physiognomic traits in the official portraiture of imperial members was a well-known phenomenon, termed by modern scholars as *Angleichung* or 'iconographic alignment'. Common stylistic and physiognomic features have been identified in the portrait types of emperors and their successors throughout the history of the Empire. Beginning with Augustus, continuing through the Soldier-Emperors of the 3rd century AD and the Tetrarchs, dynastic policies and continuity in imperial political agendas were often represented in official portraits by common stylistic and typological features in the portraits of emperors and their crown princes. The *coma in gradus formata* of Domitian and the young *togatus* in Panel B stressed a similarly strong ideological connection between the two.

As Oppermann pointed out, the age of the young man and his attire would be consistent with the portrait of a young representative of the Roman youth, or *princeps iuventutis*.⁷⁶ A notorious representation of *princeps iuventutis* appears on several Augustan coin issues, where the young Caius and Lucius Caesar are represented - *nota bene* - wearing the toga.⁷⁷ The coin types celebrated Augustus' adopted sons as designated successors on occasion of their fifteenth birthday (Caius in 5 BC and Lucius in 2 BC), when they were awarded the title. The parallelism between the portraits of Caius and Lucius as *princeps iuventutis* and the young man on Panel B might go beyond mere iconography. The similar circumstances in which Augustus adopted and elected his imperial successors and the events that brought Domitian to adopt T. Flavius Vespasianus and T. Flavius Domitianus makes one wonder whether Panel B is a more elaborate representation of the same message delivered by the Augustan coins.⁷⁸

T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS THE YOUNGER, DOMITIAN'S DESIGNATED SUCCESSOR

Historical accounts give little information about Domitian's plans for dynastic succession. According to Suetonius (*Dom.* 3.22), he had a natural son by his wife Domitia Longina during his second consulship in AD 73. The baby, however, died in infancy.⁷⁹ The imperial mint in Rome issued a *denarius* in commemoration of his premature death, depicting the young child seating on a globe and surrounded by stars.⁸⁰ A series of bronze coins issued by his wife, Domitia Longina, also commemorated the official deification of their child.⁸¹ After successive attempts to conceive an heir from his wife, Suetonius (*Dom.* 15.1) writes that Domitian adopted the two sons of his cousin T. Flavius Clemens,⁸² and renamed them T. Flavius Vespasianus⁸³ and T. Flavius Domitianus.⁸⁴ The exact dates in which the adoption and designation as successors took place is still matter of debate. Suetonius seems to suggest that both events happened at the same time.⁸⁵ On the other hand, a passage from the grammarian Quintilian (*Inst.* 4. proem. 2-3), to whom Domitian entrusted the boys' education, seems rather to assume that their adoption and official appointment as crown princes were two independent ceremonies.⁸⁶ At any rate, in January AD 95, Domitian held the ordinary consulship with T. Flavius Clemens and there are strong possibilities that in the same year at least the older brother - T. Flavius Vespasianus - became designated successor.⁸⁷

Having refused such honor the previous two years, Domitian's acceptance of the consulship of AD 95 was probably part of the plan to introduce young Vespasianus to public life, just as Augustus had done when Caius and Lucius Caesar turned fifteen, in 5 BC and 2 BC respectively.⁸⁸ Undoubtedly, the ceremony of designation must have taken place before T. Flavius Clemens was found guilty of atheism and executed - which happened, according to Suetonius (*Dom.* 15.1) before the end of his consulship (May AD 95).⁸⁹ The fate of T. Flavius Vespasianus and his brother after Domitian's death is unknown. They might have been silently murdered in the aftermath of Domitian's downfall, or perhaps forced to give up their right to accession and retire to private life.⁹⁰

Suetonius (*Dom.* 15.1) clearly states that Domitian made the adoption of Flavius Clemens' sons as successors publicly known (*successores palam destinaverat*) and the citizens of Rome must have been fully aware of the emperor's plans for the future of the Flavian dynasty.⁹¹ News of the adop-



Fig. 9. Domitianic coin from Smyrna with portrait of Vespasian Junior. AE 19 (3.29g). Ex Münzhandlung Basel; Ex Coll. Jameson 86 (© UBS Gold & Numismatics, reproduced with permission from UBS).

tion must have traveled across the Empire, because the minting authorities of Smyrna in Asia Minor issued a coin type to commemorate the event (fig. 9).⁹² The obverse of these coins bears the profile portrait of a bare-headed young man (that is without the laurel crown that characterized the images of emperors), wearing a tunic and *paludamentum*. His identity is described by the legend ΟΥΕCΠΙΑCΙΑΝΟC ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟC.⁹³ On the reverse, a Victory holds a wreath and a palm leaf under the legend ΖΜΥΡΝ-Α-ΙΩΝ.⁹⁴ This coin type, which Klose dated tentatively to the last years of Domitian's reign (AD 94-95),⁹⁵ represents a deliberate acknowledgment of the emperor's dynastic agenda by the provincial city. As such, it was probably created as soon as the magistrates in charge of designing local base coinage received the news. Although the imperial court might have been directly responsible for dispatching an official notice, the portrait of Vespasian the Younger on coinage does not imply that the Smyrnan minting authorities followed specific directives coming from Rome.⁹⁶ Its uniqueness suggests this coin type was a Smyrnan design.

There is no resemblance between the portrait on the coin and the young man from Panel B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. Anyone who is familiar with provincial coinage would nonetheless agree that there are enough documented cases of poorly reproduced imperial portraits to say that die-cutters rarely achieved accurate reproductions. If the designation of Vespasian Junior happened shortly

before or perhaps even after the minting of the Smyrnan coin, it is also very likely that authorized portrait types of the young crown prince were not yet available in the provinces. In the latter case, the Asian officials, having heard rumors of Domitian's dynastic plans, had to create a portrait *ex nihilo*. The situation must have been different in Rome, where an official portrait type of Vespasian Junior - of which the young man in Panel B might be a reproduction - was certainly created on the occasion of his appointment.

PANEL B, APPOINTMENT SCENE?

As the result of a re-evaluation of the sculptural evidence and the disagreement within the scholarly community on the historical event represented in Panel B, I suggest the possibility that it commemorated the designation of T. Flavius Vespasianus by the emperor Domitian as his successor. The patrons of this monument evidently chose to immortalize the emperor in the act of presenting his newly appointed heir to the public before the Senate and the People (respectively represented by their personifications B11 and B13). The public slave (?) (B17) standing a few paces behind the emperor, would be holding a scroll, perhaps the official decree of designation. The moment chosen is that in which a lictor (B16) is about to call the attention of the emperor to signal the arrival of the public slave and the commencement of the official declaration. Since the portrait of T.

Flavius Domitianus, the younger of Domitian's adopted sons, is not represented in the relief, it seems reasonable to conclude that the scene depicted in Panel B is not that of the adoption, which involved both brothers at once, but that of the designation as crown prince, which was probably awarded to Vespasian Junior only, as the Smyranean coin would also suggest. His brother would have probably been designated successor later, as Lucius Caesar was appointed crown prince several years after his brother Gaius. As we will see, other aspects of Domitianic dynastic policies drew inspiration from those of Augustus.

The historical conditions that led to Domitian's adoption of his successor explain the choice of representing such a scene in Panel B of the Cancelleria Reliefs. Ancient biographers occasionally mention public imperial adoptions, but the short passages from the ancient sources seem to suggest that a proper ceremony or a set of prescribed rituals did not exist.⁹⁷ As a political move, imperial adoptions had to be officially recognized by senatorial and popular approval.⁹⁸ Hence Augustus had his adoption of Agrippa and Tiberius validated by a *lex curiata* (Suet. *Aug.* 65.1: *adoptavit in Foro lege curiata*), as did Claudius for the adoption of Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 12.26.1). Similarly Nerva, having presented Trajan as his successor with a brief declaration on the Capitoline hill, proceeded to have Trajan's new status of *caesar* endorsed by the Senate (Cass. Dio 68.3.4). When emperors adopted their successors as last resort to imminent political crisis, the pressure of the time might have forced them to act without paying much attention to formulae or ceremonies. On the occasion of Galba's swift adoption of Piso, narrated by Suetonius (*Galb.* 17) and Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.14-16), the appeal for recognition of the newly appointed successor was presented to the Praetorian Guard without following the customary procedure for the adoption of adult private citizens that would have involved the *curiae* and the *pontifices*.

The written evidence does not say whether Domitian's designation of T. Flavius Vespasianus followed a canonical course of action. If Panel B has any value as documentary account, the event took place outside the *pomerium* (perhaps by the Altar of Mars?) in the presence of the two political constituencies necessary to validate the ceremony (the Senate and the People), and the two major representatives of the *Collegium Pontificum* (the Vestals and the *Pontifex Maximus* in the person of the emperor himself).

The interpretation of the imperial ceremony in Panel B as the designation of Domitian's succe-

ssor finds support in the dynastic policies generally promoted by all emperors, but, in particular, in the interest that Domitian showed in the official celebration of his clan, the *Gens Flavia*. A suitable and officially recognized successor assured a smooth transition of powers from one emperor to another. Domitian, who did not have a natural child that could eventually claim the right to the purple after his death, must have acutely felt the necessity to guarantee that his adoption of T. Flavius Vespasianus was publicly recognized.

No other monument of metropolitan state art depicting an imperial adoption or succession has survived from the 1st century AD. The first mention of a monument to the commemoration of an imperial adoption was the altar that the Senate offered to Livia in occasion of her posthumous adoption by her husband Augustus. Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.14) reports that Tiberius forbid the setting up of this *ara adoptionis* among several other honors that he thought excessive and inappropriate.

There is no doubt that every appointment of a successor represented a pivotal moment in the history of the Empire and an important provision in every emperor's agenda. The senatorial proposal to honor Livia with an adoption altar denotes the importance of dynastic continuity for the stability and prosperity of the Roman state. Familial bonds, natural or acquired through adoption, were a necessary condition to legitimate the transmission of the *imperium*. Hadrian justified his position as ruler and successor of Trajan through an alleged posthumous adoption, which he referred to in a series of coin issues (fig. 10).⁹⁹ On the reverse of these coins, a togate Hadrian clasps the right hand of *divus Traianus*, and holds a *volumen* in his left hand - perhaps the document declaring his adoption. Although the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* on Hadrianic coins symbolized the transmission of institutional powers from one emperor to his successor, there is no evidence that in the early imperial period the same gesture was an iconographic formula used to describe adoption rituals in other media.

In sculpture, the closest comparable image to the scene in Panel B is the 'Adoption' relief belonging to the Antonine Parthian altar from Ephesus.¹⁰⁰ Three successive generations of togate emperors are represented. Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus are positioned side by side, facing the viewer (fig. 11). In the center are Antoninus Pius and Hadrian *capite velato* in the act of performing a libation.¹⁰¹ A scepter, symbolizing imperial powers, stands in the background between them. Marcus Aurelius



Fig. 10. Aes of Hadrian, reverse, Rome AD 117 (drawing author).

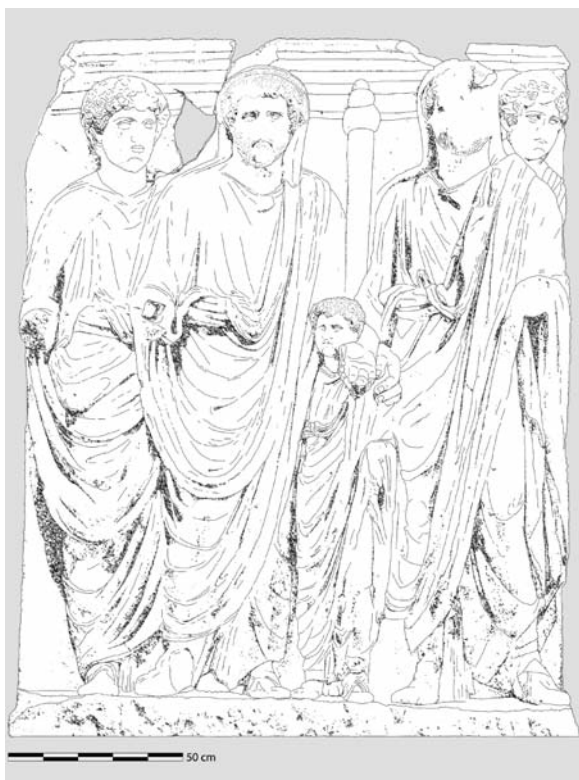


Fig. 11. 'Adoption panel', Great Antonine Altar of Ephesus (dim. 150x204 cm) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. ANSA_I_864 (drawing author).

is beside Antoninus Pius and is partly obscured by him. A very young Lucius Verus stands between Antoninus Pius and Hadrian. Antoninus Pius holds Lucius Verus close to his side with the left hand placed over his shoulder.¹⁰² The identity of the individual to the left of Hadrian remains uncertain.¹⁰³

Whether this so-called 'Adoption scene' represents the double adoption of Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus by Hadrian on 25 February AD 138,¹⁰⁴ or a sacrifice performed by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius,¹⁰⁵ the dynastic overtones of its message are unequivocal. Physical proximity of the imperial characters in a solemn context publicly sanctions the bond created by the unification of three generations of rulers from the same house. The tender embrace of Antoninus Pius, mimicking a spontaneous gesture of affection of a father for his son, shows Lucius Verus' entry under the paternity of the emperor. The same meaning, in my view, can be read in Domitian's gesture represented in Panel B of the Cancelleria Reliefs.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE *GENS FLAVIA* AND DOMITIAN'S METROPOLITAN BUILDING PROGRAM

Domitian is known as one of the most active builders in the history of Rome. He was not only responsible for commissioning many edifices, but he also completed the building campaigns initiated by his father and brother and maintained and restored a considerable number of monuments dedicated by his predecessors.¹⁰⁶ Throughout his principate, a great amount of effort and economic resources, dedicated both by the emperor himself and by the Senate and the People of Rome, were invested in the construction of monuments that celebrated Domitian's family. The temple of deified Vespasian, the arch of Titus, the *Divorum*, and the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* memorialized the history of the Flavian dynasty in the form of impressive landmarks in Rome's monumental landscape.

Originally voted by Titus as a shrine for the cult of his deified father, the *Templum Divi Vespasiani* was finished and dedicated by Domitian before AD 87.¹⁰⁷ Remnants of this structure are still standing on the eastern slope of the Capitoline Hill, towering over the Roman Forum. The temple was the first monument dedicated to the founder of the Flavian dynasty, following a tradition initiated by the Julio-Claudian emperors of dedicating temples to their deified predecessor: Augustus to Julius Caesar, Tiberius to Augustus, and Nero to Claudius. The arch of *Divus Titus*, voted by the Senate and the People but certainly

requested by Domitian, was probably set up soon after the death of his brother as a memorial to his newly acquired divine status.¹⁰⁸

Among the monuments attributed to Domitian in the Chronographer of 354 (146M) is the *Divorum*, a large complex surrounded by porticoes on all sides, erected in the Campus Martius in the location where the *Villa Publica* once stood. The monument was symbolically charged by its topographic location, corresponding to the building in which Domitian's father and brother must have spent the night before their triumph over the Judeans in AD 71.¹⁰⁹ The cults of Vespasian and Titus were certainly housed inside the *Divorum*, and it is also very plausible that altars and shrines dedicated to other deified members of the Flavian clan, such as the daughter of Titus, Julia, and Domitian's natural son, were also located somewhere in the building.¹¹⁰ The term *Divorum* then, would not refer only to Domitian's imperial predecessors, but have the significance of a collective term that included all those family members that were elevated to the status of *divi* or *divae*.

Contemptuous writers such as Suetonius (*Dom.* 2.2), Pliny (*Pan.* 11.1), or Cassius Dio (47.2) accused Domitian of concealing a selfish desire of bestowing honors on himself behind these apparently pious gestures of devotion to the memory of his deceased family members. To a detached and more objective audience though, these monuments represent tangible evidence of Domitian's desire to make sure that the cult of the Flavian family would survive in the memory and the landscape of Rome. Crowning of this ambitious ideological program was the erection of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, an impressive cultic complex that had the unprecedented triple function of historical landmark, family tomb, and shrine for all members of the Flavian clan. The structure was erected between AD 89 and 95 on the Quirinal hill, in the locality *ad Malum Punicum*, Domitian's birthplace (Suet. *Dom.* 1).¹¹¹ The ashes of Vespasian and Titus were moved there from the Mausoleum of Augustus as soon as it was completed (Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.240). The cremated remains of Julia, beloved daughter of Titus, were also stored in the mausoleum. The family sepulcher probably contained the remains of other members of the Flavian clan, such as the two Flaviae Domitillae - the wife and the daughter of Vespasian - Domitian's prematurely deceased son, and Vespasian's brother, Flavius Sabinus.¹¹² Domitian, too, found his final resting place among his kin: Suetonius (*Dom.* 17.3) reports that a faithful slave, having cremated Domitian's body soon after his assassination,

secretly mixed the ashes with those of Julia.¹¹³ Roman traditional religious practices forbade the coexistence of tomb and post-mortem cults in the same location.¹¹⁴ With the construction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* in the heart of Rome, Domitian re-configured the concept of imperial cult into that of cult of the imperial clan.

Because of this grandiose and elaborate program for the celebration of the great past of the Flavian family, it is very difficult to accept that Domitian did not invest similar efforts to secure a legacy and guarantee that the memory of the Flavians would continue after his death. The Cancellaria Reliefs, and the monument on which they were originally attached, celebrated the establishment of Domitian's legacy of power through the appointment of T. Flavius Vespasianus as crown prince, and signaled the pinnacle of Domitian's dynastic agenda.

CONCLUSION

The Cancellaria Reliefs are exemplars of a moment in the history of Roman state art, in which the forms of visual expression were still subject to experimentation.¹¹⁵ As already noted, it was only in the 2nd century AD that the representation of imperial virtues and powers in Roman state monuments crystallized in stereotypical artistic compositions.¹¹⁶ In this period of experimentation, that reached its moment of highest sophistication under the Flavians, both patrons and artists were still defining the rôle of the emperor within traditional Republican institutions and his relationship to the divine sphere. The famous historical reliefs of the Trajanic and Antonine period, whose historical and metaphorical narratives appear more easily intelligible to the modern viewer, are the product of this process of ideological and artistic consolidation. The Cancellaria Reliefs, part of an evolving artistic genre, find their *raison d'être* in the historical conditions in which they were conceived.

Domitian's political decision was probably welcomed with enthusiasm in the provinces, as Smyrnan coins demonstrate. Certainly, the emperor's dynastic plans were widely known in Rome. In this paper I have argued that the Cancellaria Reliefs played a part in the promotion of Domitian's dynastic policies. The young *togatus* in Panel B, whose identification has remained thus far uncertain, should then be identified as T. Flavius Vespasianus the Younger. If my identification proves to be correct, the Cancellaria Reliefs were created in the last few years of Domitian's

principate. Moreover, since the narrative in Panel A seems to describe a military procession, the dedication of the monument took place after the successful war of Domitian against the Sarmatians in AD 93.¹¹⁷ Because the Smyranean coin issues have been dated to AD 94-95, the possibility that the monument was set up in the early years of Domitian's reign to celebrate the victory over the Chatti in AD 83 or the Dacians in AD 86, appears unlikely.¹¹⁸

Literary and archaeological sources both stress the importance of dynastic celebration in Domitian's official policies. Especially during the later years of his principate, a large quantity of funds and effort were invested in the construction or completion of public monuments dedicated to his deified father and brother and other members of the Flavian clan. Corollary to Domitian's devotion to his ancestral past was his preoccupation with the continuity of his clan through a solid dynastic succession. As Augustus before him, without the availability of a natural descendant, Domitian relied on adoption. Both emperors looked for successors within their enlarged family, and Domitian's choice fell on his cousin's older son, T. Flavius Vespasianus. By appointing him as heir apparent, Domitian secured continuity in the transmission of imperial powers and averted the possibility of civil strife that his death without designated successors would have inevitably caused. After all, the bloody aftermaths of Nero's deposition must have been still vividly impressed in the collective memory.

NOTES

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¹ Lanciani 1891, 23-36 (with record of *spolia* find locations); see also Magi 1945, 52-54; Maischberger 1997, 108-156 esp. 135 no 91-92; Paolucci/Buranelli 2009, 77-106, 154-156. In particular, see the numerous graffiti carved by the marble-workers (Degrassi 1942-1943, 389-396) on the walls of the sepulcher of Aulus Hirtius and the conspicuous amounts of marble and travertine chippings found during the 1988-1993 excavations under Palazzo della Cancelleria (Paolucci/Buranelli 2009, 140).

² These are the calculations of Magi 1945, 3-5 who reconstructs the friezes as being each approximately 6 m long. The incredibly reduced thickness of the slabs denotes the level of quality of the reliefs that were

sawed out of the block to have the minimal thickness possible.

³ Magi 1945 tav. agg. D fig. 1-2; see also Last 1948, 9; Linfert 1969, 60-61, 57 fig. 1-2. The first slab of Panel A is now missing and there is a gap between the first and second slab of Panel B. Three slabs have survived for Panel A and 4 slabs for Panel B, although the reliefs might have originally been even longer than generally supposed.

⁴ Pfanner 1981, 514-518.

⁵ The numbers on parentheses here refer to fig. 1 (A) and fig. 2 (B).

⁶ Simon 1960, 138; Ghedini 1986, 292-93. Fehr 1998, 719-720, partly in line with an interpretation previously suggested by Schefold (1959) interpret the arm at mid height as a 'gesto di modestia'. Köppel (1969, 142) saw in this *dextra elata* a 'power gesture' (*Machtgestus*) that resembles the common extended right arm usually associated with the imperial *adlocutio*.

⁷ D'Ambra (1994, 85), following Béranger 1964, 78, would like to see here an artistic rendition of the epigraphic formula *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (SPQR) which appeared on monuments dedicated by the Senate and the People of Rome. A parallel can be drawn with the so-called *Tellus* frieze of the Ara Pacis that has been interpreted by Torelli (1982, 40-42) as the formula *Pax terra marique parata* (Aug. RG 2. 13). D'Ambra also interpreted the footwear of the *Genius Populi*, identical to the one worn by Roma and Mars, as a clear intention of stressing the importance of war, through which the Roman youth (to the author, the addressee of this relief) can acquire glory and prosperity. According to Simon (1985, 549) the young man (A13) represents *Virtus*.

⁸ Magi 1945, 13-26, Tav. Agg. D fig. 1.

⁹ Simon 1960, 141 fig. 4.

¹⁰ Linfert 1969, 57 fig. 1. The Anacapri relief was first published by Magi (1954-1955, 45-54).

¹¹ On the sculptural motif of the *Athena ducens* see Magi 1947, passim; see also Ghedini 1986, 296-97.

¹² It is uncertain whether that signal symbolises the act of Minerva's recognition of the emperor and her affiliation with him (D'Ambra 1994, 87 n. 9), the act of pulling the helmet back at the end of the war (Magi 1971, 92), or simply a symbol of the goddess' epiphany (Simon 1960, 146). Most probably she is adjusting the helmet in view of war (Toynbee 1957, 13). Certainly the drawing of an arrow from the quiver based on the iconography of *Diana Venatrix* (Magi 1945, 103) is unacceptable as it is never attested in depictions of Minerva.

¹³ Toynbee 1957, 10; see also Keller 1967, 198-205; Simon 1985, 554-555. Contra Magi 1945, 21-22, 75-76 and Simon 1960, 138 who would see in the figure the personification of Roma. For a study on the different iconographies of *Virtus* and *Roma* in Roman historical reliefs see Pfanner 1983, 67-70; Ganschow 1997, 273-281; Di Filippo Bales-trazzi 1997, 1049-1068.

¹⁴ Magi 1945, 85-87; 1971, 92.

¹⁵ He might have been the emperor's bodyguard, the *sacri lateris custos* mentioned by Martial (6. 76. 1). See Magi 1945, 87-89; Kähler 1950, 33; Toynbee 1957, 12-13; Alföldi 1959, 7; Kähler 1965, 208; Köppel 1969, 138. According to Ghedini (1986, 294), this individual is carrying the emperor's parade weapons.

¹⁶ Magi 1945, 30-31; see also Brilliant 1963, 101-103; Béranger 1964, 79; Ghedini 1986, 298.

¹⁷ Keller (1967, 215); Bergmann (1981, 29), and Simon (1985, 549-552) who would rather identify the young

- personification (B13) as *Honos*; Fehr (1998, 721) the god *Terminus*. As for the older bearded man (B11), Bergmann (1981, 29) proposes the personification of the *ordo equester* and Simon (1985, 552) Numa Pompilius.
- ¹⁸ According to Magi 1945, 76-77; Simon 1960, 154; Simon 1985, 551 it is an altar. Ritter 1982, 32; Ghedini 1986, 298 would rather see in this some sort of 'foundation stone' representing the sacred locus in which the ceremony is taking place. See also Köppel 1969, 172; Oppermann 1985, 59; Hölscher 1990, 300-301; Fehr 1998, 721 as a stone marking the *pomerium* or some other sacred boundary.
- ¹⁹ Magi 1945, 97 who finds similarities between this figure and the figure with the *rotulus* who appears in the *pompa triumphalis* of Trajan's arch in Beneventum.
- ²⁰ Keller 1967, 211.
- ²¹ Ritter 1982, 29.
- ²² Recently interpreted as the *lex aedis* that authorized the consecration of a new temple (Ghedini 1986, 298-99)
- ²³ Generally identified as the goddess *Roma* (Magi 1945, 74; Kähler 1950, 34; Toynbee 1957, 5; Simon 1960, 151; Köppel 1969, 172; Bergmann 1981, 29-31; Ritter 1982, 34; Simon 1985, 548; Ghedini 1986, 297. See, however, Bendinelli 1949, 20-26 (as *Bellona*) or Keller 1967, 198-205 (as *Virtus*).
- ²⁴ Magi 1945, 90-93; Oppermann 1985, 54. See also Linfert 1969, 60; Köppel 1984, 6-8; Herzog 2001, 130 (as a *lictor curiatus*) and n. 205. Although the Vestals were six, in Roman art they appear only in groups of five or less, supposedly because at least one of them did not take part in ceremonies but was in the temple making sure that the sacred fire would not extinguish.
- ²⁵ Magi 1945, 93; Ghedini 1986, 298 also brought to attention that the Cancellaria Panel B is the first example in which the Vestals are depicted in a non-sacrificial ceremony. See also Béranger 1964, 80.
- ²⁶ The proportion of the head in relation to the body has been calculated by Bonanno (1976, 53) to be of approximately 1:8½, whereas in the other figures of the relief it is 1:7 or 1:8 at most.
- ²⁷ The theory formulated by Rumpf (1955-1956, 112-115) and Schefold (1949, 546), that the original portrait was meant to depict Nerva, does not explain the reason for the re-cutting. On the contrary, McCann (1972, 255-259) would like to see in it the portrait of the young Hadrian interpreting a slight swelling on the area above the upper lip of the figure as moustache that was later removed by abrading the surface.
- ²⁸ Magi 1945, 62; 1973, 290.
- ²⁹ On the detailed analysis of these portraits within the broader context of the re-carving of Domitian's images see Bergmann-Zanker 1981, 388-389.
- ³⁰ Herzog 2001, 110-121.
- ³¹ Meyer 2000, 128. See the full rebuttal of Meyer's arguments in Baumer 2007, 93-96.
- ³² Herzog 2001, 147.
- ³³ McCann 1972, 251.
- ³⁴ A minority of scholars, following Magi (1945, 57-60), Bonanno (1976, 53), and Ghedini (1986, 298) still maintain the opinion that Vespasian's head is not a re-carving.
- ³⁵ Bergmann 1981, 22-24.
- ³⁶ Bergmann 1981, 25. See also Hölscher 1990, 297-298 for a review of previous scholarship.
- ³⁷ Thimme in Toynbee 1957, 22-24; see also Rumpf 1955-1956, 119. On the dismissal of both suggestions see Toynbee 1957, Appendix.
- ³⁸ Hamberg 1945, 52; see also Bianchi Bandinelli 1946-48, 259-260; Neutsch 1946-1948, 101 n. 1; Bendinelli 1949, 4-8; Kähler 1950, 33; Alföldi 1959, 6; Picard 1964, 523; Keller 1967, 207-211; Toynbee, 1967, 9-11; Köppel, 1969, 138-144; Linfert 1969, 40, 56-58; McCann 1972, 274; Oppermann 1985, 49.
- ³⁹ Magi 1945, 98-105; 1955-1956, 313; Simon 1960, 136-151; Magi 1971, 88-92; Hölscher 1967, 53 n. 317; Bastet 1973, 157-166; Simon 1985, 554-55; Ghedini 1986, 293-294; Hölscher 1990, 301-302.
- ⁴⁰ Magi 1945, 98-105.
- ⁴¹ Kienast 1990, 115. See also Suet. *Dom.* 6 and Tac. *Agr.* 39.
- ⁴² Domitian's *ovatio* of AD 93 is narrated by Martial (8.8.5).
- ⁴³ This interpretation was originally proposed by Schefold (1959) and later endorsed by Béranger (1964, 10). On the matter see Ghedini 1986, 293.
- ⁴⁴ Magi 1945, 106-15; Last 1948, 10; Keller 1967, 215; Linfert 1969, 59-60; Bergmann 1981, 26; Hölscher 1990, 300; Herzog 2001, 136-137 (*adventus*). Contra Simon 1960, 153 (*profectio*).
- ⁴⁵ Ritter 1982, 25-36.
- ⁴⁶ A same interpretation is supported by Fehr (1998, 724-725) who nonetheless rejects the identification of the young *togatus* (B12) with any known historical figure.
- ⁴⁷ Simon 1985, 544.
- ⁴⁸ Ghedini 1986, 298.
- ⁴⁹ See most recently Baumer 2007, 103.
- ⁵⁰ Simon 1985, 545-547.
- ⁵¹ On the foundation of the *sodales Flaviales Titiales* see Scott 1936, 79-82.
- ⁵² Scott 1936, 61-62.
- ⁵³ Ghedini 1986, 298-99.
- ⁵⁴ On the temple and its possible location see Coarelli 1995b, 275-276; Liverani 2006-2007.
- ⁵⁵ For a few remarks on Ghedini's interpretation see Hölscher 1990, 298: Domitian as *Pontifex Maximus* did not require the approbation of a magistrate to perform the foundation ritual.
- ⁵⁶ Baudy 1998, 223-261; Baumer 2007, 101-102, fig. 5.
- ⁵⁷ Stilp 2001, 32-34, 53-54, 60-71.
- ⁵⁸ Domaszewski 1909, 79; Kähler 1966, 27; Stilp, 2001, 66-67, figs. 22, 29; Baumer 2007, 103. The event described in Panel B of the Cancellaria Reliefs would have taken place by the altar of Mars in the Campus Martius, identified by Baumer with the small pedestal on which the *Genius Populi* (B13) is resting his naked foot. On the *ara Martis* see Coarelli 1996, 182-186 (written testimonia), 189-197 (topography); 1997, 223-226.
- ⁵⁹ Suolahti 1963, 31.
- ⁶⁰ Henderson 2003, 252.
- ⁶¹ Magi 1945, 111. See also Bendinelli 1949, 14: 'paterno saluto'; Simon 1960, 153: 'Gestus, der mehr einer Anbetung als einer normalen Begrüßung gleicht'; Bonanno 1976, 56. On the importance of this gesture for the configuration of the narrative in Relief B see at last Bergmann 1981, 28-29. For alternative interpretations see Last 1948, 12; Toynbee 1957, 14: (approbation, approval); Neutsch 1948-1949, 101 n. 3; Simon 1985, 449 and Ghedini 1986, 298: blessing, clerical gesture; Fehr 1998, 727: transmission of powers, *mandatum*.
- ⁶² Rumpf 1955-1956, 114-116; see also Simon 1960, 153: personification of the *ordo equester*. Alternatively, Oppermann (1985, 59) and Herzog (2001, 134) have suggested that the young man was meant to represent the personification of the Roman youth. Bergmann (1981, 24-25) argued strongly against the identification of the young *togatus* as the portrait of a real person. None of

- her remarks, however, lead necessarily to such conclusion. See most recently Herzog 2001, 133-134.
- ⁶³ Bergmann 1981, 27.
- ⁶⁴ Kleiner 1987, 205-207 no 77, pl. 43.1-4.
- ⁶⁵ Gabelmann 1977, 361.
- ⁶⁶ Goette 1988, 449-464 esp. 459-464; Goldman 1994, 116-122.
- ⁶⁷ See Gabelmann 1977, 322-333; 1979; 1981; Demougin 1988, 782-789. Notice, in particular, that Gabelmann identified as the personification of the Equestrian order a colossal statue wearing a *trabea*, now in Naples, known as the 'Lare Farnese'. For a discussion of Gabelmann's identification and its partial endorsement see most recently Capaldi 2010, 46-49.
- ⁶⁸ Wrede 1988, 381-400 with previous bibliography.
- ⁶⁹ Stein 1927, 30-53; Gabelmann 1977, 323; Demougin 1988, 777-794. Already Bergmann (1981, 26-27) noticed the absence of such decisive features in the portrait of the young man in the Cancellaria Reliefs.
- ⁷⁰ Meyer 2000, 138. See Hales 2002, 238 on 'the absence of any immediate iconographic evidence' that would support Meyer's historical interpretation of Panel B.
- ⁷¹ Magi 1945, 70-72; Bendinelli 1949, 14; Toynbee 1957, 6-7; Simon 1960, 151-154; McCann 1972, 260-61; Bergmann 1981, 27; Ritter 1982, 31; Herzog 2001, 135 (fashionable among the Neronian youth).
- ⁷² RE III.1, 30-34 (Mau). For an example of the ritual among young private citizens, although a literary exaggeration, see Petron. *Sat.* 73.6.
- ⁷³ See, for example, the Caius and Lucius Caesar in the sardonix intaglio in Florence (Museo Archeologico, inv. 14914) and the portraits in the round of Drusus the younger (Rome, Terme, inv. 125711); and Nero (Rome, Terme, inv. 618). Pollini 1987, 71-75 discusses the meaning of a short beard in the portraits of young Julio-Claudian and in particular of his Gaius Type V, suggesting the possibility that short beards was connected to mourning or military campaigning. On short beards worn occasionally by Julio-Claudian princes and their possible significance in portraiture see Jucker 1976, 262-263. See also Rose 1997, 247 n.85. A slightly similar *barbula* is on the face of some of the young attendants carrying the *lares* of the imperial family on the altar of the *Vicomagistri* (Ryberg 1955, pl. 24 fig. 37c). Of a completely different type is the beard of the man in the so-called *ara Pietatis Augustae*, which covers the entire jaw uniformly (Cagiano de Azevedo 1951, pl. 5-6; Bergmann 1981, 27).
- ⁷⁴ Bergmann 1981, 25. For comparison see a similar portrait now in Budapest (Hekler 1929, 127 no 117) The portrait heads in Ostia, Munich, or Boston used by Magi (1945, 70-72) as evidence for the identification of the *togatus* (B12) in Panel B as young Domitian do not have enough elements in common to be called upon as copies of the same portrait type. See Daltrop et. al. 1966, 33, pl. 24a-d, 25c-d; Bergmann 1981, 24.
- ⁷⁵ Bergmann 1981, 22-25.
- ⁷⁶ Oppermann 1985, 59. On the *princeps iuventutis* see RE XXII, 2296-2311 (Beringer); Eck 2007, 859-860.
- ⁷⁷ RIC I, 55-56 nos 205-212, pl. IV. 207, 209, 211.
- ⁷⁸ Simon 1960, 153; Béranger 1964, 81.
- ⁷⁹ PIR² D 181.
- ⁸⁰ RIC II, 180 no 213, pl. V. 86. See also Desnier 1979, 54-64.
- ⁸¹ RIC II, 209 no 440-443, pl. VII. 109.
- ⁸² RE VI, 2536-2539 no 62 (Stein).
- ⁸³ PIR² F 397; RE VI, 2596 no 78 (Stein).
- ⁸⁴ PIR² F 257; RE VI, 2623 no 205 (Stein).
- ⁸⁵ Kornemann 1930, 66-67; see also Prévost 1949, 44; Dabrowa 1996, 159.
- ⁸⁶ PIR² F 417. See also Jones 1992, 48.
- ⁸⁷ Kienast 1990, 116.
- ⁸⁸ Nauta 2002, 352-353. Augustus's intentions are clearly spelled out by Suetonius (*Aug.* 26.2): 'He held his second consulship nine years later, and a third after a year's interval; the rest up to the eleventh were in successive years, then after declining a number of terms that were offered him, he asked of his own accord for a twelfth after a long interval, no less than seventeen years, and two years later for a thirteenth, wishing to hold the highest magistracy at the time when he introduced each of his sons Gaius and Lucius to public life upon their coming of age.' (trans. Rolfe 1928-1930).
- ⁸⁹ On the persecution of Flavius Clemens and other individuals accused of atheism, see Cass. Dio 67.14.1-2; Philostr. *VA* 8.25. For a discussion of the literary evidence see Jones 1992, 48 n. 119: some scholars believe that the real accusation was that of being a devotee of Judaism; others of Christianity.
- ⁹⁰ Stein, s.v. 'Flavius', RE VI, 2597; Hammond 1956, 86 n. 131.
- ⁹¹ Statius probably mentions the adoption in the *Silvae* (4.1), in which he compares Domitian to Augustus - known to have relied on adoption of family members as a strategy to appoint his successors. See Hardie 1983, 192-194; Nauta 2002, 352-353.
- ⁹² BMC, Ionia, 274-276 nos 315-322; Cohen I, 539 no 1; RPC, II, 159 nos 1028-1030.
- ⁹³ On the identification of the young man portrayed on the Smyranean coin issues opinion had diverted in the past. Some believed that the appellation 'Vespasian the Younger' was used as an unofficial title to praise the emperor Titus. Other scholars have suggested that the portrait represents the son of Domitian and Domitia born in AD 73 and deceased before AD 83. See Jones 1966 for a discussion of two main positions. A series of studies by Klose (see below n. 95) have convincingly demonstrated, however, that the young man on the coins can only be the older adoptive son of Domitian.
- ⁹⁴ There is some variety among the issues minted: in some cases the Victory is advancing towards right (RPC II, 159 no 1028) and in others towards left (RPC II, 159 no 1029); in another issue (RPC II, 159 no 1030) a wingless standing Nemesis is depicted instead of a Victory. The same reverse image was also used for coins bearing portraits of Domitian on the obverse (see Klose 1984, 193 fig. 4).
- ⁹⁵ Klose 1969, 244; 1984, 193-195; 1987, 11-12, 244-245 nos 1-11, pl. 31.
- ⁹⁶ On the relative independence in the choice of coinage imagery enjoyed by provincial minting authorities see Howgego 1994, 70-73 (with previous bibliography); 2005, 57-68.
- ⁹⁷ On the discussion of the legal implications of imperial adoption and the different positions held by various scholars on the matter, see Hammond 1956, 69 n. 24.
- ⁹⁸ Hammond 1956, 89.
- ⁹⁹ RIC II, 339 no. 3a, pl. XII. 217; 341 no 22a-c.
- ¹⁰⁰ This relief is part of a large monument, dismantled and partly re-used in Late Antiquity. The space available here would not allow a comprehensive approach to the nature and history of the Ephesian monument as a whole without detracting importance from the many excellent studies on the subject. See most recently Liverani 1996-1997; Landskron 2006, 143-183; Oberleitner 2009 with previous bibliography. For a description of the main points

of contention on the monument see Schmidt-Colinet 2011, 126-129 and Topfer 2012, 54-61. On what might have been the original location of the altar see Jobst 1984, 33-35.

- ¹⁰¹ The patera on Hadrian's right hand is now missing. A similar gesture was probably performed by Antoninus Pius, whose right hand was carved separately and is also missing. Alternatively (Ryberg 1955, 133) Hadrian might have been empty-handed, his hand turned upward signifying a 'gesture of greeting'.
- ¹⁰² Notice that Ryberg (1955, 133) reports, erroneously, that the hand of Antoninus Pius was not on the shoulder of Lucius Verus, but holds the scepter that can be seen in the background behind the boy.
- ¹⁰³ By some (Giuliano 1959, 186; Eichler 1971, 115) tentatively identified as the genius of Lucius Ceionius Commodus, the grandfather of Lucius Verus (*PIR*² C 604). See Fittschen 2006.
- ¹⁰⁴ Giuliano 1959; see also Eichner 1971; Bonanno 1976, 114; Kleiner 1992, 309-312; Landskron 2006, 143-183; Oberleitner 2009. According to the writer of the SHA (*Ant. Pius* 4.6) Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius as *caesar* on condition that the latter would promise to appoint Hadrian's nephews, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, as his successors. Cf. SHA, *Hadr.* 24.1; *Ael.* 6. 9; Cass. Dio 69.21.1.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ryberg 1955, 133-134; Liverani 1996-1997.
- ¹⁰⁶ On Domitian's extensive building program see Bourne 1946; Anderson 1983; Darwall-Smith 1996; Packer 2003; Coarelli 2009, 68-97.
- ¹⁰⁷ De Angeli 1999.
- ¹⁰⁸ Arce 1993; see also Davies 2000, 19-24, 142-148. The arch might have contained the ashes of Titus until the completion of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (see below).
- ¹⁰⁹ Coarelli 1995a.
- ¹¹⁰ *PIR*² F 426. In a series of imperial coins (*BMC* II, p. 402-403 nos 458-463; p. 405-406 nos 471-473) minted in AD 91-92 she is commemorated as *DIVA* and therefore the official recognition of her divine status by the Senate must have happened shortly before that time. Since the existence of a cult, with one purposely selected priestess, dedicated to Diva Iulia is attested in Italy *CIL* V 6514 = *AE* 1999, 763 (Novaria, Italy); *CIL* IX 1153 = *ILS* 6487 (Aeclanum, Italy), it is highly unlikely that a shrine to Julia did not exist in Rome. See also the dedication to *Diva Iulia* found in Celeia, Noricum (*CIL* III 13524 = *ILS* 8906) and in Reate, Italy (*AE* 2005, 440).
- ¹¹¹ Coarelli 1995c; Davies 2000, 24-27, 148-150. It was still not finished in AD 94 when Martial's 9th book of *Epigrams* was published (*Mart.* 9. 20. 1); Sauter 1934, 149; Scott 1936, 66. In the 5th book of Statius' *Silvae* (published in AD 96) Domitian is said to have just founded it. If the structure depicted on a *sestertius* minted in AD 95 is in fact the *Templum gentis Flaviae*, then such date would be the time of its dedication.
- ¹¹² La Rocca 2009, 228.
- ¹¹³ Suet. *Dom.* 17.3.
- ¹¹⁴ Davies 2000, 148-158.
- ¹¹⁵ The lack of monuments depicting similar scenes with a better-known archaeological history does not allow to assess with confidence the precise meaning of the Cancellaria Reliefs (Ghedini 1986, 292). For few examples of iconographic compositions that remotely recall the Flavian monument see Simon 1960, 141-148; Ghedini 1986, 304 n. 14.
- ¹¹⁶ Toynbee 1957, 11; Ghedini 1986, 292.
- ¹¹⁷ In support of several dates, between AD 90 and 95, are

Gullini 1949, 112; Schefold 1949, 547; Kähler 1950, 41; Toynbee 1957, 19; Simon 1960, 151; Simon 1985, 543-545.

¹¹⁸ Supporters of an early Domitianic date of the Cancellaria Reliefs are: Magi 1945, 156-166; Bendinelli 1949, 34-37; Linfert 1969, 56-58.

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Bacchus and Jupiter-Ammon, two bronze sculptures from Roman Nijmegen, The Netherlands

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Abstract

*In 2008, during a small excavation in the city centre of Nijmegen, an extraordinary bronze hoard came to light. During the Roman period, this area was part of the burial site of Ulpia Noviomagus, the civitas capital of the Batavians that developed from AD 70 onwards, after Oppidum Batavorum was destroyed by fire in the Batavian Revolt. The hoard consists of eighty pieces, amongst others fragments of a life-size arm or leg, fragments of a monumental bronze tablet, and heavy ornamental fragments. In this article, two fragments will be presented and placed in their regional context: a fragment of a Jupiter-Ammon herm and a fragment of a large Bacchus statuette.**

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades several excavations were carried out in the western part of the Nijmegen city centre (fig. 1), during which dozens of Roman and medieval graves came to light. In September 2008, a small excavation preceded the digging of a trench for sewer pipes in the area called the Hesenberg. This area was part of the burial ground



Fig. 1. Nijmegen, the Netherlands (Rob Mols, Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen).

of Ulpia Noviomagus, the settlement that was built on the left bank of the Waal River from AD 70 onwards (fig. 2). Eighty bronze fragments with a total weight of almost eighteen kilos were found, spread out over a few square meters, in a relatively clean layer with very little medieval and post-medieval refuse. Originally, the hoard probably was buried in a pit which must have been disturbed, after which the fragments somehow got dispersed. It is the largest number of bronze fragments ever found together in this area (fig. 3).¹ Although the find spot is located between Roman graves, the fragments could not be dated stratigraphically or linked to these graves or other Roman features that had come to light during previous excavations in this area. It is not certain that the fragments belonged to objects from Ulpia Noviomagus, but the possibility that the hoard was scrap metal, bought elsewhere in the region, does not seem very likely. The fragments were not part of a 'ready-to-go' scrap metal packet, since many pieces are too large for a crucible. Furthermore, the content of the monumental inscription tablet, fragmentary as it may be, seems to point to a link between Ulpia Noviomagus and the bronze hoard. And lastly, all samples taken from the fragments contained large amounts of cuprite (Cu_2O), indicating oxidizing conditions. This means that the bronze fragments, before they were buried, must have been exposed to an oxygen-rich milieu for a longer period, like a smouldering fire. This also explains why most pieces show signs of secondary heating. Covered by a dark crust, they are deformed, half-melted or melted beyond recognition. The ceramic chips stuck to many fragments

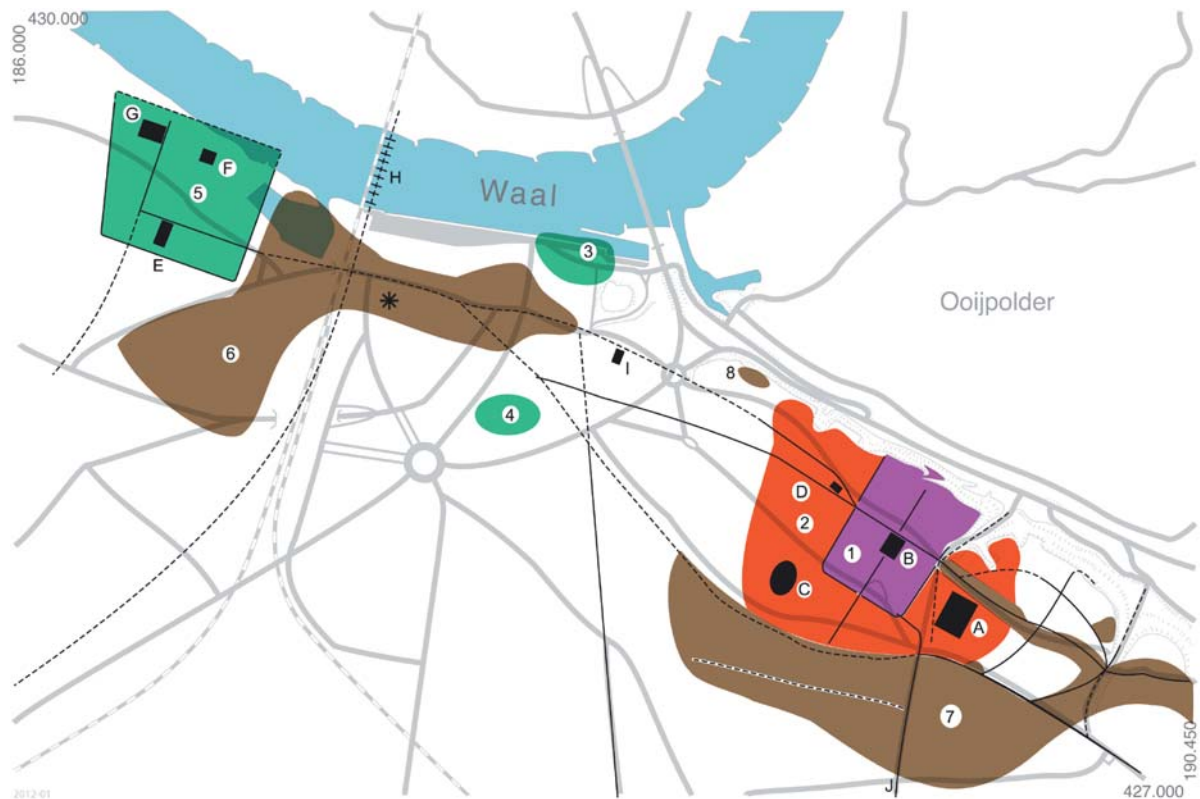


Fig. 2. Nijmegen AD 70-260

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--------------|
| 1 | legionary fortress Tenth Legion Hunerberg | A | forum |
| 2 | canabae legionis | B | principia |
| 3 | settlement Waalkade | C | amfitheatre |
| 4 | settlement Vlaamse Gas | D | mansio |
| 5 | Ulpia Noviomagus | F | bath complex |
| 6-8 | burial grounds | E/G | temples |

The black star marks the find-spot (Rob Mols, Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen).

are also indicative of a fire.² If this was the fire that destroyed most of Ulpia Noviomagus in the second half of the 2nd century AD (see below), the objects probably were destroyed by looters, who buried their booty in places like the Hessenberg, but never came back to retrieve their treasure.³

The hoard comprises fragments of at least five large bronze sculptures, inscription fragments, fragments of a monumental bronze tablet or relief and ornamental fragments. Among the sculpture fragments that can be identified with certainty are the two statue fragments that I will present in this article.⁴ They are the most interesting, since the identity of the figures they represent can be established. Before presenting the fragments, a brief overview of the settlement history of Nijmegen is

in order.⁵ Most publications on this subject that have seen the light since the 60s of the previous century, have been incorporated in volume I of the series: *Nijmegen. Geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland*.⁶ Therefore, I will limit myself to a summary with references to this volume and the most recent publications.

SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF ROMAN NIJMEGEN

Around 19 BC the first Roman troops settled on the Hunerberg. This area became a base camp for the first phase of Augustus' plans to conquer the Rhine region. The Augustan legionary fortress covered 42 hectares, but was only in use for a couple of years.⁷ Around 10 BC, east of this for-



Fig. 3. Bronze hoard Hessenberg (photo Ronny Meijers, Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).

treas, on the Kops Plateau, a much smaller military fortification was built. Traces of other, smaller army camps have been found on the plateau as well.⁸ Shortly after 10 BC, a civilian settlement was founded in the area which is now the centre of modern Nijmegen.⁹ This settlement is believed to be the Oppidum Batavorum or Batavodurum, mentioned by Tacitus and Ptolemy.¹⁰ The settlement was destroyed by fire during the Batavian revolt of AD 69.¹¹ Just before or during the Batavian revolt of AD 69, the plateau was abandoned.

In AD 70 or 71, the Tenth Legion Gemina came from Hispania and built a new legionary fortress on the Hunerberg.¹² For thirty years, this legion would be the driving force behind the economy of a new settlement on the left bank of the Waal River: Ulpia Noviomagus. Around AD 98, the emperor Trajan granted Ulpia Noviomagus *municipium* status. Only a few years later, between AD 102 and 104, he transferred the Tenth Legion to Aquincum (Boedapest) for his military campaigns

against the Dacians, which must have been a disaster for the local economy.¹³ During the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) a defence wall was constructed around the city against the increasing number of Germanic raids. Excavations have revealed traces of fire in large parts of Ulpia Noviomagus, but also in other settlements in the region, like Empel and Tongeren.¹⁴ By AD 270 the city was abandoned.

THE HESSENBERG

The bronze hoard was found in the city centre of modern Nijmegen, under the pavement of the Hessenberg (figs 4a and 4b). This area is part of the Nijmegen outwash fan at the foot of the push moraine that was formed 150,000 years ago during the Saalien ice age. Ulpia Noviomagus was situated at the lowest part of the outwash fan. A road connected the city and the legionary fortress on the Hunerberg. Along this road the inhabitants of the city buried their dead. The bronze fragments were found in the middle of this burial ground, not far from the Roman road. Excavations and construction work in the Hessenberg have revealed features and artefacts from the Roman period: pottery, fragments of four tufa sarcophagi, grauwacke, tufa and sandstone foundations of funerary monuments.¹⁵ Recent excavations have revealed Roman graves and a grauwacke foundation of a ten meter long wall that fenced off a Roman burial enclosure (fig. 5). In the past, more walled burial enclosures have been discovered in the north-western part of the burial ground of Ulpia Noviomagus.¹⁶

BACCHUS

The first bronze fragment that I will discuss, was part of a statuette. Its preserved height is 101 mm, its weight is 118 gr. The fragment has a scorched surface, which is covered by a dark crust, caused by heat. An olive green patina is visible at some places. It is the upper part of a staff, topped with a pinecone and a broad piece of cloth wrapped around the shaft. The cloth is not tied with a knot. The object can be identified as a *thyrsus*, an important attribute of Bacchus. Representations of members of Bacchus' cortège holding a *thyrsus*, like satyrs and maenads, are mainly Greek and therefore not a likely option for this statuette (fig. 6).¹⁷ In the Roman period, Bacchus is represented as a freestanding young man or a boy. Compared to the number of depictions of Bacchus in reliefs, mosaics, wall-paintings and coins, bronze stat-

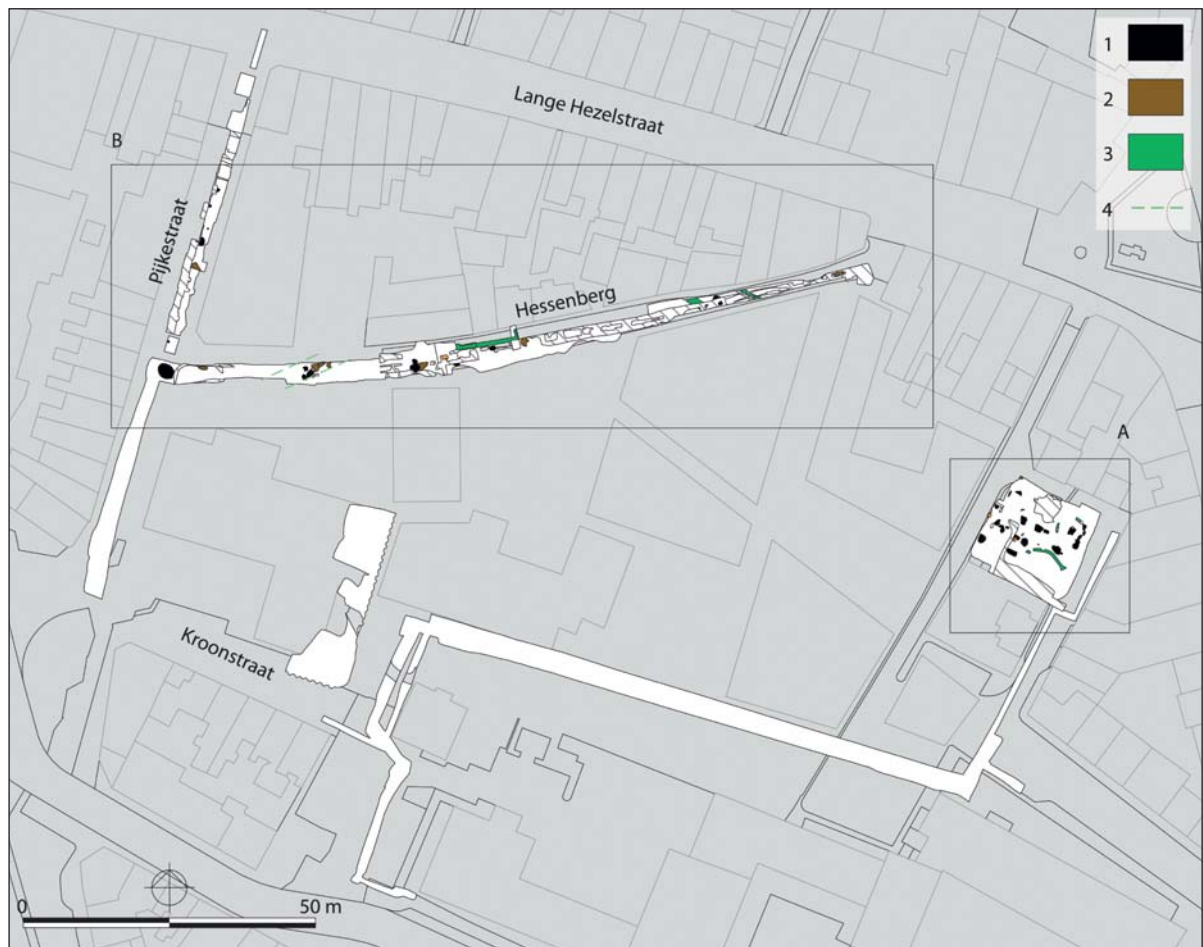


Fig. 4a. The Hessenberg (Tim van der Weyden, Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen).

1. Graves and disturbed graves
2. Pits
3. Walls and structures of burial enclosures
4. Possible late-Roman or early Medieval road

uettes of Bacchus are rare in Roman art, as we will see. In this part of the Empire we find Bacchus mostly in the form of small busts and appliqués.¹⁸ In sculptural form, the iconography of Bacchus as a young man is roughly the same throughout the Empire: an androgynous youth, standing in contrapposto, naked or wearing a *nebris*, a goat skin, panther skin or *chlamys*, holding a *thyrsus* in one hand and often a *kantharos* in the other.¹⁹ Apart from the Hessenberg fragment, in Nijmegen two statuettes of Bacchus as a young man were found, one in the area of the military fortress on the Hunerberg, the other in the area where Oppidum Batavorum was situated (figs 7a and 7b).²⁰ If the Hessenberg-*thyrsus* was held by a standing young

man like these two statuettes, the statuette must have been at least 30 cm in height. Since statuettes of Bacchus as an infant holding a *thyrsus* do exist as well, the other option is that the Hessenberg statuette represented Bacchus as an infant. Two examples of suchlike statuettes have been found in the Netherlands.²¹

Compared to the number of statuettes of other deities, Bacchus statuettes are rare in all parts of the Roman Empire.²² They seldom appear in the inventories of domestic shrines.²³ Within the context of public shrines and temples the god is absent.²⁴ Nevertheless, his presence in domestic contexts in other media is overwhelming. Strongly connected with *otium* and the *symposium*, statues,



0 10 20 30
Meters



Fig. 4b. The Hessenberg (Tim van der Weyden, Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen).

The black star marks the find-spot.



herms, mosaics and wall paintings representing Bacchus and his followers were very popular in *villae* and houses throughout the Empire.²⁵ One of the reasons for the absence of the god in religious contexts may have been a senatorial decree, prohibiting the cult throughout Italy in 186 BC.²⁶ According to Livy, the authorities believed the festivals, the *Bacchanalia*, were a threat to the security of the state.²⁷ In the private sphere, however, Bacchus and his myths remained very popular.²⁸ One of the first signs of Bacchus' come back into the public sphere became visible after the Dacian

Fig. 5. Grauwacke foundation (photo Valeria de Groot, Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen).



Fig. 6. Thyrsus fragment Nijmegen (photo Ronny Meijers, Museum Het Valkhof Nijmegen).

Fig. 7a. Bacchus Nijmegen - Oppidum Batavorum (photo Rob Mols, Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen).

Fig. 7b. Bacchus Nijmegen - Hunerberg (photo Ronny Meijers, Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).



wars, when Trajan (AD 98-117) issued coins with Bacchus.²⁹ With these coins Trajan probably referred to himself as the conqueror of oriental peoples, since Bacchus, according to Pliny, had conquered India.³⁰

Regarding the *symposium*, Annemarie Kaufmann-Heinimann puts forward an interesting option for the function of statuettes, based on closed-finds and literary sources. These find complexes comprise tableware and statuettes that

were buried in times of unrest or impending danger, the so-called *Angstdepots*. Since the statuettes and tableware were buried together, she suggests that these statuettes must have been part of the dining service.³¹ A written source that supports this idea is Statius' poem *Hercules Epitrapezios Novi Vindicis*.³² The poet thanks his host, the art collector Novius Vindex, for inviting him. He speaks of his admiration for a 30 cm high statuette of Hercules Epitrapezios, an epithet that

means 'at' or 'on' the table. Apparently the statuette stood on a side table in the dining room while they were eating. The function of suchlike statuettes must be interpreted as the presence of a divine guest as well as a work of art, a conversation piece. Dining in the presence of Bacchus, the god of wine and festivities, ecstasy, reincarnation and the afterlife must have given people enough 'food for thought', considering the large amount of depictions of the god on tableware, wall paintings and mosaics in dining rooms.

Returning now to the *thyrsus* from the Hesselberg, we see that this attribute looks very different from the *thyrsus* of the Bacchus from Oppidum Batavorum. The latter has a short piece of cloth hanging down, wrapped around the shaft and tied with a knot, while the Hesselberg *thyrsus* has a large, loose piece of cloth wrapped around the shaft, waving in the wind like a banner. The cloth is not tied with a knot, which implies that the wind is pressing the cloth against the shaft, preventing it from falling down. Since very few examples of *thyrsi* from statues and statuettes have survived, for a comparison we have to look at depictions of *thyrsi* in other media like mosaics and wall paintings from the Roman period.³³ Here we see either undecorated *thyrsi* or *thyrsi* decorated with a knotted ribbon, like the amber Bacchus group found in Esch (Noord-Brabant, the Netherlands).³⁴ Parallels of a *thyrsus* with a freely waving piece of cloth like the Hesselberg *thyrsus*, either in sculpture, reliefs, mosaics or paintings, are not known. Statues and statuettes usually depict Bacchus in a static position, standing in contrapposto, or leaning on another figure or tree trunk. Dynamic representations of Bacchus seem to be reserved for reliefs, mosaics and wall paintings.³⁵ If the Hesselberg Bacchus was a figure in a static pose, the combination with a 'dynamic' piece of cloth must have been an awkward composition. The alternative is that Bacchus held the *thyrsus* in a dynamic pose.³⁶ A large statuette in a dynamic pose would have been highly decorative and definitely suitable as a conversation piece. As to the dating of this object, no clues are available, although the settlement history of Ulpia Noviomagus suggests that the statuette was made before the second half of the 2nd century.

JUPITER-AMMON

The second bronze fragment is 170 mm in height and weighs 1482 grams. It is approximately one eighth part of a life-size head. The surface is partly covered by a greyish brown crust. The patina is

olive green with dark and bright green spots. The brown spot under the ear is corrosion from an iron pin stuck into the fragment. It is probably one of the chaplets that were stuck through the wax model into the clay core before casting.³⁷ The fragment represents a part of the right side of a male head, with an animal ear, a ram's horn, thick, curly hair, a beard and a diadem or ribbon around his forehead. The hair at the back of the head is indicated by incisions. The upper part and the tip of the horn are missing (*fig. 8*). The curly hair, beard, ram's horn and diadem make it easy to identify the head as Jupiter-Ammon, because it is the usual iconographic presentation of this god.³⁸ Since the fragment weighs 1.5 kilo, the complete head must have weighed at least 12 kilo. Heads were normally cast separately. Details like hair and beard could be cast separately and soldered to the head, added to the wax working model before casting, or were directly incised into the wax. In this case the horn, ear and curls were added to the wax model. As a consequence, these details were cast solid. This, and the unusual thickness of the walls (6-11 mm), explains the weight of the head.

What object did the head belong to? A life-size bronze statue, a monumental bronze relief, a bust or a herm? For several reasons, it is not likely that the head was part of a life-size statue. Firstly, full figure representations of this god in the Roman period are absent: only his head is depicted. Such a large and costly statue would have been imitated by smaller copies and imagery in other media.³⁹ Furthermore, a large bronze cult statue would have stood in an important sanctuary, but there is no literary or archaeological evidence for the existence of Jupiter-Ammon cult statues and sanctuaries in the Roman world, while local and private veneration of the god did exist, as we will see below.⁴⁰

A second possibility is that the fragment was part of a large relief, attached to a monument of stone or a wooden object. However, evidence for the existence of monumental bronze reliefs in general is scarce. From the Netherlands only three fragments are known.⁴¹ There are many examples of Jupiter-Ammon heads in stone relief on *clipeus*-decorations and medallions, but no examples of large bronze reliefs with Jupiter-Ammon have survived.⁴² We only know small bronze reliefs with the head of Jupiter-Ammon, in the form of *phalerae* and *pteryges*.⁴³

The third and most plausible option is that the Hesselberg fragment belonged to a herm or bust. There are quite a few examples of stone herms of



Fig. 8. Jupiter-Ammon Nijmegen (photo Rob Mols, Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen).

Jupiter Ammon, some of which are double herms combined with another deity.⁴⁴ Yet, bronze Jupiter-Ammon busts and herms are very rare, of which one example will be discussed below.⁴⁵

First, a brief explanation is required about the way the Egyptian god Amon, Hammon or Amun, assimilated with the Roman god Jupiter. Greek colonists founded the colony of Cyrene in North-Africa in the 7th century BC, incorporated the Egyptian god Amon into their religion and transformed him into Zeus-Ammon. The cult penetrated into the Peloponnesus and around 460 BC the poet Pindar introduced the god into the Greek city of Thebes.⁴⁶ In 331 BC, Alexander the Great undertook a pilgrimage to the Ammon oracle in Siwa, in the Libyan desert, and afterwards issued coins depicting him with horns. The god remained popular with his successors for a while, but in Greece the cult lost its followers.

The earliest known example of Jupiter-Ammon in the Roman Empire comes from the Forum of

Augustus in Rome.⁴⁷ With the marble *clipeus*-decorations in the portico's of his Forum, Augustus referred to Alexander the Great, who after the battle of the Granicus River in 334 BC, hung the captured shields of his Persian enemies on the walls of the Parthenon temple in Athens, and to Marius, who placed a shield of the defeated Cimbri 'under the new shops' on the Forum Romanum in Rome in 101 BC.⁴⁸ The barbarian with torque on the *clipeus*-decorations in Augustus' Forum referred to the conquest of Gaul, the head of Jupiter-Ammon to the conquest of Egypt.⁴⁹ Soon, the *clipeus*-decorations were imitated in fora in the Roman provinces. Here, Augustus' visual language was perceived differently and the *clipeus*-decorations became a symbol for the imperial cult.⁵⁰ Later, also this connotation lost its meaning and the *clipei* on architecture got an apotropaic function or became a purely decorative motif.

The depiction of the god on *militaria* like *phalerae* and *pteryges* can be explained by the apotropaic

quality of the god, which is attested by hymns on the walls of Egyptian sanctuaries, stating that the god Amon 'gives back life to those who live in fear, brings joy to wounded hearts, protects from evil and diseases and rescues those who are lost at sea'.⁵¹ After Augustus had conquered Egypt in 30 BC, the Third Legion Cyrenaica had to keep the peace in Egypt, where it was stationed for about hundred fifty years. Subunits of this legion were sent abroad to take part in war campaigns or to suppress violence, and may have been responsible for the spread of the god's popularity among soldiers in this region and other parts of the Empire.⁵² The apotropaic quality of Jupiter-Ammon in the Roman period is confirmed by his representation in combination with Medusa, whose apotropaic qualities were renowned throughout Antiquity.⁵³ On funerary altars and urns the head of Jupiter-Ammon is often depicted on the corners and protruding elements, which are the most fragile parts.⁵⁴ Apart from protecting the object itself, the god also protected the dead on their journey in the afterlife.

So, was the Hesselberg-Jupiter-Ammon a bust or a herm? Only one large example of a bronze Jupiter-Ammon bust is known in the Roman West.⁵⁵ The bust was found in Vieu-en-Valromey (Ain) in the Rhône-Alpes region and is 23.5 cm in height. It emerged from a private collection in 1993.⁵⁶ Jupiter-Ammon, rising from a calyx of leaves, has two grape leaves in his hair and a grape at the back of his head. At the bottom, the calyx of leaves is bordered by two snakes. The iron nails in the calyx were probably used for hanging *tintinnabula*, bells with a ceremonial or apotropaic function.⁵⁷ The grape and grape leaves refer to Bacchus, the meaning of the two snakes is more ambiguous.⁵⁸ Raymond Chevallier has suggested that the bust stood in a local sanctuary.⁵⁹ If the head of the Hesselberg Jupiter-Ammon was a bust, it might have stood in a local sanctuary too. A logical location for a shrine would be the temple complex at the Maasplein. This complex consisted of two Gallo-Roman temples and a couple of smaller buildings. Finds like statuettes of Mercurius, Venus, Mars and Cybele, an altar fragment dedicated to Fortuna and a ring dedicated to Salus, imply that the complex was a place of worship for several gods.⁶⁰

However, taking into account the high number of Jupiter-Ammon herms that have survived, the most plausible option for the Hesselberg-fragment is that it was once part of a herm, in this case a bronze head with a stone or marble shaft.⁶¹ The popularity of Jupiter-Ammon as a herm can

be explained by the original function of herms as an apotropaic medium, bearing the head of an apotropaic god.⁶² Alongside their protective, apotropaic role, herms were used as garden ornaments and architectural elements, set up in niches or in rows along galleries.⁶³ Without any contextual information it is impossible to say whether the bronze Hesselberg herm served religious or decorative purposes, or both, or was an object of conspicuous consumption, displaying the wealth and social status of its owner. The herm may have adorned a private house, a garden or a funerary monument.⁶⁴

THE TWO GODS IN A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Bacchus

As we know from finds categories like *amphorae*, the distribution of portable material culture in the Roman period was a result of cultural and commercial exchange, following the important transport axes over land and water and the movements of Roman army troops from east to west and from south to north. In the case of bronze statuettes, defining production centres, distribution patterns or a chronology, even when the number of statuettes is relatively high, has proven to be a great challenge, if not a mission impossible.⁶⁵ This is not only due to the lack of contextual information, the mobility of statuettes and the scarcity of publications on this category of finds, with or without analysis or synthesis, it is also a consequence of production techniques. Before I will return to the latter, I will discuss the phenomenon of standard types. Statuettes of Roman deities were based on standard types, since we find statuettes with the same characteristics and attributes in all provinces of the Empire.⁶⁶ It has been argued that these standard types were derived from well-known Roman and Greek statues.⁶⁷ There is little doubt that well-known large sculptures will have inspired artisans who made bronze and terracotta statuettes, but even the most classicist statuettes from the imperial period were not replicas of classical masterpieces, as Annelis Leibundgut has demonstrated.⁶⁸ As to provincial Roman statuettes, from the 1st century BC onwards, statuettes of Roman deities like Mercurius, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Minerva, Fortuna and Victoria were created according to standard types that reflected the official representation of these deities in the centre of the Empire.⁶⁹ Studies have shown that deities could have several standard types. They have resulted in typologies that, as said before, seldom have led

to a better understanding of provenance or chronology.⁷⁰

The typology proposed by Yvonne Manfrini-Aragno is illustrative in this regard. In the previous part we have seen that there is a standard type for Bacchus depicted as a young man. Manfrini-Aragno's typology for Bacchus is based on differences in age (young man or infant), pose, weight on the left or right leg, position of the arms, types of garment, sandals and attributes. According to her typology, the statuette from Oppidum Batavorum would be a type B1a. She has found six statuettes that fall into this category and their find spots are scattered across the Empire: Nicomedia (modern Turkey), Xanten (Germany), Egypt, Enns (Austria), Banasa (Marocco) and (probably) France.⁷¹ The height of these statuettes varies from 8.4-15 cm. As to chronology, only two statuettes can be roughly dated. We know that the statuette from Oppidum Batavorum must be one of the earliest known examples of a Bacchus statuette in the north-western provinces of the Empire. Since Oppidum Batavorum was destroyed in AD 70, the statuette must have been brought here between 10 BC and AD 70, either by soldiers or civilians.⁷² The other statuette was found in Xanten and is datable to the 2nd or 3rd century AD.⁷³

The Bacchus statuette that was found in the Hunerberg area in Nijmegen is clearly based on another type.⁷⁴ Here, Bacchus is naked and does not wear a grape vine leaf wreath. His hair is bound up and the modelling suggests curls without indicating them in detail. The weight of his body rests on the left leg. The right arm is missing and the left hand probably held a thyrsus. According to Manfrini-Aragno's typology, the statuette would fall into her category type A1c.⁷⁵ Apart from the absence of clothing and sandals, the Hunerberg-statuettes does not bear any resemblance to the statuettes from this category, nor to other examples of a naked Bacchus found in Antwerp (Belgium) and Chessy (France). The only statuette that probably was inspired on the same example or model as the Hunerberg-Bacchus is a 32.9 cm high silver plated statuette found in Liebenow (Poland).⁷⁶

A 7.4 cm high statuette from Forum Hadriani represents the infant Bacchus riding a (lost) panther or lion, holding a bunch of grapes in his right hand. Three other examples of statuettes in more or less the same pose, type I according to Manfrini-Aragno's typology, differ in height from 3.6-61 cm and have been found in Yemen and France.⁷⁷

A statuette from Aardenburg (Zeeland, the Netherlands) represents Bacchus as a striding, chubby

boy wearing a short mantle. He has long hair and a flower on top of his head.⁷⁸ His head is turned to its right and his gaze follows the movement of his raised right arm. The right hand held an object that is lost. He looks like a teenager rather than a young man and his dynamic pose is striking. The statuette doesn't fit into any of the types as proposed by Manfrini-Aragno and was probably brought here after AD 175.⁷⁹

The most important reason why typologies like the one discussed here do not provide us with many clues, is that the criteria they are based on, are a consequence of the chosen production technique and pragmatic or personal choices made by the artisan. There was no standardized process for the production of statuettes. They were cast hollow or solid, often with the help of a wax working model, with or without negative moulds.⁸⁰ A wax working model could have been entirely freely modelled, could have been assembled from copied parts of different models, or was a mix of copied parts and freely modelled elements. Which technique the artisan used depended on his skills and talent and the availability of models and negative moulds. That is why many statuettes, although based on standard types or models, were in fact unica.⁸¹

As said before, Bacchus appliquéés and busts are less scarce in the region. A 17 cm high bronze Bacchus bust from a rich *tumulus* grave in Esch (Noord-Brabant, The Netherlands) has been interpreted as an incense or oil container.⁸² From another grave at the same location emerged the already mentioned amber Bacchus group.⁸³ The people that had been buried in these graves presumably were the owners of *villae*.⁸⁴ A 20 cm high bronze baluster, presumably part of the leg of a couch, was found in the Aardenburg *castellum* (Zeeland, The Netherlands).⁸⁵ An 8 cm high Bacchus bust was found during an excavation in the area where Ulpia Noviomagus was situated. Its size and the fastening device at the back suggests that it was attached to a rather large object. The same applies to another bust, found in the River Waal near Nijmegen.⁸⁶ A 6.4 cm high appliqué from Aardenburg depicts the god as a sitting, nude infant with flowers in his hair and a basket of flowers in his left hand.⁸⁷ The nipples had been inlaid with copper. A 7 cm high bust found in The Netherlands surmounted the leg of a bronze tripod.⁸⁸ A 66.5 cm high statuette found in Avenches, Switzerland, was a table support.⁸⁹

All these objects can be associated with luxury, especially dining and feasting. The small number of Bacchus statuettes in the Germanic northern

frontier zone contrasts with the many statuettes representing deities like Mercurius, Mars and Hercules.⁹⁰ The absence of Bacchus in religious contexts and the popularity of the god in other media in domestic contexts suggest that a large statuette like the Hessenberg Bacchus was set up in a room or garden rather than in a shrine. Based on the quality of the surviving fragment and the estimated size of the statuette, the Hessenberg Bacchus must have been a valuable object too that once adorned a house in Ulpia Noviomagus.⁹¹

Jupiter-Ammon

The presence of Jupiter-Ammon in the north-western provinces is attested by representations of the god in all kinds of media, specifically from the end of the 1st century AD onwards. Together with other foreign deities like Mithras and Isis, the god was introduced into the region by Roman troops who settled along the Rhine.⁹² Contrary to Mithras and Isis, Jupiter-Ammon did not 'get' his own cult within the urban communities. Even so, the high number of representations of Jupiter-Ammon on funerary monuments and small objects like oil lamps, candelabra, grips and appliques demonstrates that his apotropaic powers were appreciated in this part of the Empire, too.⁹³

In the past, attempts have been made to date Roman representations of Jupiter-Ammon. Both Friedrich Matz and Janette Lefrancq composed a stylistic chronology for representations of Jupiter-Ammon, according to which the position and size of the horns, the treatment of hair and beard and the god's facial expression were the decisive criteria.⁹⁴ Stylistic chronologies present several risks, particularly when the date of the reference objects is arguable or false.⁹⁵ The same goes for a comparison of different media without taking into account form and function of the object.⁹⁶ That is why the horns of Jupiter-Ammon are not a criterion for dating, since their size and position depend largely on the form and function of the object on which the god is depicted. His horns are his most important attribute, because it is the only characteristic that distinguishes the god from representations of the supreme god Jupiter. Therefore, they must be clearly visible. On sculpture in the round and in high reliefs the horns are visible from the front and the sides. They are often large and curved, a realistic representation of ram's horns. We see the same on coins where the god is depicted in profile.⁹⁷ This type of representation exists from the Hellenistic period to the 4th century AD. On frontal representations in low relief, however, the horns

are depicted horizontally, curving outwards, to ensure their visibility. They are smaller and can be found mostly on circular-shaped media like *clipei*, *phalerae* and the discs of oil lamps.⁹⁸ It is, therefore, not surprising that Lefrancq cannot link her fourth category, Jupiter-Ammon on disc shaped appliques, to a defined period and concludes that they appear from the 1st to the 4th century AD.⁹⁹

According to the cited literature, all Jupiter-Ammon herms found in Germany and France are datable from the end of the 1st to the end of the 2nd century AD. The same goes for Jupiter-Ammon on funerary monuments.¹⁰⁰ Whether all these dates are supported by archaeological evidence is not clear to me, but as far as the Hessenberg herm is concerned, the dates correspond to the settlement history of Ulpia Noviomagus and strengthen the hypothesis that the hoard was buried in the second half of the 2nd century. Examples of stone



Fig. 9. Jupiter-Ammon Nijmegen (photo Ronny Meijers, Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).

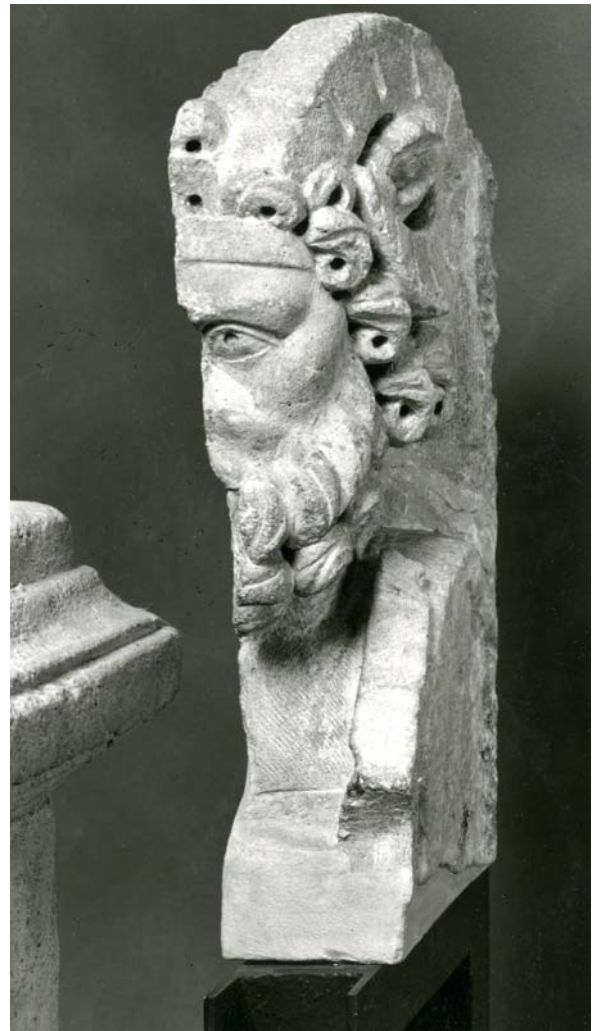


Fig. 10. Jupiter-Ammon Cologne (photo Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln).

herms from the region are a herm from Lechenich (Bonn) and a herm from Cologne.¹⁰¹ The first was found in 1846, in the fields nearby the village of Lechenich.¹⁰² The herm from Cologne was found during an excavation in the *praetorium* in the city centre, in 1953.¹⁰³ The heads of these herms have approximately the same size as our herm, being respectively 42 and 45 cm in height (figs 9-11). The resemblance to the herms from Cologne and Lechenich suggests that the Hessenberg-herm was cast in the Rhineland rather than in Gaul.¹⁰⁴

ELITE CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The territory in which Oppidum Batavorum and Ulpia Noviomagus were located, has been defined as a non-*villa* landscape, where societies devel-

oped differently by comparison with societies in the Gallic *villa* landscapes. The scarcity of *villae* in the Lower Rhine region was a consequence of less fertile soils and the absence of pre-Roman nucleated settlements.¹⁰⁵ The development and administration of new settlements in this northern frontier zone was organized by the Roman state and the Roman army, with little or no input from local elites.¹⁰⁶ Since relatively small parts of Ulpia Noviomagus have been excavated, little is known about this settlement's topography, and the picture that emerges from the excavations is far from uniform.¹⁰⁷ The settlement was laid out on an orthogonal street grid, but up till now the only Roman urban features that have been identified with certainty, are the public bath complex, the two Gallo-Roman temples and the city wall, a defence wall



Fig. 11. Jupiter-Ammon Lechenich (photo LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn).

that was constructed during the second half of the 2nd century.¹⁰⁸ In the first phase the settlement consisted of long stretched lots with so-called *Streifenhäuser*, a house type that was typical for military *vici* in the north-western provinces, like the *vicus* of the *castellum* in Valkenburg (Zuid-Holland).¹⁰⁹ These strip buildings can be associated with commercial and craft activities.¹¹⁰ Presumably, the Roman authorities were only interested in the big picture, like the location of the new settlement and the construction of public buildings, and left minor details like the construction of houses and workshops to the inhabitants. For the time being, in Ulpia Noviomagus only one monumental house with Roman features has been found, west of the two Gallo-Roman temples, which were constructed around AD 100.¹¹¹ The house had a *hypocaustum* and wall paintings.¹¹² The only other known elite houses are the pre-Flavian *praetorium* on the Hunerberg and a house with two *peristylia* that was built on the Josephhof after the destruction of Oppidum Batavorum. Pointing at the comparable layout and

dimensions of the *praetorium* on the Hunerberg, Harry van Enckevort suggests that this building was a *praetorium* too, maybe the residence of a *tribunus*.¹¹³

Nico Roymans has argued that the absence of archaeological evidence for Batavian elites living in Oppidum Batavorum and Ulpia Noviomagus must be explained by the lack of native commitment to Roman-style urbanism, particularly in the 1st century AD. According to Roymans, Batavian elites preferred to live in the countryside and rather invested their fortune in the monumentalization of rural public buildings like the temples in Elst and Empel, than in the capital of the *civitas*.¹¹⁴

Whether Batavian elites lived in the countryside and other elites in Ulpia Noviomagus, the problem remains that in the mixed and often cosmopolitan communities of the Roman Empire, without epigraphic evidence we cannot identify the users of Roman features and artefacts as Romans, immigrants or Batavians that had become Romanized to a greater or lesser extent.¹¹⁵ The

Jupiter-Ammon herm and the Bacchus statuette must be considered as Roman artefacts, even though both objects were cast in a provincial workshop, probably in the Rhineland or Gaul.¹¹⁶ In the case of the Bacchus statuette, the owner may have been anybody who had been able to make enough money, here or elsewhere, to decorate his house with large bronze objects, like a successful Gallic or Germanic trader, for instance. If he was a trader, he probably did see on his travels representations of Bacchus in the habitations of well-to-do-people and purchased the statuette to display his own wealth, his *Romanitas*, or his affinity with the god and his cult. Considering the popularity of Jupiter-Ammon among soldiers and the fact that the Jupiter-Ammon herm from Cologne was found in the *praetorium*, the owner of the Hessenberg herm may have been a wealthy member of the military community. If so, he must have been a high-ranking officer who had commissioned the herm for his house or tomb.¹¹⁷

NOTES

- * I owe special thanks to: Harry van Enckevort (Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen), Ronny Meijers (Museum Het Valkhof), my supervisor Eric Moormann, Susanne Willer (LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn) for the photo's of Jupiter-Ammon from Lechenich. Most of all, I am grateful to Stephan Mols for his support.
- 1 Two other bronze hoards were found during excavations in Ulpia Noviomagus, at the Maasplein and Rivierstraat. They consist of three bronze bowls (Maasplein) and four bronze vessels and fragments of an iron kettle hook (Rivierstraat) and were probably buried in the same period: Enckevort/Thijssen 1996, 72,74.
 - 2 Another explanation for the secondary heating would be an interrupted casting process. Apart from the absence of evidence for metalworking in the Hessenberg area, the ceramic chips make this option even more unlikely.
 - 3 When bronze is exposed to fire it becomes brittle and easy to destroy.
 - 4 The five inscription fragments were published in 2010: Eck/Veen 2010, 241-246. I am grateful to Werner Eck whose help was indispensable to the publication of the Hessenberg-inscriptions. The exceptional size of the letters, 26 mm in height, and the thickness of the fragments, 6-8 mm, indicate that it must have been a large inscription tablet, comparable to the Tabula Claudiana from Lyons.
line 1: [---]NEM MOESICAM[---]
line 2: [---]+++ISTEM • ADPROBATAM • B[---]
line 3: [---]MAN[---]
line 4: [---]ALAE vacat
line 5: [---]E vacat
Moesicam could refer to the Roman province of Moesia, or a military unit such as the *classis Moesica*, or the *ala Moesica*, stationed in Germania Inferior around AD 100. *Approbare* or *adprobare* as an epigraphic formula has been attested only twice: once in a letter of the emperors Valerian and Gallienus, and once in a bronze dedication commissioned by the emperor Hadrian in Lam-

- baesis, in AD 128. The word *alae* points at a military context for the inscription. These facts, plus the material of which the tablet was made, indicate that the commissioner of the Hessenberg inscription must have been an important magistrate, if not the emperor himself. The letter type of the inscription is datable to the end of the 1st century AD at the earliest, so it must have been Trajan or Hadrian, since they are the only two emperors who visited Germania Inferior in this period. Both emperors can be linked to this region as well as to Moesia, and both emperors led campaigns in the Danube region with troops from Germania Inferior.
- 5 The complete hoard will be published in the excavation report. Technical research is carried out within the framework of the German-Dutch project Römische Großbronzen am Unesco-Welterbe Limes. See for information about the project the website: www.gross-bronzenamlimes.de.
 - 6 Willems et al. 2005, 248-249. There is also an English adaptation of this volume: Willems et al., 2009. See also: Driessen, 2007.
 - 7 Willems et al. 2005, 42-43.
 - 8 Willems et al. 2005, 63-71.
 - 9 Enckevort 2010, 92.
 - 10 Tacitus mentions both names (Tac. *Hist.*, 5.19-20). Ptolemy only mentions Batavodurum (Ptol. *Geogr.*, 2.9.5.) Harry van Enckevort and Jan Thijssen have suggested that Oppidum Batavorum and Batavodurum might have been two different settlements, Batavodurum being a prehistoric settlement in Nijmegen-West; Willems et al. 2005, 44, 97-102. This idea is disputed by Nico Roymans: Roymans 2004, 148 and note 393; see also Driessen 2007, 84 and note 433. It remains strange, however, that Tacitus refers to a presumed Roman settlement as *oppidum*, since other authors, like Caesar, meant by *oppida* fortified native settlements.
 - 11 Willems et al. 2005, 10.
 - 12 Willems et al. 2005, 73-85. According to traditional beliefs this legion had the task of protecting and maintaining the *civitas Batavorum*, but not everybody is convinced that a whole legion was needed for this: Willems et al. 2005, 47-49; Driessen 2007, 93.
 - 13 Bogaers 1967, 54-76. Whether Trajan tried to compensate the city by granting market rights is doubtful. See for the debate on this topic: Haalebos 2000, 35-39; Willems et al. 2005, 107.
 - 14 Willems et al. 2005, 110.
 - 15 Enckevort/Thijssen 1996, 84, 86. Grauwacke is a variety of sandstone that was quarried in the Eifel region (Germany) and used as building material.
 - 16 Parts of this burial site were investigated by Hendrik Brunsting in the 1930s: Brunsting 1937. See for the most recent publication on graves in this area: Koster 2013, 204-231.
 - 17 There are exceptions, though. See for instance a 2nd century relief: Naples, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 6684.
 - 18 For the Netherlands: Zadoks et al. 1967, nrs 4-6; Zadoks et al. 1969, nrs 10-15. For Germany: Menzel 1966, nr 135; Menzel 1989 nrs 319, 322, 325-326, 328-330. For Belgium: Faider-Feytmans 1979, nrs 154-156, 158. For France: Boucher/Tassinari 1976, nr. 28.
 - 19 See for the iconography of Bacchus, for instance, Manfrini-Aragno 1987, Tassignon 1996. See for Bacchus/Liber Pater: Gasparri 1986, 540-566 and nrs. 1-2, 5, 18, 22. For Bacchus in North-Africa, Spain Portugal and the north-western provinces: Boucher, 1988, 908, 921-923

- and nrs 45, 47, 49, 82a-b, 83, 85.
- ²⁰ See for the statuette from the Hunerberg: Zadoks et al. 1969, nr 7.
- ²¹ Zadoks et al. 1969 nrs 8-9, although these examples probably did not hold a *thyrsus*. See for all statuettes of Bacchus in the Netherlands: Zadoks et al. 1969, nrs 6-9. Nrs 6 and 8 were found in Aardenburg, Zeeland, in the area of the *castellum* that was built between AD 175-180. Nr 9 was found in Arentsburg, the area where Forum Hadriani was situated. For statuettes of the infant Bacchus outside the Netherlands, see for instance, Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 216, GFV 14, fig. 158 and GFV14; Boucher 1988, nrs 17, 23; Manfrini-Aragno 1987, nrs 260-279, 281-287 and 289.
- ²² Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 177.
- ²³ Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 178-179. See also Tassignon 1996. Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 182-195, 316-318. She has investigated the inventories of domestic and public shrines from Roman Augst (Switzerland) and has compared them to all known closed find complexes consisting of statuettes, vessels and other objects throughout the Empire.
- ²⁴ Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 163, 199-205, 316-318. GFV 6, GFV14 and GF68. Members of Bacchus' cortège like Priapus, Silenus, Pan, satyrs and maenads not included. They would bring the total for domestic shrines to 12, for public shrines to 2: GF40, GF66, GF81, GF93, GF94, GF97, GF 113.
- ²⁵ Neudecker 1988, 47-54; Dickmann 1999, 309-312; Zanker 1995, 26-27 and 150-190. For Germania Inferior see, for instance, the Dionysos mosaic from the urban villa in Cologne.
- ²⁶ The text of the decree, the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, was discovered in 1640 on a bronze tablet in Tiriolo, southern Italy.
- ²⁷ Liv. *Ab. urb. cond.* 39.8-19.
- ²⁸ Gasparri 1986, 560-566.
- ²⁹ See, for instance, Gasparri 1986, 564 and nr 16.
- ³⁰ Plin. *N.H.* 8.2.2. Since the Bacchus cult was believed to be of Thracian or Phrygian origin, this may have been another reason for Trajan to issue coins with Bacchus after his Dacian victory.
- ³¹ Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 196-198. Closed-finds in the provinces: Ambleteuse (Pas-de-Calais): tableware and two statuettes, one of Mars and one of Venus; Chaux (Aisne): 37-piece silver tableware, plates, a statuette of Fortuna; Saint-Chef (Isère): tableware and six statuettes, amongst others Jupiter, Venus and a bull; Kaiseraugst: 86-piece tableware and a statuette of Venus; Harbiye (Daphne, Antiochia): silverware and a gilded statuette of Venus.
- ³² Stat. *Silvae* 4.6.
- ³³ See, for instance, Manfrini Aragno 1987.
- ³⁴ For undecorated *thyrsi* see, for instance, Gasparri 1986, nrs 2, 18; Boucher 1988, nrs 23, 57, 58, 72, 143. The amber Bacchus group from Esch depicts a drunken Bacchus, supported by a satyr, holding a *thyrsus* with a waving ribbon: Hurk 1986, 112-113, 133, fig. 1. See for other examples of *thyrsi* with a ribbon, Gasparri 1986, nrs 50, 64, 103, 109; Boucher 1988, nrs 59, 95, 96, 110, 117, 128-129, 215.
- ³⁵ See, for instance, Gasparri 1986, nrs 30-31, 47, 94, 158, 230, 233-235, 242, 244-246, 258; Boucher 1988, nrs 17-18, 23, 25, 58-59, 69, 142, 143, 155. The RGM in Cologne has a dynamic late 3rd century group of three bronze figures, representing Bacchus flanked by Pan and a satyr. Inv.nr 44.48.
- ³⁶ Two small bronze statuettes of Bacchus in a dynamic pose depict the god as a boy and come from Aardenburg (Zeeland) and Forum Hadriani (Zuid-Holland). See note 21. The infant Bacchus from Aardenburg is an appliqué.
- ³⁷ See for a detailed explanation of the casting process: Mattusch 1996a, 10-16; Mattusch 1996b, 20-26.
- ³⁸ Sometimes the god wears no diadem and has human ears. Most representations of Ammon as a beardless young man refer to Alexander the Great and his successors: Leclant/Clerc 1981, 688-689.
- ³⁹ The standing Ammon on coins from Cyrenaica is believed to be inspired on Hellenistic cult statues of the god. The same goes for a relief from Samos, which is believed to be an interpretation of the cult statue from the Ammoneion in Athens: Leclant/Clerc 1981, 684.
- ⁴⁰ Pliny the Elder tells us about the Gallic tribe of the Arveni, who commissioned the Greek sculptor Zenodorus to create a colossal bronze cult statue of Mercury: *N.H.* 3.39. See for the absence of a Jupiter-Ammon cult in the Roman West: Spickermann 2008, 420; Harris/Harris 1965, 83-84; Turcan 1989; Budischovsky 1973, 212. The only Ammon-sanctuaries we know date from the Hellenistic period and stood in the Greek cities of Gythion, Sparta and on the peninsula of Pallene, nowadays called Kassandra peninsula (Chalcidice). The only Ammon-statue we know from literary sources allegedly stood in the Greek city of Thebes. The poet Pindar commissioned the sculptor Kalamis to make a cult statue of Zeus-Ammon (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.14-16; 951-953).
- ⁴¹ Three large bronze relief fragments were found in a 2nd century Roman cellar during an excavation at the Vrijthof in Maastricht, the Netherlands. See for the excavation at the Vrijthof: Bloemers 1971-1972, 52-53. See for a description of the fragments: Panhuysen 1996, 50-51 and note 161, nrs 1 and 2.
- ⁴² See for stone reliefs of Jupiter-Ammon: Leclant/Clerc 1981, nrs 35, 36, 37, 39, 48, 61, 70, 71, 73.
- ⁴³ Leclant/Clerc 1981, 677, nr 87 and Matz 1932, 12-13 nr 5; Riccioni 1974-1975: figs 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 503-512.
- ⁴⁴ Leclant/Clerc 1981, nrs 16-33. Double herms: Jupiter-Ammon and Bacchus; 680, nrs 134-135. Jupiter-Ammon and a goddess; 680, nrs 139-140. Jupiter-Ammon and Heracles; 682, nr 150. Jupiter-Ammon and a unknown deity with bull's horns, 682, nr 156.
- ⁴⁵ For the only known examples of a bronze herm, see Leclant/Clerc 1981, 672, nrs 32-33. Nr 32, a 11.3 cm high bronze herm, from Xanten is an appliqué, probably of a piece of furniture. See also Grimm 1969, 126-127 and Taf. 54.3. Nr 33 is a 30 cm high bronze double herm from Saint-Laurent-du-Cros (Hautes Alpes), France.
- ⁴⁶ See also note 40.
- ⁴⁷ The temple was dedicated in 2 BC, but the forum itself was already in use in 5 BC: Spannagel 1999, 20.
- ⁴⁸ See for the latter: Cicero, *De Orat.* 2. 266.
- ⁴⁹ Zanker 1968, 13-14 and note 58.
- ⁵⁰ First in Spain, Tarragona and Mérida, followed by France, Arles, Caderousse and Vienne, Switzerland, Avenches, Geneva, Versoix, and the cities on the Adriatic coast, Aquileia, Zara, Pola and Trieste. See for the meaning of *clipeus*-decorations and the imperial cult: Verzàr 1977, 38-41; Simón 1990, 143-162; Cassari 1998, 391-407; Cassari 2004.
- ⁵¹ Tran Tam Tinh 1971, 24. See also Leclant/Clerc 1981, 686.
- ⁵² Subunits were sent to Yemen, Parthia, Jerusalem and probably Tongres, for Caligula's planned invasion of Britain: http://www.livius.org/1e-lh/legio/iii_cyrenaica.html.

- ⁵³ Leclant/Clerc 1981, 669. See for Jupiter-Ammon and Medusa on public buildings, note 50 and Verzàr, 1977, 35, 38; Simón, 1990, 143-162; Budischovsky 1973, 202-216. On funerary monuments: Leclant/Clerc 1981, 674, 686-687 and nrs 55 and 56; Grimm 1969, 68-69 and 232-233, Taf. 50 and 52. Herms: a stone Jupiter-Ammon herm from Kassel, Germany, has the head of Medusa engraved in the right shoulder: Leclant/Clerc 1981, 672, nr 29. Statuettes: a bronze statuette of Minerva from Vienne. The goddess has a *gorgoneion* on her chest and a Jupiter-Ammon ascending from her back: Budischovsky 1973, 213. For *phalerae*: Matz 1932, 12-13, nr 5; for *pteryges*: Leclant/Clerc 1981, 677, nrs 85 and 85b-c.
- ⁵⁴ See, for instance, Leclant/Clerc 1981, 674-675 and nrs 55, 57, 60-61, 66b.
- ⁵⁵ Leclant/Clerc mention a small bronze bust from Lagrasse, (Aude) in France: Leclant/Clerc 1981, 680, nr 130.
- ⁵⁶ Chevallier 1994, 128-137. This is, as far as I know, the only publication on the bust. The owner gave the archaeologist Raymond Chevallier two days to study the bust on the spot. The only published pictures of the bust can be found in Chevallier's article, which is in fact the text of his lecture on the bust. The lecture was attended by, amongst others, Jean Leclant and François Braemer. The latter had some reservations about the authenticity of the bust, the others did not: Chevallier 1994, 137-138. Apart from the owner's assertion that he had found the bust in Vieu, Chevallier had already linked the bust to the vicus of Venetonimagus, since two bath complexes, an aquaduct, a *mithraeum*, numerous architectural fragments, a feminine statue and other finds had already come to light in the 19th and 20th century. Epigraphic evidence from Vieu shows that the cults of Mithras, Sol, Herecura (Proserpina) and Cybele were practiced in the area: Chevallier 1994, 133.
- ⁵⁷ Dierichs 2010. An example of an unusual bronze calyx Mercurius bust with *tintinnabula* comes from Orange, France: Rolland 1965, 53, nr 65. Hans Jucker mentions three other Mercurius calyx busts that originally had *tintinnabula*. Since the *tintinnabula* had not survived, it was believed that the chains were for lamps or weights. All three busts come from Gaul or the Rhineland: Jucker 1961, 161-162.
- ⁵⁸ Apart from referring to Medusa, snakes can be associated with Bacchus in many ways, through myths about his birth and the invention of wine. See for instance, Nonnus, *Dion.* 9. 1-15 and 111-131; 12. 173-187. Bacchus and maenads are sometimes depicted with snakes: British Museum Database inv. nr 1857.1220.414; Brygos Cup (early 5th century BC), Staatliche Antikensammlungen Munich nr 2647. In shedding its skin, the serpent was a symbol of rebirth and fertility. This animal is also part of the iconography of Mithras. Since one of the most important *mithraea* of the Rhône valley stood in Vieu, maybe the bust played a role in this cult. On the Mithras-cult in the Rhône valley: Turcan 1972, 1-47 and pl. II, III, VI, VII; see also Walters 1974, 5-11.
- ⁵⁹ Chevallier 1994, 133.
- ⁶⁰ Willems et al. 2005, 192-193.
- ⁶¹ Large bronze herms with bronze shafts are rare. A famous example comes from the Mahdia wrack, another stands in the Getty Museum: Mattusch 1994, 431-450.
- ⁶² See, for instance, Neudecker 2011.
- ⁶³ Neudecker 1988, 105. Among the numerous sculptures for his villas, Cicero ordered bronze herms with Pentelic marble shafts for his villa in Tusculum. *Ibid.*, 12-13. See for 70 stone herms from the Trier region: Wrede 1972.
- ⁶⁴ In a Dionysian landscape in the Casa degli Amorini dorati in Pompeii (VI 16,7), a Jupiter-Ammon herm and several Bacchus herms were set up in the *peristylum* garden: Zanker 1995, 175-176 and figs 93-94.
- ⁶⁵ Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 182-190; Kaufmann-Heinmann 1998, 14, 21-26, 52-56; Ritter 1999, 727-737. I doubt the reliability of attempts to date provincial Roman statuettes by looking at stylistic characteristics and Roman imperial portraits in particular, as proposed by Marian Galestin (1995, 253-260).
- ⁶⁶ Kaufmann-Heinmann 2012, 2 and note 2.
- ⁶⁷ See, for instance, Boucher 1976; Kaufmann-Heinmann 1977, 1998, 2013; Galestin 1994, 1995.
- ⁶⁸ Leibundgut 1990, 397-427.
- ⁶⁹ At the end of the 1st century AD, statuettes appeared with indigenous characteristics, like Roman gods wearing Gallo-Roman clothing, Mercurius accompanying Rosmerta or Jupiter holding a Celtic wheel, or statuettes of Roman deities with engraved names of indigenous deities on the pedestal. See, for instance, Kaufmann-Heinmann 2012.
- ⁷⁰ See for Bacchus: Manfredi-Aragno 1987; see for other deities Kaufmann-Heinmann 1998, 44-59.
- ⁷¹ Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 77-78 and nrs 88-93. In 1987 the statuette from Oppidum Batavorum had not been discovered yet.
- ⁷² Enckevort/Thijssen 1996, 48.
- ⁷³ Zelle 2000, 111, nr 152.
- ⁷⁴ Zadoks et al. 1969, nr 7.
- ⁷⁵ Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 68-71, nrs 58-71.
- ⁷⁶ See for the statuette from Antwerp: Faider Feytmans 1979, 73, nrs 55-56; for the statuette from Chessy: Walters 1899, nr 808; Databank British Museum, inv. nr 808; for the statuette from Liebenow: Databank Antikensammlung Berlin, Staatliche Museum zu Berlin, Inv. Nr. Misc. 7291.
- ⁷⁷ Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 138, nrs. 286-288.
- ⁷⁸ Zadoks 1969, 14, nr 6.
- ⁷⁹ Zadoks 1969, 14, 18, nrs 6 and 8. The Aardenburg *castellum* was built between AD 175 and 180. The *castellum* and the excavations have not been published yet.
- ⁸⁰ Statues and statuettes were cast by the direct or indirect lost-wax casting method. Larger sculptures were always cast hollow, which was less expensive. Small figurines could be cast solid or hollow. In the case of the direct casting method, the artisan made a wax model onto which thin layers of clay were applied. Placed in the oven, the wax burnt out and molten metal was poured into the clay mould. In the case of indirect casting, clay or plaster moulds were taken in separate sections (head, body, limbs) from a full-size model, the original. The moulds were lined with a layer of bee wax, either by applying wax slabs onto the moulds or by pouring or brushing wax into the moulds. When the moulds were removed the wax sections were put together. This wax working model allowed to make changes before casting, by adding elements and by cutting into the surface of the wax model. The wax model was divided into sections again and thin layers of clay were applied onto the surface of each section and placed inside the oven: Kaufmann-Heinmann 1998, 16-20; Mattusch 1996a, 21-23; 1996b, 8-9.
- ⁸¹ See for the debate on serial production: Kaufmann-Heinmann 1998, 18-20.
- ⁸² Zadoks et al. 1969, 30-34, nr 14; Hurk 1986, VII.
- ⁸³ Hurk 1986, 112-113, 212, plates VI nr 1, XVI, XVII.
- ⁸⁴ Hurk 1986, plate IX.

- ⁸⁵ Zadoks et al. 1969, 36, nr 15.
- ⁸⁶ Zadoks et al. 1969, 26-28, nrs 12-13.
- ⁸⁷ Zadoks et al. 1969, 18, nr 8.
- ⁸⁸ Zadoks et al. 1969, 22, nr 10.
- ⁸⁹ Leibundgut 1976, nr 13.
- ⁹⁰ See for Hercules as the protector of the cattle-breeding Batavians and the role of Mars and Mercurius in this region, Derks 1998, 91-118.
- ⁹¹ Although we must keep in mind that the value of objects owned by people in the past is often difficult to assess: Hobbs 2007, 77-85.
- ⁹² Apart from lamps and gems, representations of Jupiter-Ammon in Britain are rare. Nevertheless, three carved stone heads with ram's horns were found in North Britain, not far from Hadrian's Wall: two come from Roman forts (Corbridge and Netherby) and one was found in Lemington, Tyne and Wear. Lloyd Laing suggests that the head from Netherby, which is datable to the 2nd or 3rd century AD, represents the northern god Maponus. According to Laing the horns may have been borrowed from Jupiter-Ammon: Laing 1979, 84-85. For the head from Lemington: Smith 1984, 221-223. Considering the military context in which the heads were found, it is quite possible that the depiction of a Celtic god was inspired by Jupiter-Ammon.
- ⁹³ On candelabra and oil lamps, see Leclant/Clerc nrs 77, 78g and 78l-z and 78aa, ab, 79-80; on grips: Leclant/Clerc 1981 nrs 92-95. In the Netherlands, a 10.4 cm long patris for furniture appliques was found in Woerden, Utrecht: Bogaers/Haalebos 1981, 106-111.
- ⁹⁴ Matz 1932; Lefrancq 1986, 77-93.
- ⁹⁵ Matz distinguishes two types, the 'classical' type, datable to the first half of the 1st century, and a second type which develops during the reign of Claudius and reaches its climax in the Flavian period. He believes that the *clipei* of Augustus' Forum in Rome are Hadrianic restorations and therefore 'sees' in these representations of Jupiter-Ammon the criteria for his second type. Matz 1932, 26-27 and nrs 8, 9, 10. For the dating of Augustus' Forum see Zanker 1968, note 56 and here note 47. The *clipei* with Jupiter-Ammon in this Forum are in fact contemporary with the complex itself.
- ⁹⁶ Janette Lefrancq distinguishes four types for the dating of bronze appliques from Belgium, Luxemburg and Northern France. Her first two types correspond with Matz' two types. Her third type, a 'classical' type datable to the period of Trajan, distinguishes itself from her and Matz' first classical type by 'big hair' between the horns, in her own words, 'formant une sorte de tiare'. According to Lefrancq, examples of Jupiter-Ammon that fit into this category are a marble bust from Aléria, Corsica, a stone herm from Cologne and the grip of a patera from Tienen, Belgium. Lefrancq 1986, 86-89 and fig. 9 for the patera from Tienen. See for the bust from Aléria: Lehasse 1982, 12-19. See for the herm from Cologne: Grimm 1969, 168 and Taf. 49, 2.3. A parallel for the patera grip from Tienen comes from Faimingen, Germany: Grimm nr 135 and Taf. 55,1, without date.
- ⁹⁷ Sculpture in the round: Leclant/Clerc 1981, nrs 18-19, 21, 24, 30-33, 128-129, 135, 139. In high relief: 15, 35-36, 55, 57a-b, 66b, 67f, 68, 70, 76a, 87, 90c. On coins: Leclant/Clerc 1981, nrs 99, 102, 104, 108, 110, 112, 115.
- ⁹⁸ Leclant/Clerc 1981, nrs 37, 39, 48, 60, 73, 78g, 78o, 78t, 78v, 78ac, 83, 85, 106, 107; De la Barrera 2000, pl. 93 and 95; Grimm 1969, Taf. 50, 52.
- ⁹⁹ Lefrancq 1986, 89.
- ¹⁰⁰ Herms: Leclant/Clerc 1981, nrs 30-33, 129. Funeral monuments: Leclant/Clerc 1981, nrs 60-61.
- ¹⁰¹ Grimm dates the herm from Lechenich to the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century AD and the herm from Cologne to the second half of the 2nd century AD. He does not state where his dates are based on: Grimm 1969, 68-69, 168-169 and 174-175, nrs 60 and 71, Taf. 48-49, 2-3. Ristow, Leclant and Clerc cite Grimm for the date of the herm from Cologne: Ristow 1970, 82, nr 28 and Taf. 24, 2-2; Leclant/Clerc 1981, 672. According to the authors of the *Kölner Römer Illustrierte*, a publication of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne, it is a relief, datable to the 3rd century AD: Wellershoff 1974, 227-228, nr 27.
- ¹⁰² Laurenz Lersch reports the find, but does not say anything about the find-circumstances or a possible date: Lersch 1846, 116-121 and Taf. IV, 1-2; Hans Lehner does not give a date either: Lehner 1905, 10 and Taf. XXXIV, 6.
- ¹⁰³ The excavation of 1953 was led by Otto Doppelfeld. He doesn't mention the herm in his preliminary report from 1956: Doppelfeld 1956, 83-96. According to Grimm the herm was found in a well in the *praetorium*: Grimm 1969, 168.
- ¹⁰⁴ See for representations of Jupiter-Ammon in Gaul: Chevallier 1994, figs 1 and 2; Leclant/Clerc 1981, nr 33.
- ¹⁰⁵ Roymans 1995, 47-63; Derks 1998, 55-72; Roymans/Derks 2011; Habermehl 2011.
- ¹⁰⁶ Roymans 1995, 57-58.
- ¹⁰⁷ Kemmers/Polak 2011, 248-257; Driessen 2007, 148-166.
- ¹⁰⁸ See for the indicators of *urbanitas*: Kunow 1992, 143-148.
- ¹⁰⁹ Hessing et al. 1999, 49-50 and fig. 37. See for the structure and development of Roman cities in the northwest in the pre-Flavian period: Fisher 2001, 11-16.
- ¹¹⁰ Compare fig 41, 63-64 in Enckevort/Heirbaut 2010 with fig. 16.4 in Kemmers/Polak 2011. The early towns in Roman Britain also consisted largely of strip buildings: Mattingly 2006, 284-285.
- ¹¹¹ Willems et al. 2005, 192-193; Kemmers/Polak 2011, 251-252.
- ¹¹² Willems et al. 2005, 109-110. The Maasplein excavations by BAMN (Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten Nijmegen) have not been published yet. See for the adoption of Roman architecture and interior decoration, like baths and wall paintings, for instance: Habermehl 2011, 84-89.
- ¹¹³ See for the pre-Flavian *praetorium* on the Hunerberg: Willems et al. 2005, 63-64; Peterse 2005, 163-198; for the house with two *peristylia*: Enckevort 2010, 246-250 (= also Enckevort 2012, 189-193).
- ¹¹⁴ Roymans 1995, 55-57.
- ¹¹⁵ Hingley 2005, 74-75.
- ¹¹⁶ See note 83 for the Jupiter-Ammon herm. Although the *thyrsus* fragment is only 10 cm in height, its execution points at a provincial production site, in which case the Rhineland or Gaul are the most obvious, although another provenance cannot be excluded.
- ¹¹⁷ See for the wages of soldiers and officers: Hanel 1999, 118-120.

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Wer badet wo und mit wem? *Repräsentations-, Privat- und Dienerschaftsbäder in den kaiserlichen Residenzen der römischen Epoche*

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Abstract

While the thermae publicae have been researched by many scholars like I. Nielsen or F. Yegül for decades,¹ little attention has been paid to private baths.² This is, despite their importance, particularly the case with the often lavishly decorated palatial baths.

Through my research I developed the theory that there were three kinds of palatial bath buildings, representational baths, private refuges for the emperor as well as some bathing facilities that were built to be used by servants and slaves.

Bevor ich mich nun aber mit den Bädern der Kaiserpaläste, Kaiservillen und Grab-Residenz-Komplexe beschäftigen kann, möchte ich zunächst noch einige Definitionen voranstellen, um eine Basis für die weitere Untersuchung zu schaffen.

Der moderne Begriff Palast entstand aus dem Namen des römischen Hügels *mons palatinus*,³ der auch *palation* oder *palatium*⁴ genannt wird.⁵ Allgemein werden Bauten als Palast bezeichnet, die eine Repräsentations- oder Wohnfunktion für einen Herrscher innehatten.⁶

Für diese Untersuchung halte ich es jedoch für sinnvoll von folgender Definition für den Begriff Kaiserpalast auszugehen: ein römischer Kaiserpalast ist ein Gebäude bzw. Gebäudekomplex, der einem amtierenden Kaiser als ständiger Wohn- und Repräsentationsbau diente, in dem er zudem regelmäßig seinen Regierungsgeschäften nachging.⁷ Es ist also ein Bau, der eher dem *negotium* als dem *otium* zugeordnet ist. Desweiteren muss sich dieser Bau in einem städtischen Kontext befinden und unmittelbar mit einem *circus* verbunden sein bzw. sich zumindest in unmittelbarer Nähe eines *circus* befinden. Auch handelt es sich bei einem Kaiserpalast um einen Bau, der nicht mit Fortifikationen versehen ist. Eine sog. Kaiser-aula oder Audienzhalle, eine große Halle mit Apsis sowie ein oder mehrere Peristylhöfe, Banketträume und mindestens eine Badeanlage sind architektonische Bestandteile, die einen römischen Kaiserpalast auszeichnen. Auch zahlreiche Wasserspiele und Gartenanlagen sind charakterisierend für den römischen Palastbau. Ein römischer Kaiserpalast beinhaltet keine Grabbauten.

Bezogen auf römische Paläste gibt es einige

wichtige Schriftquellen die ich hier kurz vorstellen möchte. Angefangen bei Ovid,⁸ der die Residenz des Augustus auf dem Palatin beschreibt, über Suetonius,⁹ der Neros Domus Aurea als verschwenderisch darstellt und Libanios,¹⁰ der den Palast von Antiochia lobt, bis zu den *De Ceremoniis* aus dem 10. Jahrhundert n.Chr., welches die Zeremonien im Palast von Konstantinopel und auf diese Weise am Rande auch den Palast selbst beschreibt,¹¹ haben sich einige antike Autoren mit den kaiserlichen Palästen beschäftigt.

Leider sind trotz dieser recht guten Quellenlage so gut wie keine Hinweise zu den kaiserlichen Bädern in den Schriftquellen vorhanden.

Als Kaiservilla bzw. kaiserliche *villa* möchte ich hier alle *villae* bezeichnen, die sich in kaiserlichem Besitz befanden, wobei natürlich diejenigen *villae* von größerem Interesse sind, die ein Kaiser sich *ex novo* erbauen ließ, aber auch *villae*, welche zumindest von einem Kaiser deutlich umgebaut wurden. Auch die Villa Jovis soll hier als *villa* gelten, denn sie kann nach der voran gegangenen Definition von Kaiserpalast nur in die Kategorie der *villa* eingeordnet werden.

Die Bau bzw. Umbaugeschichte einer jeden behandelten Kaiservilla habe ich eingehend recherchiert, leider würde es den Rahmen dieser Arbeit sprengen alle diese Details hier dazulegen. In diesem Artikel werde ich mich daher nur mit Bädern der Villa Hadriana als Beispiele für Bäder aus Kaiservillen beschäftigen, da es im Falle der Villa Hadriana als sicher gelten kann, dass die meisten Gebäude der villa auf Veranlassung Hadrians errichtet wurden.

Da eine umfassende Sammlung von schrift-

lichen Quellen zu kaiserlichen Villen bereits 1974 von Manfred Leppert¹² publiziert wurde, möchte ich hier nur kurz einige wenige Anmerkungen zu der Quellenlage machen. Die meisten Quellen zu kaiserlichen Villen erwähnen den Namen einer *villa* sowie teilweise den Kaiser, der diese besaß oder deren Standort. So beschäftigen sich die Quellen zur Villa des Domitianus in den Albaner Bergen z.B. mit gänzlich verschiedenen Dingen. Suetonius und Plinius berichten von Spielen im Theater der *villa*.¹³ Iuvenalis, Tacitus und Cassius Dio stimmen darin überein, dass Domitianus' *villa* in der Nähe von Alba Longa erbaut wurde,¹⁴ während Martial von einem Herkulestempel erzählt, der sich sechs Meilen entfernt von Domitianus *villa*, die er in diesem Zusammenhang als *arx alba-na* bezeichnet, befand.¹⁵

Aelius Spartianus¹⁶ z.B. ist unter den Quellen zu den Kaiservillen ein Glücksfall, denn er zählt einige Gebäude der Villa Hadriana auf und beschreibt nicht nur die Lage der *villa*.

Generell kann festgehalten werden, dass es zwar zahlreiche Quellen zu Kaiservillen gibt, diese jedoch häufig in Bezug auf die Frage der architektonischen Gestaltung der *villae* kaum etwas aussagen.

Eine dritte Kategorie von kaiserlichen Residenzbauten sind die fortifizierten Grab-Residenz-Komplexe. In diesem Artikel werden keine Beispiele für Bäder aus dieser Kategorie untersucht werden, da diese recht unüberschaubar sind. Trotzdem möchte ich diese wichtige spätantike Residenzform nicht unterschlagen.

Als fortifizierte Grab-Residenz-Komplexe können zurzeit nur der sog. Diokletianspalast in Split sowie die Anlage mit dem Namen Felix Romuliana gelten. Die Bauform dieser beiden Anlagen weicht deutlich von derjenigen der kaiserlichen Paläste ab, es handelt sich bei ihnen jedoch auch nicht um *villae*. Daher habe ich mich entschlossen, diese Gebäude als eigene Bauform zu behandeln. Charakterisiert werden die Anlagen durch umlaufende Fortifikationsmauern,¹⁷ welche mit zahlreichen Türmen versehen sind. Zudem befinden sich in dem von den Mauern eingeschlossenen Bereich verschiedene Bauten wie Tempel¹⁸ und Wohn- und Repräsentationsgebäude bzw. -räume.¹⁹ Auch stehen diese Anlagen immer mit einer oder mehreren Grabanlagen in Verbindung.²⁰

Zu den sehr wenigen schriftlichen Quellen zu Grab-Residenz-Komplexen zählt die *Notitia Dignitatum*²¹ vom Ende des 4. bzw. Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. In dieser wird erwähnt, dass im Bereich der Anlage in Split Textilien hergestellt wurden. Auch ist bekannt, dass 480 n.Chr. Julius

Nepos, der vorletzte römische Kaiser, dort ermordet wurde, wie Marcellinus Comes berichtet.²² Felix Romuliana wird in einigen wenigen Quellen namentlich erwähnt, so z.B. bei Prokopius²³ oder Aurelius Victor.²⁴ Leider gibt es keine allgemeinen Beschreibungen der beiden Anlagen.

Um sich im weiteren Verlauf des Artikels eingehend mit den Bädern in den oben besprochenen Kaiserpalästen und Kaiservillen zu befassen, ist es nun noch notwendig, sich mit den Begriffen *thermae* und *balneum* auseinander zu setzen.

Leider werden die Begriffe wie *balneum*, *balnea* sowie *balneae* und *thermae* bzw. Therme in der Literatur häufig nicht stringent verwendet. Alle Baderäume, egal welcher Art, werden meist als Thermen angesprochen. Dies mag darauf zurückzuführen sein, dass es auch in der Antike keine allzu klare Trennung der verschiedenen Begriffe gab. Es kann jedoch festgehalten werden, dass in der Antike der Begriff *thermae* meist auf größere Anlagen, häufig im Umfang von über einer *insula*, angewendet wurde,²⁵ während der Begriff *balneum* häufig genutzt wurde, um private Bäder zu bezeichnen.²⁶

Im Rahmen dieser Arbeit werde ich mich im Wesentlichen auf die von Nielsen vorgeschlagenen Definitionen der Begriffe *thermae* und *balneum* stützen.²⁷

Alle Badegebäude, die eine *palaestra* besitzen, sollen hier, auch wenn diese nicht öffentlich zugänglich waren, als *thermae* bzw. ins Deutsche übertragen Thermen bezeichnet werden. Badegebäude, welche keine *palaestra*, also keinen Sportbereich, besitzen, gelten hier als *balneum*. Den Plural von *balneum* also *balnea* verwende ich im Rahmen dieser Arbeit ausschließlich, um eine Mehrzahl von privaten Bädern ohne *palaestra* zu bezeichnen. Die Begriffe Bäder und Baderäume bzw. Badesäle verwende ich für alle Anlagen mit Badefunktion, sie treffen so keine Aussage über das Vorhandensein einer *palaestra*.

Zu den öffentlichen Badegebäuden kann Vitruv²⁸ als frühe und ausführliche schriftliche Quelle herangezogen werden sowie z.B. auch Seneca²⁹ und Martial³⁰ für die spätere Kaiserzeit. Als wichtige Quellen zu den privaten Bädern sind die Briefe Plinius d. J. hervorzuheben,³¹ so z.B. der Brief an Gallus,³² in dem Plinius seine privaten Bäder in seinem Laurentinischen Landgut beschreibt. Auch der Brief des Plinius an Calvisius³³ und der Brief an Apollinaris³⁴ geben wichtige Hinweise zur Nutzung und Gestalt privater Bäder.

Während die großen *thermae publicae* nun schon seit den Anfängen der Altertumsforschung viel Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zogen,³⁵ waren Bäder

im Kontext privater wie auch kaiserlicher Bauten ein eher wenig beachtetes Thema. In den letzten Jahren kann jedoch ein gewisser Umschwung beobachtet werden. Das Interesse an privaten Baderäumen der römischen Zeit steigt stetig an.³⁶ In Bezug auf die Badeanlagen innerhalb der kaiserlichen Residenzen bestehen jedoch auch heute noch große Forschungslücken. So wurden diese Anlagen in den meisten Fällen nur unzureichend ausgegraben, dokumentiert und bearbeitet.

Die Forschungsgeschichte des Palastes auf dem Palatin in Rom illustriert diese Probleme hervorragend. Eine so riesige und berühmte Palastanlage, die lange bewohnt und oft umgebaut wurde, müsste zahlreiche Bäder besessen haben.

Obwohl die ersten noch recht unsystematischen Ausgrabungen auf dem Palatin bereits 1720 von F. Bianchini³⁷ durchgeführt wurden, der Bereich des Palatins also bereits seit Jahrhunderten untersucht wird, gibt es kaum Literatur zu den Badekomplexen, ohne die zweifelsfrei kein Palast komplett sein konnte. So beschäftigten sich erst seit den 70er Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts F. Coarelli,³⁸ Nielsen,³⁹ E. Champlin⁴⁰ und E.M. Moormann⁴¹ mit den Titusthermen als Teil der Domus Aurea. Eine umfassende Untersuchung zu einem weiteren Badegebäude, den sog. Thermen des Maxentius auf dem Gebiet der Domus Severiana, legte J.J. Herrmann 1976 vor.⁴² Neuere Untersuchungen zu diesen Baderäumen stammen von U. Wulf-Rheidt, die mit ihrem Team eine Bauaufnahme der Domus Severiana anfertigte,⁴³ durch welche sich das Bild dieses Baues deutlich verändert hat.⁴⁴ Zudem konnte sie vor kurzem nachweisen, dass es auf dem Gebiet der Domus Augustana einen weiteren Badebereich gegeben haben muss.⁴⁵ Obwohl es sich also bei dem Palatin um den ältesten und vielleicht wichtigsten Palastbau römischer Zeit handelt, ist in Bezug auf die Badeanlagen noch vieles ungeklärt.

Auch bei den Kaiservillen ergibt sich ein ähnliches Bild. Die einzige Ausnahme mit gut erforschten Bädern bildet hier die Villa Hadriana. Über sie gibt es einige Artikel und Publikationen, die sich auch mit den Baderäumen beschäftigen.⁴⁶ Besonders hervorzuheben ist hierbei die Untersuchung von F. Chiappetta,⁴⁷ in der sie sich mit den *percorsi* der verschiedenen Bewohner der Villa, geteilt nach sozialen Schichten, beschäftigt.

Die Forschungslage bei den fortifizierten Grab-Residenz-Komplexen ist ähnlich unübersichtlich wie diejenige der Kaiservillen.⁴⁸

Die Frage nach dem Grund für den Bau von verschiedenen Bädern mit unterschiedlicher Ausstattung und unterschiedlicher Einbindung in die

Gebäudegefüge einer kaiserlichen Residenz drängte sich bei der Untersuchung der Villa Hadriana auf. Aus welchem Grund plante Kaiser Hadrian mindestens vier verschiedene Badegebäude in einer Villa zu errichten? Warum wählte er diese speziellen Orte innerhalb seiner Residenz für deren Bau und wieso zeichnete sich ab, dass sie vollkommen unterschiedlich ausgestattet waren? Es ist offensichtlich, dass Hadrian gute Gründe gehabt haben musste, um seine Residenzbäder in dieser Weise zu planen. Mit Hilfe der Lektüre von Chiappettas Publikation zur Villa Hadriana⁴⁹ gelang es mir die verschiedenen Funktionen der Bäder zu erarbeiten, indem ich mich u.a. damit beschäftigte wie sie in das Gefüge der Residenz eingebunden waren und wie ihre Ausstattung⁵⁰ sich einst gestaltet haben könnte. Hierzu war es nötig zunächst einmal die Funktion der Gebäude zu bestimmen, welche sich in der Nähe der Bäder befunden haben oder über direkte Wege mit den Badegebäuden verbunden waren. Auch die Eingänge zur Villa spielten eine Rolle. Lagen die Bäder in der Nähe eines repräsentativen Eingangs bzw. waren sie mit diesem verbunden oder befanden sie sich vielleicht bei einem untergeordneten Dienstboteneingang? Auch war es nötig sich mit der ehemaligen Ausstattung zu beschäftigen. Waren einfache Materialien verwendet worden oder teurere Steine wie Onyx? Wurden diese in einer einfachen Technik verlegt oder aber in einem komplizierten Muster?

Als eine der Schwierigkeiten bei der Untersuchung von kaiserlichen Residenzbädern stellte sich schnell die Abwesenheit von Schriftquellen heraus. So sind zu den Thermen der Domus Aurea z.B. nur wenige Hinweise bei Suetonius bekannt.⁵¹ Aus den beiden Stellen kann jedoch lediglich geschlossen werden, dass Nero sowohl kalte als auch warme Bäder genoss und dass er Wasser aus dem Meer und aus der Albulaquelle, einer schwefelhaltigen Heilquelle,⁵² in die seine zwei Bäder leiten ließ. Die zahlreicheren Quellen die es zu den Titusthermen gibt, will ich hier nicht weiter anführen, da diese sich nicht auf den Ursprungszustand der *thermae* beziehen können.⁵³

Dass Maxentius auf dem Palatin Bäder errichtete, ist durch den Chronographen von 354⁵⁴ überliefert. Zum Teil wird auch angenommen, dass die sog. *thermae severianae*, die in der *Historia Augusta* aufgezählt werden, auf den Thermenbau aus severischer Zeit im Bereich der Domus Severiana auf dem Palatin Bezug nehmen könnten.⁵⁵

Leider gibt es zu keinem der Bäder aus Kaiservillen, die ich bisher bearbeitet habe schriftliche Quellen. Womöglich beschreibt eine Anekdote aus

der *Historia Augusta*⁵⁶ über Commodus die großen Badesäle der Villa der Quintilier, die sich in Commodus' Besitz befand. Da nicht explizit darauf hingewiesen wird, ob sich diese Anekdote zu Commodus' Badegewohnheiten auf bestimmte Bäder bezieht, kann dies jedoch nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmt werden.

Bei meinen Recherchearbeiten war es mir nicht möglich schriftliche Quellen zu finden, die sich mit den Bädern der fortifizierten Grab-Residenz-Komplexe beschäftigen.

Womöglich ist diese schlechte Quellenlage darauf zurückzuführen, dass nur recht kleine Personengruppen Zutritt zu den Badeanlagen in den Kaiserresidenzen hatten.

Durch die eingehende Untersuchung von über 20 kaiserlichen Badegebäuden konnten drei verschiedene Funktionen der Bäder unterschieden werden. Zunächst gab es Badegebäude, die vorrangig der Repräsentation der kaiserlichen Macht und der Zurschaustellung von Luxus dienten. Eine zweite Gruppe von Bädern wurde wohl vor allem errichtet, um als Rückzugsräume für den Kaiser zu fungieren, während ein dritter Typ von Badeanlagen zur Schaffung hygienischer Bedingungen für Sklaven und Diener eingerichtet wurde.⁵⁷

Die Trennung zwischen Repräsentations- und Erholungsbädern ist eine moderne Deutung und beruht allein auf den weiter unten ausgeführten Kriterien, da es, wie bereits angemerkt, keine schriftlichen Quellen gibt, welche sich mit den unterschiedlichen Funktionen der verschiedenen kaiserlichen Residenzbäder beschäftigen. Verschiedene Bäder für verschiedene Gesellschaftsschichten bzw. unterschiedliche Berufsgruppen sind jedoch bereits aus vielen antiken Quellen bekannt, auch wenn diese keine kaiserlichen Residenzen beschreiben, sondern die gesellschaftliche Trennung in den öffentlichen Bädern.⁵⁸ Es war sogar üblich, Bäder für die reicheren Römer direkt neben den öffentlichen Thermen für den Plebs zu errichten.⁵⁹ So verwundert es nicht weiter, dass auch in den Kaiserresidenzen z.T. verschiedene Bäder für unterschiedliche Schichten direkt nebeneinander lagen.

Es ist jedoch bei allen Unsicherheiten sinnvoll anzunehmen, dass eine räumliche Trennung der Bereiche des *negotium* von dem des *otium*, wie sie z.B. für die Domus Aurea des Nero festgestellt werden kann,⁶⁰ auch in anderen kaiserlichen Residenzen angestrebt wurde. Eine solche Trennung dieser beiden Lebensbereiche ist in Ansätzen bereits an den älteren kaiserlichen Residenzen zu erkennen. Die privaten Kaiserbäder sind hierbei als Teil der Bauten des *otium* zu verstehen, die der

Muse und Entspannung dienten, während die Repräsentationsbäder jedoch einen Teil der dem *negotium* zugeordneten Bauten bildeten, da sie durch ihre Lage und Ausstattung suggerieren, dass sie ähnlich wie auch die Audienzhallen repräsentative Räume darstellten.

Die Dienerschaftsbäder hingegen lassen sich meist durch ihre Lage innerhalb der Residenzen und ihre verhältnismäßig einfache Ausstattung deutlich von den beiden anderen Typen abgrenzen. Im Folgenden möchte ich, um meine These zu untermauern, die drei Funktionstypen von Bädern anhand einiger Beispiele erläutern.

PRIVATE KAISERBÄDER

Der Begriff Private Kaiserbäder wurde gewählt, um zu verdeutlichen, dass diese Bäder nicht der Repräsentation dienten. Er soll eher den Kontrast, zwischen repräsentativ und nur für die Erholung gedacht, darstellen. Bei der Untersuchung der kaiserlichen Residenzbäder kristallisierte sich zunächst heraus, dass eine Gruppe der Bäder durch die Lage an den Wohnräumen des Kaisers und der Entfernung zu den Repräsentationstrakten des Palastes ausgezeichnet wird. Ihre Einbindung in den Gesamtkomplex der Villa weist auf eine enge Verbindung zu den Wohnräumen der kaiserlichen Familie hin. Nach den Repräsentationsbädern waren diese privaten Anlagen zudem am reichsten ausgestattet, wie u.a. die Dekoration der Wände und Böden mit häufig feinen Mosaiken bezeugen. Es gibt jedoch auch Ausnahmefälle dieser Kategorie, die nur als zweckmäßig ausgestattet angesprochen werden können.⁶¹ Auch gehörten zahlreiche Statuenfunde auf dem Gebiet der Bäder zu den Merkmalen dieser Gruppe. Darüber hinaus können auch die Latrinen beim Identifizieren von Bäderfunktionen eine Rolle spielen, wie ich am Beispiel der Bäder der Villa Hadriana später noch weiter ausführen werde.

Die Privaten Kaiserbäder zeichnen sich grundsätzlich durch eine Größe von unter 100 m² bis knapp über 1000 m² aus.⁶² Vermutlich handelt es sich um vergleichsweise kleine Bauten, da nur ausreichend Platz für die engeren Vertrauten des Kaisers vorhanden sein musste.

Angelehnt an Chiapettas Untersuchung zu den Wegen der verschiedenen Gruppen von Bewohnern durch die Villa Hadriana,⁶³ erschien es sinnvoll anzunehmen, dass diese Kategorie von Bädern vor allem von dem Kaiser und seinen engsten Vertrauten, wie auch seiner Familie genutzt wurden und diesen vorrangig zum Entspannen dienten.

Im Folgenden werden die Bäder aufgezählt, wel-

che ich diesem Typus zugeordnet habe. Aufgrund des häufigen Fehlens von schriftlichen Quellen sowie Hinweisen auf die einstige Ausstattung, konnte in vielen Fällen jedoch nur die Kriterien der Lage und Einbindung in den Gesamtkomplex im Hinblick auf die Kategorisierung angewendet werden.⁶⁴ Es sind jedoch immer alle diagnostischen Kriterien zur Anwendung gekommen, die zur Verfügung standen, um so eine sinnvolle Einordnung zu gewährleisten.

In Bezug auf die privaten Thermen des Nero, also den Vorgänger der Titus-Thermen,⁶⁵ deren Baderäume ca. 4500 m² maßen, mit *palaestrae* sogar 10500 m²,⁶⁶ möchte ich folgende Idee darlegen: Es kann sich bei dem Pavillon auf dem Oppius, der allgemein häufig als Domus Aurea angesprochen wird, nicht um das Hauptgebäude der Anlage des Nero gehandelt haben, da der Pavillon nicht von öffentlichen Straßen aus betreten werden konnte, sondern nur aus Neros Parkanlagen. Zudem entsprachen die Räume dieses Gebäudes nicht den römischen Ansprüchen an Audienzsäle oder Empfangshallen.⁶⁷ Moormann geht u.a. daher davon aus, dass es sich um ein Gebäude handeln muss, welches vorrangig der Entspannung diene.⁶⁸ Da sich unmittelbar an diesem privaten⁶⁹ dem *otium* zugeordneten Bau⁷⁰ die heute als Titus-Thermen bekannten Bäder befanden und diese zudem dieselbe Orientierung besaßen,⁷¹ können sie ebenfalls den zu den Gebäuden, die der privaten Zerstreuung des Nero dienen sollten, gezählt werden.

Es muss jedoch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass es sich bei den privaten Thermen des Nero um einen Bau handelte, welcher die Größe der weiteren Bäder in kaiserlichen Residenzen bei weitem überschreitet. Dies ist jedoch nicht weiter verwunderlich, wenn in Betracht gezogen wird, dass Neros Domus Aurea wohl im Wesentlichen aufgrund ihrer Größe und luxuriösen Ausstattung den Unwillen der Römer hervorrief.⁷² Auch war die Domus Aurea sicher noch nicht fertiggestellt als Nero sich selbst richtete.⁷³ Ob also die Thermen zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits fertiggestellt waren, ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu sagen, auch wenn Suetonius Anmerkung⁷⁴ zu den zwei Bädern des Nero dies nahelegt. Denn er zählt die Bäder nicht unter den begonnenen Bauvorhaben auf, sondern erwähnt sie als einen der besonderen Luxusgebäuden der Domus Aurea.

Da die Palastthermen des Nero nicht gründlich ergraben sind, ist die Ausstattung der Thermen fast gänzlich unbekannt.⁷⁵

Die sog. Thermen des Maxentius nahmen in der maxentianischen Phase 1575 m² ein.⁷⁶ Die Bäder liegen auf einer Erweiterung des Palastes zum

Circus Maximus hin, nämlich der stark an der Villenarchitektur orientierten Domus Severiana.⁷⁷ Dieser Bereich hat also einen eindeutig privateren Charakter. Verbunden war diese Erweiterung des Palastes zudem mit dem Gartenstadium, das ebenfalls häufig als privater Garten des Kaisers gedeutet wird. Das Gartenstadium ist über den Wohnpalast, die Domus Augustana, her zu betreten.⁷⁸ Aus den Bädern der Domus Severiana sind einige Funde von Bauornamenten bekannt, so z.B. ein Kranzgesims,⁷⁹ drei Teile eines geschwungenen Kranzgesimses⁸⁰ und zwei Teile des Gebälks.⁸¹ Zudem besaßen die Baderäume marmorverkleidete Wände,⁸² auch war wohl bis ins 18. Jahrhundert/19. Jahrhundert noch wesentlich mehr Architekturdekoration vorhanden.⁸³ Die Bäder der Domus Severiana sind aufgrund von Größe, Lage und Ausstattung wohl nur vom Kaiser selbst und seinen engeren Vertrauten genutzt worden.

Die Bäder des kaiserlichen Palastes von Sirmium sind leider nur sehr schlecht erhalten. Die Größe der Bäder ist in diesem Fall unklar, da die Grabungssituation keine eindeutige Aussage dazu zulässt.⁸⁴ So kann z.B. über die Ausstattung des einen bisher bekannten Baderaums im Wohnbereich des Kaiserpalastes von Sirmium nur gesagt werden, dass er mit einem einfachen Mosaik ausgestattet war.⁸⁵ Wenn meine Annahme korrekt ist und der einzelne Baderaum an den Wohnbereich des Palastes angeschlossen war, handelte es sich bei diesem wiederum um ein vor allem vom Kaiser frequentiertes Bad. Leider muss jedoch zugegeben werden, dass die Situation in Sirmium so verwirrend ist,⁸⁶ dass diese These recht hypothetisch bleiben muss.

Bezogen auf den kleinen Palast von Sirmium ist anzunehmen, dass sich die Baderäume, die an der nördlichen Seite des Peristyls lagen,⁸⁷ in der Nähe des Wohnbereiches befanden.⁸⁸ Zudem besaßen sie eine Fläche von ca. 190 m² in der letzten Bauphase.⁸⁹ Daraus ist zu schließen, dass dieses *balneum* am ehesten durch den Kaiser und seine engeren Vertrauten genutzt wurde.

Trotz der kaum zu rekonstruierenden Ausstattung dürfen die privaten Thermen des Nero,⁹⁰ die sog. Thermen des Maxentius,⁹¹ der einzelne Baderaum mit Apsis des Kaiserpalastes von Sirmium,⁹² sowie vermutlich auch die Bäder des kleinen kaiserlichen Palastes von Sirmium⁹³ aufgrund ihrer Größe, Lage und Einbindung in die Paläste als private Kaiserbäder gelten.

Die Heliocaminus-Thermen der Villa Hadriana, 1580 m²,⁹⁴ fallen mit allergrößter Wahrscheinlichkeit ebenfalls in diese Kategorie der Bäder. Sie wurden zusammen mit Teatro Marittimo recht

schnell am Anfang der Bautätigkeit auf dem Gebiet der Villa Hadriana erbaut. Zudem befinden sie sich direkt in dem Teil der Villa, in dem auch die privaten Wohnräume des Kaisers lagen.⁹⁵

Der These von M. Franceschini, dass die Heliocaminus-Thermen der erste Thermenbau der *villa* waren, die also anfangs auch von Hadrian selber genutzt wurden bis die Thermen im Teatro Marittimo fertiggestellt waren und dann in der Folge dem Personal der *villa* zur Verfügung gestellt wurden,⁹⁶ kann ich nicht folgen. Ich halte es für bewiesen, dass die Großen Thermen, die Bäder des Villenpersonals waren. Warum sollte Hadrian die Thermen, welche er dem Personal zugedenkt, in so direkter Verbindung zu seinem Wohnraum und seiner runden Rückzugsvilla, dem Teatro Marittimo, errichten lassen?

Die Heliocaminus-Thermen der Villa Hadriana waren zudem reich mit Statuen ausgestattet. Auf ihrem Gebiet fand sich die Büste einer jungen Frau,⁹⁷ eine Venus vom Typ Doidalsas,⁹⁸ eine Büste von Marc Aurel,⁹⁹ ein Portrait der Crispina,¹⁰⁰ ein Kopf eines bärtigen Mannes¹⁰¹ sowie ein Kopf des Paris.¹⁰² Allgemein lässt sich zusammenfassen, dass einfaches *opus sectile* in wichtigeren Räumen der Thermen verwendet wurde, während auch häufig Mosaik mit simplem Muster dort zum Einsatz kamen, wo ihre robuste Eigenschaft gefragt war, wie in der *porticus* um das Becken des *frigidarium*.¹⁰³ Nach Salza Prina Ricotti waren im zuerst errichteten Teil der Thermen ursprünglich fast alle Wände mit Marmor verkleidet, während die später hinzugefügten Räume alle nur noch verputzte Wände besaßen.¹⁰⁴

Die im Vergleich mit den Piccole Terme weniger wertvolle Ausstattung lässt sich wohl darauf zurückführen, dass die Heliocaminus-Thermen nicht der Repräsentation dienten, sondern, wie Chiappetta meint, von Hadrian und seiner Familie bzw. seinen engsten Vertrauten genutzt wurden.¹⁰⁵ Zudem beweisen die späteren Umbauten, dass die Bäder trotz der im Gegensatz zu den Piccole Terme wenig luxuriösen Ausstattung auch nach Hadrians Tod noch für wichtig erachtet wurden und weiterhin genutzt und gepflegt wurden,¹⁰⁶ ganz im Gegensatz zu den Großen Thermen, die womöglich nie komplett fertiggestellt wurden.¹⁰⁷ Auch Chiappetta hat keinen Zweifel, dass es sich bei den Heliocaminus-Thermen um die privaten Bäder des Hadrian handelt.¹⁰⁸

Die Bäder des Teatro Marittimo, mit etwa 73 m², werden wohl die als erstes fertiggestellten Bäder der Villa Hadriana gewesen sein.¹⁰⁹ Der Bau wird insgesamt als idealer Rückzugsort für den Kaiser gedeutet.¹¹⁰ Von der Ausstattung der kleinen Bäder

des Teatro Marittimo ist leider kaum noch etwas überliefert. So konnte lediglich ein Stück des Konsolengesimses¹¹¹ sowie Reste von Inkrustationen an den Wänden und der aufwendigen *opus sectile* Böden dokumentiert werden.¹¹² Zudem sind auch einige Fragmente von der Stuckierung der Decken erhalten.¹¹³ Die Becken und der Ringkanal waren mit weißem lunesischen Marmor ausgekleidet.¹¹⁴ Vor allem die Lage des Teatro, welches im Osten direkt an den Palazzo Imperiale anschließt,¹¹⁵ wie auch die kleinen Dimensionen der Baderäume, die schöne aber doch nicht ausufernd reiche Ausstattung¹¹⁶ und die wenigen Latrinensitze¹¹⁷ sprechen für eine Nutzung durch Hadrian selbst.¹¹⁸

Die kleinen Bäder im Wohnbereich der Villa der Quintilier, die ca. 60 m² einnahmen¹¹⁹ von denen leider kaum etwas erhalten ist, scheinen privater Natur gewesen zu sein, da sie sich wohl im Wohnbereich der Villa der Quintilier befinden.¹²⁰ Commodus' Vorliebe für häufige Bäder mit einer hohen Anzahl von Gästen¹²¹ lässt jedoch vermuten, dass er selbst wohl eher die großen Bäder mit seinen Gästen, freiwilligen und unfreiwilligen, genutzt habe.

Die Bäder der Kaiservilla zu Konz nehmen etwa eine Fläche von 260 m² ein. Ihre Lage im westlichen Eckrisaliten,¹²² in dessen nördlichem Bereich die Schlaf- und Wohnräume der kaiserlichen Familie angesiedelt werden,¹²³ lässt stark vermuten, dass es sich bei diesen Bädern um private Bäder handelt, die nicht der Repräsentation dienen. Dies wird besonders daran deutlich, dass die Baderäume von dem Apsidensaal aus,¹²⁴ der mit Sicherheit eine repräsentative Funktion hatte,¹²⁵ nur über die beiden *porticus* des Mitteltraktes aus zu erreichen waren.¹²⁶ Leider sind weder aus der Villa der Quintilier noch aus der Kaiservilla zu Konz Fundstücke bekannt, welche aus den Bädern stammen. Es kann jedoch heute auf dem Friedhof, der sich auf dem Bereich der Bäder der Kaiservilla zu Konz befindet, ein Stück der Wanne des *frigidarium* besichtigt werden.¹²⁷

Ich möchte nun als Beispiele für die privaten, kaiserlichen Erholungsbäder die Bäder der Domus Severiana, 1575 m² in der maxentianischen Phase,¹²⁸ ausführlicher behandeln. Die Maxentius-Thermen sind vor kurzen wenig bekannt gewesen. Erst durch die neuen Forschungen von Wulf-Rheidt wurde ihnen mehr Bedeutung beigemessen. Da es sich zudem bei dem Palast auf dem Palatin in Rom um den ersten und wohl lange Zeit auch wichtigsten Palast der römischen Geschichte handelt, müssen diese Bäder nun noch einmal näher betrachtet werden.

Die Maxentius-Thermen auf dem Palatin in Rom

Die sog. schwebenden Thermen¹²⁹ der Domus Severiana datieren¹³⁰ in ihrer ersten Bauphase die den nordöstliche Bereich der Thermen umfasst,¹³¹ in die severische Zeit (Abb. 1-2).¹³² Das balneum der ersten Phase ist leider kaum zu rekonstruieren. Es muss sich bei der severischen Anlage je-

doch noch um einen recht kleinen Bau gehandelt haben,¹³³ der aus sechs rechteckigen Räumen bestand, die in blockhafter Weise angeordnet waren.¹³⁴

Eine großzügige Erweiterung der Bäder wurde in der maxentianischen Phase durchgeführt (Abb. 3).¹³⁵

Die in ihrer letzten Bauphase vermutlich acht-räumige Anlage, welche vorrangig aus *opus testa-*

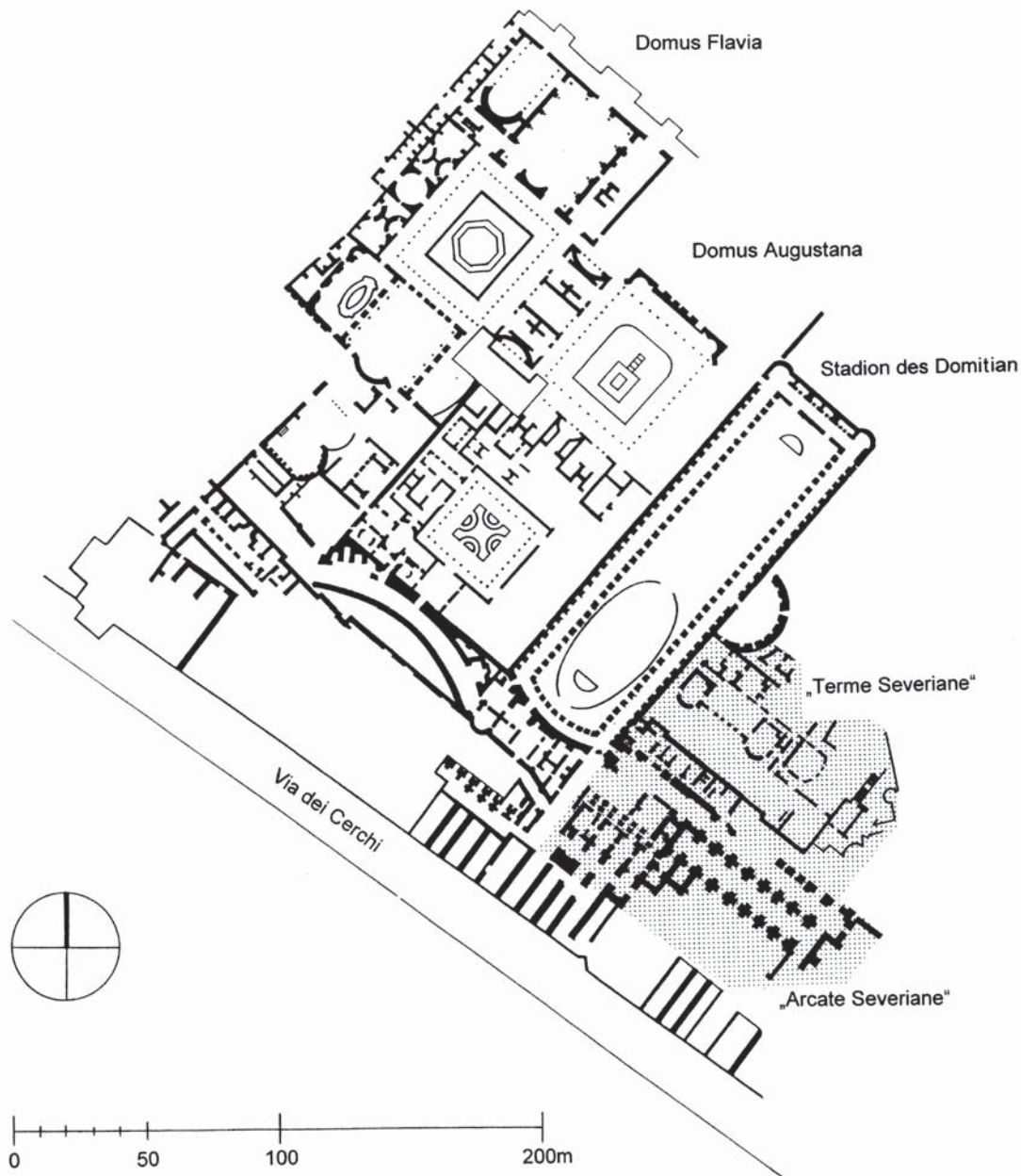


Abb. 1. Plan des Palatins in Rom, flavischer Palast mit Stadium und Domus Severiana (nach Carettoni) (Hoffmann/Wulf 2000, 283, Abb. 5).

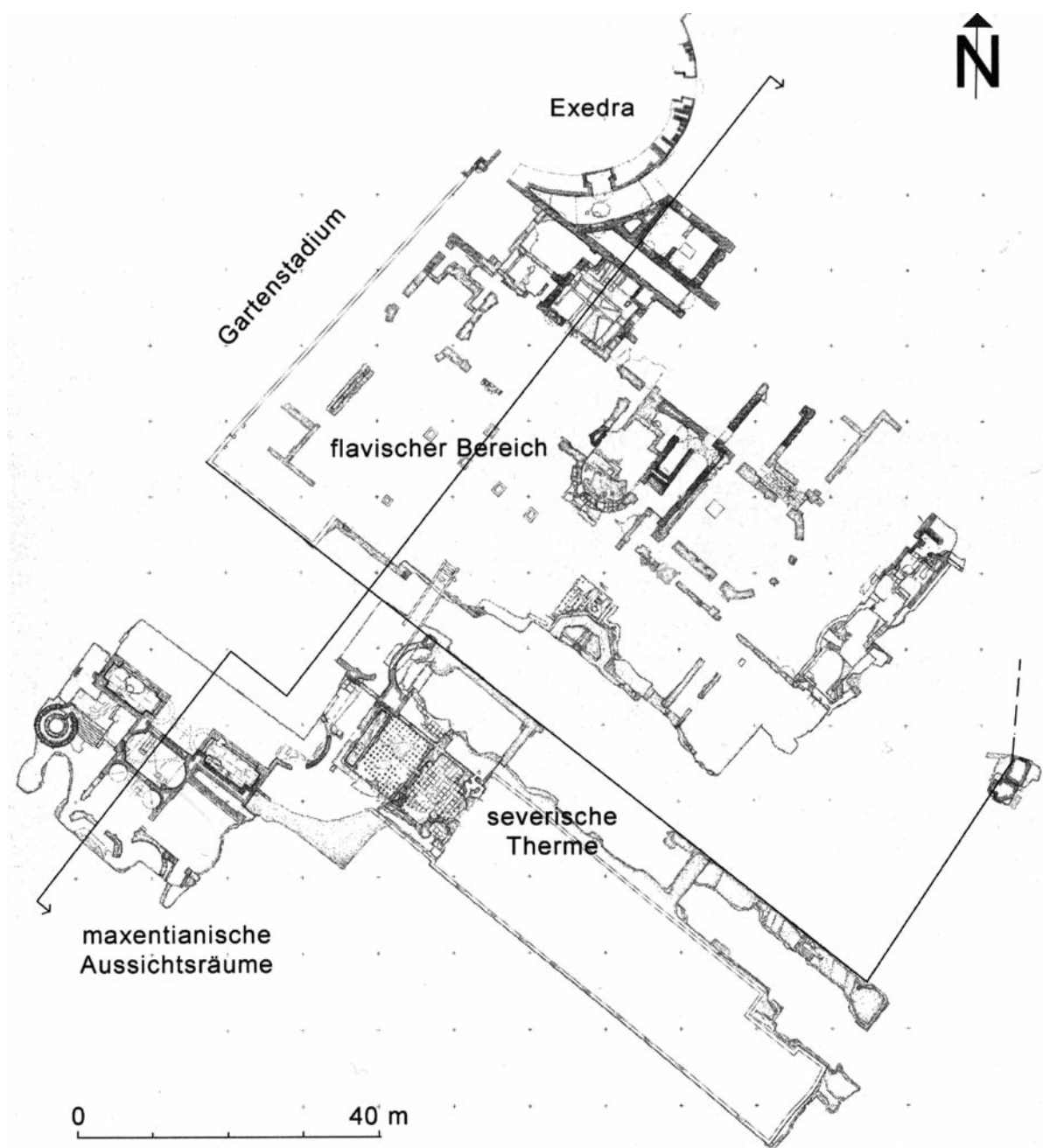


Abb. 2. Plan der Domus Severiana auf dem Palatin in Rom (Wulf 2002-2003, 128, Abb. 13).

ceum errichtet wurde,¹³⁶ befindet sich in einem recht schlechten Erhaltungszustand.¹³⁷ Dennoch lässt sich diese detaillierter beschreiben: Im Südosten der sog. schwebenden Thermen liegt Halle F, das *frigidarium*, in dem sich zwei Becken befanden. Unter einem der Becken sind noch Reste eines schwebenden Bodens erhalten.¹³⁸ Darüber hinaus

sind weder am Boden noch an den Wänden dieses Raumes Vorrichtungen zum Heizen zu erkennen. Die *apodyteria*,¹³⁹ welche das *frigidarium* umgaben, besaßen wohl ebenfalls keine Heizvorrichtungen. Das *tepidarium* ist mit zwei Apsiden, in denen vermutlich Becken lagen, ausgestattet¹⁴⁰ und ist mit dem *sudatorium*, einem Oktogon mit Nischen, ver-

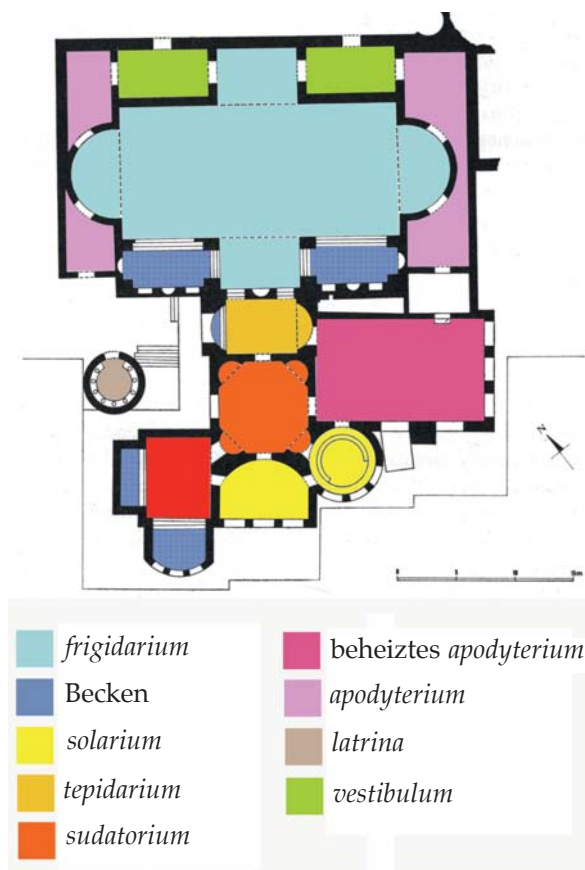


Abb. 3. Rekonstruierter Plan der Bäder der Domus Severiana auf dem Palatin in Rom (Plan nach Herrmann 1976, 416, Abb. 2 mit Raumfunktionen nach Nielsen 1990, II, 90, Abb. 60; Angabe der Beheizung nach Herrmann 1976).

bunden.¹⁴¹ An der westlichen Seite dieser Räume befindet sich unter dem Niveau der restlichen Baderäume der *prae-furniums*-Korridor. Das *tepidarium*, ein rechteckiger Raum mit doppelter Apsis, war ursprünglich mit einem großen Fenster versehen. Auch in der Nord-West-Apsis gab es eine Öffnung sowie Inkrustationsspuren, deren Putz 1,7 m über dem Boden endet. In der Hauptachse befand sich der Durchgang zum *sudatorium*, dessen Laibungen unter das Niveau des Bodens reichen.¹⁴² In der großen rechteckigen Halle im Süden der Anlage, von der nur der Bereich zur Gebäudemitte hin von ca. 9 m x 10 m erhalten ist, finden sich zahlreiche Hinweise auf ein Heizsystem, wie z.B. eine kleine Öffnung in der Süd-West-Wand. Es handelt sich bei diesem Raum also vermutlich um ein beheiztes *apodyterium*.¹⁴³ Zudem führen aus dem oktogonalen Raum Öffnungen an allen vier Seiten in andere Räume, zusätzlich be-

finden sich auch noch Durchgänge in den Nischen an der südöstlichen Seite. Die Raumgruppe südwestlich des Oktogons ist fast gänzlich zerstört.¹⁴⁴ Hermann rekonstruiert sie jedoch anhand der Heliocaminus-Thermen der Villa Hadriana, die vermutlich als Vorbild für die Thermen des Maxentius dienten.¹⁴⁵ Es handelt sich bei der Raumgruppe vermutlich um *caldaria* bzw. *solaria*, die genauen Funktionen der Räume sind umstritten.¹⁴⁶

Im Nordwesten der beheizten Räume liegt recht isoliert ein runder Raum,¹⁴⁷ dessen Wand mit einem umlaufenden Einschnitt versehen ist. Dieser Raum ist als *latrina* zu interpretieren.¹⁴⁸ An den Wänden zeigten sich noch Spuren von großen Marmorplatten. Von dem runden Raum führen mehrere Stufen, an denen noch Spuren von Inkrustationen erkennbar waren, hinunter. Der Bereich um die *latrina* könnte als *solarium* gedient haben.¹⁴⁹

Der Badebereich der Domus Severiana, die sog. Thermen des Maxentius, thronte im äußersten Südwesten einer Plattform auf hohen Substruktionen im Südosten des Palatins¹⁵⁰ und lag in unmittelbarer Nähe des Gartenstadiums. Die Thermen des Maxentius, die auf einer Erweiterung des Palastes mit Blick auf den Circus Maximus lagen, besaßen nach neueren Untersuchungen starke Ähnlichkeit mit der Villenarchitektur.¹⁵¹ Es kann also davon ausgegangen werden, dass dieser Bau nicht der öffentlichen Repräsentation diente, sondern eher privaten Charakter hatte. Der Bereich der Domus Severiana grenzte wiederum an das Gartenstadium, welches häufig als privater Erholungsgarten des Kaisers interpretiert wird. Dieser Bereich ist verbunden mit dem als Wohnpalast gedeuteten Bereich des Palatins der Domus Augustana.¹⁵² Der Zugang zu dem *balneum* erfolgte also wohl vom Wohnpalast aus bzw. über das Gartenstadium.¹⁵³ Dieses könnte neben seiner Nutzung als Gartens auch die Funktion einer *palaestra* übernommen haben.¹⁵⁴

Der Eingang der Bäder lag im Nordosten, dort führten zwei Eingänge in jeweils einen kleinen rechteckigen Raum.¹⁵⁵

Aus den Bädern der Domus Severiana sind darüber hinaus einige wenige Funde von Bauornamenten bekannt, so z.B. ein Kranzgesims,¹⁵⁶ drei Teile eines geschwungenen Kranzgesimses¹⁵⁷ und zwei Teile des Gebälks.¹⁵⁸ Zudem besaßen die Baderäume marmorverkleidete Wände,¹⁵⁹ auch war wohl bis ins 18. Jahrhundert/19. Jahrhundert noch wesentlich mehr Architekturdécoration vorhanden.¹⁶⁰ Alles dies weist auf eine im Vergleich zu anderen Kaiserlichen Residenzbädern nicht übermäßig reiche Ausstattung hin.

Die Lage und Einbindung der Bäder in den

Palastkomplex lassen vermuten, dass es sich bei diesen Bädern eher um einen privaten Bereich als um eine Anlage mit deutlich repräsentativer Funktion gehandelt hat. Auch wenn die Fassade der Bäder zum Circus Maximus hin sicher sehr beeindruckend aussah, gehe ich nicht davon aus, dass die Bäder der Domus Severiana im inneren Palastgefüge diese Rolle übernommen haben. Weitere Forschungen wären jedoch nötig um hierüber Klarheit zu erlangen. Die Ähnlichkeit der Maxentius-Thermen mit dem Heliocaminus-Thermen der Villa Hadriana, die Herrmann erfolgreich herausstellt,¹⁶¹ darf als Hinweis dafür gewertet werden, dass die Maxentius-Thermen nach dem Vorbild der Heliocaminus-Thermen errichtet wurden und daher auch dieselbe Funktion übernahmen. Bei den Heliocaminus-Thermen handelte es sich ja, wie bereits erwähnt, höchstwahrscheinlich um die privaten Bäder Hadrians.¹⁶²

REPRÄSENTATIONSBÄDER

Neben den privaten Badeanlagen für die Kaiserfamilie, zählten nach meinen Untersuchungen auch die Repräsentationsbäder zu den wichtigen Bestandteilen eines Kaiserpalastes. Für diesen Typus ist eine Lage in der Nähe von Repräsentationsbauten typisch sowie eine repräsentative und reiche Ausstattung. In dieser Art von Bädern sind häufig wertvolle Materialien anzutreffen wie seltene Marmorarten, aber auch Steine wie Onyx oder Porphyrt. Die Böden sind meist mit feinstem *opus sectile* geschmückt.¹⁶³ Darüber hinaus kann auch eine Ausstattung mit zahlreichen Statuen¹⁶⁴ als Hinweis auf eine Repräsentationsfunktion verstanden werden, insbesondere wenn es sich um Kaiserportraits handelt.¹⁶⁵ Gemeinsam ist dieser Gruppe zudem, dass es sich fast immer um Gebäude von über 1000 m² handelt,¹⁶⁶ wie im Verlaufe der weiteren Erörterung deutlich werden wird. Auch können Latrinen beim identifizieren der Funktion eines Bades eine Rolle spielen.

Die Bäder des Palastes in Arles, mit ca. 2300 m²,¹⁶⁷ befinden sich u.a. in unmittelbarer Nähe der sog. Basilika, die womöglich als Audienzhalle, also Repräsentationsbau, diente. Es muss jedoch als unklar gelten, ob es sich bei den Gebäuden in Arles tatsächlich um die Reste des kaiserlichen Palastes handelt, den es ohne Zweifel in Arles gegeben haben muss.¹⁶⁸ Falls es sich bei den Gebäuden um einen Teil des kaiserlichen Palastes handelt, kann geschlossen werden, das *balneum* sei vor allem im Zuge der kaiserlichen Repräsentation von offiziellen Gästen besucht worden ist, da die Baderäume in der Nähe von Repräsentations-

bauten lagen sowie vermutlich repräsentative und reiche Ausstattung besaßen.¹⁶⁹ Denn der Fund einer monolithischen Wanne aus Porphyrt¹⁷⁰ kann als starker Hinweis auf eine ehemals reiche Ausstattung gewertet werden.

Auch die Thermen der Kaiservilla bei Sabaudia, welche mit *palaestra* etwa 2130 m² messen,¹⁷¹ dürfen als Repräsentationsbäder bezeichnet werden. Nach G. Jacopi handelt es sich bei den Thermen offensichtlich um einen Bereich, der für den Gebrauch des Kaisers und seines Hofes erbaut worden war.¹⁷² Da es sich bei dem Edificio ad Esedra um einen Repräsentationsbau gehandelt haben muss, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass die Thermen, welche direkt an dieses Gebäude grenzen, demselben Zwecke gedient haben. Zudem waren sie ähnlich reich ausgestattet wie das Exedrengebäude, dies ist z.B. an den aufwendig gearbeiteten *opus sectile* Böden, den marmorverkleideten Wänden und Becken und den Wandmalereien oder Wandmosaiken zu erkennen.¹⁷³

Die Kleinen Thermen der Villa Hadriana, welche mit *palaestra* 2140 m² maßen,¹⁷⁴ konnten im Gegensatz zu den Großen Thermen durch die repräsentative Mittelachse des vestibulums auf ebener Erde betreten werden, z.B. vom Kanopos, aber auch vom Haupteingang der *villa* von der Via Tiburtina aus.¹⁷⁵ Dieser Zugang zu den Thermen kann zusammen mit der luxuriösen Ausstattung der Thermen mit kostbarem Marmor,¹⁷⁶ sowie den wertvollen Statuen wie dem Torso eines Doryphoros¹⁷⁷ und den zahlreichen beheizten Räumen¹⁷⁸ als deutlicher Hinweis auf die Repräsentationsfunktion der Thermen gewertet werden.

Die großen Bäder der Villa der Quintilier müssen ebenfalls in die Kategorie der Repräsentationsbäder eingeordnet werden. Ihre Größe, von ursprünglich mehr als 650 m²,¹⁷⁹ sowie ihre Lage zwischen dem Bereich der Repräsentations- und Wohnräume und dem sog. Teatro Marittimo im Westen der *villa*,¹⁸⁰ ist offensichtlich gewählt worden, um die zwei wichtigsten Luxus- und Repräsentationsbauten, die Bäder und das Teatro, gemeinsam auffälliger wirken zu lassen. Auch die Größe der beiden Hauptsäle spricht für ein Repräsentationsbad, in dem viele Gäste empfangen werden konnten, ebenso wie die beeindruckende Statuenausstattung der Bäder. So wurden u.a. ein drapierter männlicher Torso,¹⁸¹ eine Statue einer Maenade¹⁸² sowie eine schlafende Nymphe,¹⁸³ eine weitere Maenade,¹⁸⁴ und eine weibliche Herme einer Bacchantin¹⁸⁵ auf dem Gebiet der Bäder gefunden. Auch die einst reich geschmückten Böden und Wände der Baderäume sprechen für ihre einstige Repräsentationsfunktion. So haben

sich besonders im *frigidarium* noch Reste von *opus sectile* erhalten und Inkrustationsspuren an den Wänden.¹⁸⁶ Allerdings handelt es sich bei diesen spärlichen Resten nur um die Fragmente einer einst bedeutend reicheren Ausstattung.¹⁸⁷

Zudem können auch die westlichen Bäder von Split, deren Bäderäume ursprünglich mehr als 180 m² eingenommen haben,¹⁸⁸ als Repräsentationsbäder bezeichnet werden, denn sie waren u.a. reich mit Marmor und Mosaiken ausgestattet. Im westlichen Bad von Split fanden sich u.a. 50 Teile der ehemaligen Marmorverzierung, vor allem aus proconnesischem und pentelischem Marmor sowie einige wenige aus *marmo scritto* und Onyx.¹⁸⁹ Auch konnten noch kleine Fragmente von Mosaiken an den Wänden festgestellt werden, leider waren diese zu klein um Muster erkennen zu lassen.¹⁹⁰ Es kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass alle Wände mit Marmor und Mosaiken verziert waren.¹⁹¹ Auch ihre Lage setzt dieser Interpretation nichts entgegen, denn sie befinden sich direkt am sog. "residential block", dem Repräsentations- und Wohnbereich der Anlage.¹⁹²

Für das Badegebäude des Grab-Residenz-Komplexes von Felix Romuliana, mit ca. 380 m² ein,¹⁹³ ist festzustellen, dass aufgrund der Ausstattung angenommen werden kann, dass es sich um eine Anlage mit repräsentativer Funktion handelte. Zu der Ausstattung zählen u.a. ein überlebensgroßer Kopf einer Kaiserstatue aus Porphyrt,¹⁹⁴ eine Reliefdarstellung der schlafenden Ariadne,

sowie zahlreiche Fragmente von Mosaiken und *opus sectile* Böden und fein bearbeitete Marmorsäulen.¹⁹⁵ Die Lage des Badegebäudes recht isoliert in der südlichen Ecke der Fortifikation¹⁹⁶ kann diese These weder untermauern noch umstürzen. Zudem gibt es Hinweise darauf, dass die Bauarbeiten an dem Grab-Residenz-Komplex niemals abgeschlossen wurden.¹⁹⁷

Im Folgenden möchte ich nun die Piccole Terme der Villa Hadriana, mit *palaestra* 2140 m²,¹⁹⁸ näher beleuchten.

Bei den Piccole Terme handelt es sich um die am besten erhaltenen und erforschten Bäder dieser Kategorie, da ihre Ausstattung, Lage und Einbindung in die Kaiservilla besonders deutlich rekonstruiert werden kann. Zudem soll dieser Artikel dazu beitragen die alte These, es handle sich bei den Grandi Terme um Männerbäder und bei den Piccole Terme um Frauenbäder, zu widerlegen.¹⁹⁹

Die Piccole Terme der Villa Hadriana

Der Bau der Piccole Terme, welche mit *palaestra* 2140 m² maßen,²⁰⁰ kann nicht vor 121 n.Chr. begonnen worden sein,²⁰¹ er muss jedoch 125 n.Chr. zum größten Teil abgeschlossen gewesen sein.²⁰²

Bei den Kleinen Thermen wurde *opus latericium* beim Bau der *tepidaria*²⁰³ und des *sudatorium*²⁰⁴ verwendet. Für das *frigidarium* wurde *opus latericium* bis zu einer Höhe von 2,5 m genutzt, der

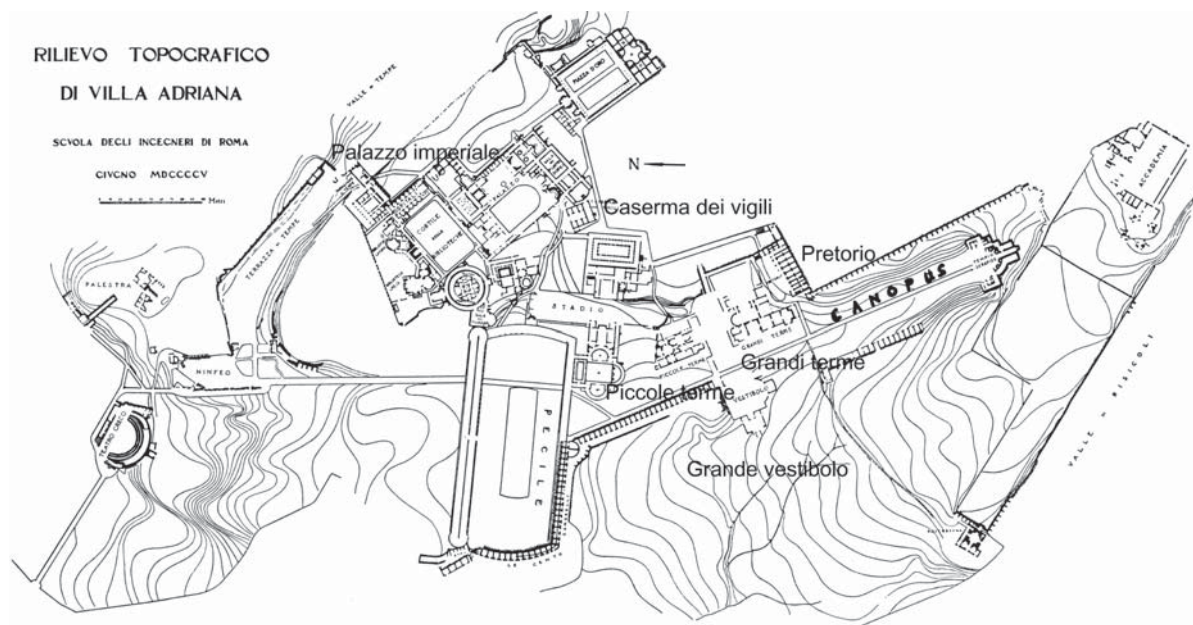


Abb. 4. Plan der Villa Hadriana (nach Aurigemma 1961, 18, Abb. 6).

darüber liegende Teil bestand aus *opus mixtum*, wie auch alle weiteren Räume.²⁰⁵

Die Kleinen Thermen sind besonders in den inneren Bereichen gut erhalten, während die äußeren Räume meist wesentlich schlechter erhalten sind, dies ist besonders an den Räume im Osten der Thermen zu erkennen (Abb. 4-5).²⁰⁶

Ein Korridor schließt südlich an einen Hofbereich an.²⁰⁷ An den Wänden des Hofes ist erkennbar, dass der Bereich nicht vollständig überdacht war. An der Süd-Mauer waren jedoch die charakteristischen Löcher für Balken vorhanden, weshalb davon ausgegangen werden kann, dass es zumindest in diesem Bereich eine *porticus* gab

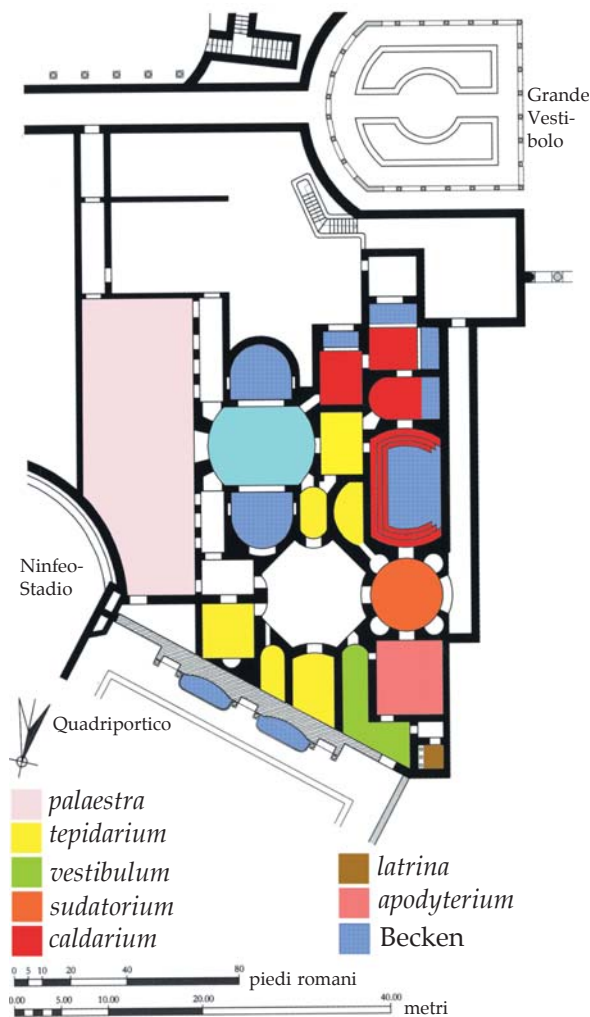


Abb. 5. Plan der Piccole Terme in der Villa Hadriana (Plan nach Chiappetta 2008, 270, Anzahl der beheizten Räume nach Franceschini 1991, 244-253 und 526-531 und Raumfunktionen nach Nielsen 1990, II, 103, Abb. 84).

und womöglich auch eine Terrasse. Franceschini nimmt zudem an, dass die *porticus* sich auch an der westlichen Wand fortgesetzt haben müsste.²⁰⁸ Vom Hofbereich aus zu betreten war das *frigidarium* mit abgerundeten Schmalwänden²⁰⁹ und zwei absidalen Becken an den Langseiten.²¹⁰ Die Reste der Wanddekoration verraten, dass die Wände ursprünglich mit großen Marmorplatten geschmückt waren, während die Gewölbe Mosaik zierten. Der Boden des Raumes war einst mit *opus sectile* bedeckt, wie noch einige Fragmente aus weißem Marmor, *serpentino*, *giallo antico* und *portasanta* beweisen. Die beiden Becken hingegen waren mit großen weißen Marmorplatten ausgelegt.²¹¹ Ein kleiner Raum nördlich des *frigidarium* bildet die Verbindung zwischen dem Hof und dem oktogonalen Raum, vermutlich einem *tepidarium*.²¹² In diesem Raum fand sich ein in der Villa Hadriana einzigartiger *opus sectile*-Boden mit einem besonders feinen Muster.²¹³ Ein weiteres *tepidarium* mit einer kleinen halbrunden Nische in der nordwestlichen Wand befand sich zudem nordöstlich des oktogonalen Raumes, es besaß *suspensurae* wie auch beheizte Wände.²¹⁴ Die zwei Räume an der schrägen Mauer des *nymphaeum* waren mit *tubuli* in den Wänden und *suspensurae*-Böden ausgestattet. Während die Wände dieser Räume verputzt waren, konnten an den Gewölben noch Reste der ehemaligen Mosaikverzierung beobachtet werden.²¹⁵ Die beiden *tepidaria* waren durch einen L-förmigen Korridor von einem fast quadratischen *apodyterium* getrennt.²¹⁶ Von dem fast quadratischen Saal²¹⁷ aus konnte ein runder Raum betreten werden, der mit *suspensurae* versehen war und daher als *solarium* oder *sudatorium* bezeichnet werden kann.²¹⁸ In den kleinen Nischen dieses Raumes wurden Reste von Putz und Fragmente von Marmor gefunden. Es kann also angenommen werden, dass zumindest die Nischen, vermutlich aber auch der restliche Raum über marmorverkleidete Wände verfügte.²¹⁹ Der oktogonale Raum, ein *tepidarium*, war mit *tubuli* in den Wänden sowie *suspensurae*-Böden ausgestattet. Reste von Klammern in den Wänden lassen vermuten, dass die Wände einst mit Marmorplatten verziert waren. Der obere Boden ist nicht erhalten. Franceschini nimmt jedoch an, es müsse sich um *opus sectile* gehandelt haben.²²⁰ Der schmale Raum östlich des *frigidarium* verfügte über *suspensurae*. Abdrücke des feinen *opus sectile* Bodens sowie Hinweise auf Inkrustation an den Wänden verweisen auf die ehemals reiche Ausstattung.²²¹ Der annähernd halbkreisförmige Raum im zentralen Bereich der Thermen war ebenfalls mit *suspensurae*-Böden ausgestat-

tet,²²² bei diesem Raum handelte es sich wohl um eine Hitzefalle.²²³ Hier wurde sogar der untere Boden aus verschiedenen großen Marmorplatten, vermutlich Bauresten, hergestellt. Der obere Boden dieses Raumes hat sich nicht erhalten. Anhand der erhaltenen Klammerlöcher an den Wänden ist für diesen eine Auskleidung mit Marmorplatten anzunehmen.²²⁴ Das *sudatorium*,²²⁵ ein langgestrecktes Rechteck mit abgerundeten Schmalwänden, wird vollständig von einem beheizten Becken eingenommen, sodass es sich bei diesem wohl um eine *calida piscina* gehandelt hat.²²⁶ Unter dem Becken befanden sich *suspensurae*. Im oberen Teil der Wände sind noch Hinweise auf eine marmorne Verkleidung erhalten. Die Stufen des Beckens und der Boden waren mit weißem Marmor verkleidet,²²⁷ ebenso wie alle Becken der Villa Hadriana. Auch wurden im Bereich des Raumes gläserne *tesserae* gefunden, deren Ursprung jedoch unklar ist. Im oberen Teil der Wände sind noch heute Klammerlöcher zu erkennen, die auf eine Marmorverkleidung hinweisen. Der Raum ist in seinem Aufbau vergleichbar mit dem sog. *helio-caminus*.²²⁸ Die Raumgruppe im Südosten der Thermen war mit *suspensurae* versehen²²⁹ und kann aus diesem Grund als Folge mehrerer *tepidaria* interpretiert werden.²³⁰ Von dem oberen Boden ist bis auf kleine Stücke am Übergang zur Wand nichts erhalten.²³¹ Der polygonale Raum, welcher an die *heat trap* anschließt und sich im zentralen Bereich der Thermen befand, war ebenfalls mit *suspensurae*-Böden und Leitungen für warme Luft ausgestattet. Im teilweise erhaltenen oberen Boden fanden sich die Abdrücke von *opus sectile*, der in einem filigranen Muster verlegt war. Auch waren die Wände einst mit Marmor bedeckt, wie ein Teil des Trägerputzes der Platten sowie einige Fragmente aus weißem Marmor beweisen.²³² Die *latrinae* lagen im äußersten Nordosten der Thermen, in einem kleinen rechteckigen Raum.²³³ Im Süden und Südosten der Thermen erstreckten sich ursprünglich noch weitere Räume, die sich jedoch in einem desolaten Zustand befinden und oberirdisch teilweise nicht mehr erkennbar sind.²³⁴

Die Ausstattung der Piccole Terme ist als die wertvollste der drei großen Bäder der Villa Hadriana zu betrachten. Zu den Funden zählt der Torso eines Doryphoros.²³⁵ Darüber hinaus kann heute noch die reiche Marmorausstattung nachvollzogen werden, die die Wände der Thermen zierte. Die Löcher, die zurückblieben, als die Thermen ihrer marmornen Wandverkleidung beraubt wurden, weisen deutlich darauf hin. In den Piccole Terme waren praktisch alle Wände, sogar die der

kleinen *latrinae*, mit *opus sectile* bis zu den Gewölben verkleidet.²³⁶ Verputzte Wände gab es wohl nur in den Räumen im Norden, welche erst in einer zweiten Bauphase fertiggestellt wurden.²³⁷ Auch die Böden dieser Bäder waren mit *opus sectile* verziert, leider ist von diesen ehemals beeindruckend reichen und raffinierten Böden kaum noch etwas erhalten.²³⁸ Es finden sich keine Hinweise auf weniger wertvolle Bodenmosaike. Franceschini bezeichnet die *opus sectile* Böden aus den Kleinen Thermen als die schönsten der Villa.²³⁹

Die Kleinen und die Großen Thermen,²⁴⁰ welche direkt nebeneinander lagen, waren auf verschiedenen Ebenen angeordnet bzw. von verschiedenen Ebenen aus begehbar. Dies diente aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dazu den verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen, wie dem Villenpersonal und dem Hofstaat, zu ermöglichen, sich auf demselben Gelände aneinander vorbei zu bewegen, ohne sich dabei zu begegnen.²⁴¹ Die Kleinen Thermen konnten durch das monumentale *vestibulum* der Villa Hadriana erreicht werden, welches gleichzeitig den Eingang für offizielle Besucher darstellte, sowie vom Canopus aus, wo vermutlich die hochrangigen Gäste wohnten. Der direkte Weg führte dabei über einen mit einem feinem Mosaikboden ausgelegten Korridor.²⁴²

Die Kleinen Thermen rechnet Chiappetta zu dem Teil der *villa*, welcher von dem Hofstaat und den Gästen Hadrians genutzt wurde.²⁴³ Chiappetta geht weiterhin davon aus, dass der achteckige Saal eine Art Verteilerfunktion für die Thermen übernahm. Von dort aus konnten dann verschiedene Badezyklen gewählt werden,²⁴⁴ wie z.B. der sog. pompeianische Zyklus, welcher von Plinius dem Älteren beschrieben wird.²⁴⁵ Eine weitere Möglichkeit wäre es jedoch auch, sich nach dem Sport in der *palaestra* zunächst in die wärmsten Räume zu begeben, um dann weiter zu den jeweils kälteren zu gelangen, wie Galen²⁴⁶ es vorschlägt. Es ist auffällig, dass die großen Bäder der Villa Hadriana generell keinen festgelegten Badezyklus vorschreiben.²⁴⁷ Auch ist auffällig, dass die großen Bäder der Villa Hadriana alle eine ausgenommen große Anzahl an beheizten Räumen besaßen. Die römische Sitte der römischen Oberschicht, zweimal am Tage vor dem *prandium* und der *cena* zu Baden,²⁴⁸ spiegelt sich in der Lage der kleinen Thermen wieder und ist zudem ein weiteres Indiz dafür, dass sie vom Hofstaat und den Gästen Hadrians genutzt wurden. Die Kleinen Thermen waren direkt mit dem Triclinio di Palazzo d'Inverno und dem Edificio con Tre Esedre verbunden, die beide als Speiseräume gelten. Auch gab es einen direkten Weg von den Kleinen

Thermen zu dem größten *triclinium* der Villa Hadriana, dem Canopus.²⁴⁹

Dieser Zugang zu den Thermen kann zusammen mit der luxuriösen Ausstattung der Thermen mit kostbarem Marmor²⁵⁰ und den zahlreichen beheizten Räumen²⁵¹ als deutlicher Hinweis auf die Repräsentationsfunktion der Thermen gewertet werden.

Die Latrinen im äußersten Nordosten der Thermen mit nur drei Sitzen konnten über ein *vestibulum* und einen kleinen Korridor 16 betreten werden.²⁵² Salza Prina Ricotti meint, die geringe Zahl der Sitze in den Latrinen dürfe nicht verwundern, da es die Oberschicht dieser Zeit vorzog sich mit Hilfe eines Nachtopfs zu erleichtern.²⁵³ Zudem findet sich in G. Jansens Untersuchungen zu den Toiletten der Villa Hadriana der Hinweis, dass Hadrian es bevorzugte für seine Gäste kleine luxuriöse Latrinen zu errichten. Diese Latrinen waren besonders schön ausgestattet und mit wertvollen Materialien geschmückt und besaßen auch meist große Fenster.²⁵⁴

Die Nutzung der kleinen Thermen ergibt sich nicht nur aus ihrer besonders reichen Ausstattung,²⁵⁵ sondern auch aus den Zugangswegen,²⁵⁶ der luxuriösen Ausstattung mit kostbarem Marmor, der als aufwendiges *opus sectile* verlegt wurde²⁵⁷ und den zahlreichen beheizten Räumen.²⁵⁸

Alles dies weist deutlich darauf hin, dass die Piccole Terme keine Frauenbäder waren, sondern der Repräsentation dienten und vom Hofstaat und den Staatsgästen des Hadrianus genutzt wurden.

Zudem besitzen die Piccole Terme auch ein *sudatorium*.²⁵⁹ Da Heißluft Räume bzw. Schwitzräume meist nicht in Frauenbädern anzutreffen sind, kann dies als weiterer Hinweis darauf gewertet werden, dass es sich bei diesen Bädern nicht um Frauenbäder handeln kann. Brödner nimmt an, die Heißluftbäder seien von den Römern als nicht geeignet für die schwache weibliche Konstitution empfunden worden.²⁶⁰

DIENERSCHAFTSBÄDER

Einen wieder anderen Typus von Bädern stellen die Bäder für die Dienerschaft dar.²⁶¹ Sie befinden sich in der Nähe von Bauten untergeordneter Wichtigkeit, wie z.B. Dienerunterkünften²⁶² oder Soldatenbaracken,²⁶³ oder sind zumindest mit diesen verbunden. Diese Bäder werden zudem durch eine zweckmäßige Ausstattung charakterisiert. Sie entsprechen in ihrer Funktion den *balneae rusticae*, die nach Columella an den Wirtschaftstrakt der *villae rusticae* angegliedert werden sollten und einen wichtigen Bestandteil der Villa

darstellten, da sie für gesunde Diener und Sklaven sorgten.²⁶⁴

Die Baderäume der Domus Tiberiana,²⁶⁵ die auf einem Areal von ca. 1280 m² lagen,²⁶⁶ können als Dienerschaftsbäder angesprochen werden.²⁶⁷ Über Funde aus den Baderäumen der Domus Tiberiana ist leider nichts bekannt.²⁶⁸ Ilser nimmt an, der Bau wurde unter Nero als Dienerunterkunft genutzt. Gleichzeitig ist aber auch bekannt, dass in späten Jahren dort ein Teil der kaiserlichen Familie untergebracht gewesen sein könnte, wie zum Beispiel Thronfolger wie Marcus Aurelius oder Lucius Verus. Teile dieses Bereiches könnten aber auch die kaiserliche Verwaltung beherbergt haben. Zudem werden dort öffentliche Bibliotheken sowie Archive vermutet.²⁶⁹ Ist die Domus Tiberiana nun also ein Bereich in dem kaiserliche Erben untergebracht waren, wäre es denkbar, dass es sich bei den dortigen Baderäumen um Bäder für eben diese Gruppen von Menschen handelte. Dies wird umso wahrscheinlicher, wenn zudem noch angenommen wird, dass es zu allen Zeiten mehrere Badekomplexe auf dem Palatin gegeben habe. In diesem Fall könnte angenommen werden, dass der Kaiser es vorzog einen eigenen exklusiven Badebereich zu besitzen und für die Dienerschaft einen anderen in der Nähe ihrer Unterkünfte erbaute.²⁷⁰

Der schmale Streifen mit den fünf aufeinander folgenden Baderäumen grenzte jedoch unmittelbar an einen Wirtschaftsbau, der als *tabernae*, militärische Baracken²⁷¹ oder auch als *horreum*²⁷² bezeichnet wird. Gehörte dieser Bereich noch zum kaiserlichen Palastareal, so könnte es sich bei diesen Bädern um die Bäder der in den Baracken untergebrachten Soldaten handeln. In jedem Fall kann es sich bei diesen Baderäumen wohl kaum um ein vom Kaiser genutztes Bad handeln, da es sich in unmittelbarer Nähe eines Wirtschaftsgebäudes befindet. Leider muss jedoch zugegeben werden, dass die Situation in Sirmium so verwirrend ist,²⁷³ dass diese Thesen rein hypothetisch sind.

Die Baderäume der Villa Jovis zähle ich zu den Bädern, die vermutlich von einer niedrigen sozialen Gruppe genutzt wurden und scheinen mit den Großen Thermen der Villa Hadriana vergleichbar zu sein. Ihre Ausstattung scheint eher zweckmäßig gewesen zu sein.²⁷⁴ Über die ehemalige Ausstattung der Baderäume der Villa Jovis ist nur noch bekannt, dass vermutlich Marmorverkleidungen die Wänden und Decken schmückten.²⁷⁵ Auch ihre Lage im unteren Geschoss der Villa weist darauf hin, dass es sich um keinen Luxusbau handelte, da andernfalls sicher eine Lage gewählt worden wäre, die dem Badenden einen Blick auf

das grandiose Panorama der Insel erlaubte.²⁷⁶ Zudem nimmt auch Krause an, dass sich im Südflügel die Räume für die administrativen Belange befunden haben.²⁷⁷ Ich halte es für wahrscheinlich, dass weitere Baderäume in der Villa vorhanden waren, Räume in exponierter Lage, von denen aus Tiberius den Blick über die Insel genießen konnte, während er badete, und die sich in unmittelbarer Nähe zu seinen Wohn- oder Repräsentationsräumen befanden.²⁷⁸ Zudem ist er zu vermuten, dass diese Bäder im obersten Stockwerk gelegen haben müssen, da es so möglich wäre, die von Krause postulierte Dachterrasse mit Peristylhof²⁷⁹ als *palaestra* zu nutzen.²⁸⁰

Auch die Grandi Terme der Villa Hadriana scheinen also nach Columellas²⁸¹ Empfehlung, für die Sklaven im Wirtschaftstrakt einer *villa* separate *balneae rusticae* zu erbauen, eingerichtet worden zu sein. Die Deutung, dass die Piccole Terme und die Grandi Terme der Villa Hadriana der konsequenten Geschlechtertrennung²⁸² gedient haben, kann nicht mehr aufrecht gehalten werden.²⁸³ Der Zugang zu den Grandi Terme über die unterirdischen Gänge²⁸⁴ aus dem Cento Camerelle, dem Pretorio und der Ponte Lucano herkommend über den Dienstboteneingang im Untergeschoss spricht eindeutig für die Deutung der Bäder als Dienerschaftsbäder. Die Thermen stehen insgesamt mit den Service-Gebäuden der villa, wie der sog. Caserma di Vigili in direkter Verbindung.²⁸⁵ Auch die recht einfache Ausstattung der Grandi Terme stützt diese These.²⁸⁶

Sollten die kleinen Bäder in der Nähe des *nymphaeum* in einiger Entfernung südlich vom Wohnbereich der villa der Quintilier²⁸⁷ ein Teil der villa gewesen sein, so müssen sie aufgrund ihrer isolierten Lage²⁸⁸ als Dienerschaftsbäder angesprochen werden.

Die größeren weniger reich ausgestatteten Thermen im Osten der Anlage von Split müssen als Thermenkomplex bezeichnet werden, der für die Nutzung von sozial untergeordneten Gruppen, wie häuslichen Dienern, bestimmt war. Zu diesem Schluss gelange ich vor allem in Analogie zu den Grandi Terme der Villa Hadriana.

Die Grandi Terme sollen hier näher besprochen werden, da sie wie auch die anderen Thermen der Villa Hadriana gut erforscht sind und sich ihre Lage, Einbindung und Ausstattung daher deutlich besser rekonstruieren lassen als die von vielen anderen Bädern. Zudem wird auch hier eine neuere These zu Nutzung dieser Thermen vorgetragen.²⁸⁹

Die Grandi Terme der Villa Hadriana

Die Grandi Terme stellen mein Musterbeispiel für Dienerschaftsbäder dar, denn hier kann sehr deutlich dargestellt werden, wie ein solches Bad identifiziert werden kann. Der Beginn des Baus der Grandi Terme²⁹⁰ fällt zusammen mit dem der Piccole Terme.²⁹¹ Der Bau kann also nicht vor 121 n.Chr. begonnen worden sein²⁹² und wird 125 n.Chr. zum größten Teil abgeschlossen gewesen sein.²⁹³

Plan der Grandi Terme

Der Erhaltungszustand des aus *opus mixtum* errichteten Gebäudes ist in vielen Bereichen noch recht gut.²⁹⁴ Der Bau ist in zwei Thermenbereiche geteilt (Abb. 6).²⁹⁵ Der kleinere Thermenbereich²⁹⁶ wird zunächst über zwei Eingänge an den Schmalseiten eines Hofes, der *palaestra*,²⁹⁷ mit umlaufender *porticus* betreten. An dem Hof vorbei gelangten die Badegäste durch einen rechteckigen offenen Saal mit kleinen Nebenräumen in einen kleinen quadratischen Raum, das *apodyterium* des kleineren Bereiches.²⁹⁸ Von dort läuft ein gebogener Gang auf das *frigidarium*, einen Raum mit einer Apsis,²⁹⁹ zu. Dieser Raum besaß kein Heizsystem. Auch wenn heute nichts mehr von der ehemaligen Einrichtung erhalten ist, kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass ein Becken oder zumindest ein *labrum* vorhanden war. Zwei kleine Räume, bei denen es sich wohl um *tepidaria*³⁰⁰ handelte, schließen an diesen Raum an. Diese sind wiederum mit einem *caldarium*³⁰¹ verbunden, in dem sich noch Reste von zwei Becken befanden.³⁰² In einem halbbrunden Gang hinter diesem Bereich ist zudem eine immense Latrinenanlage zu rekonstruieren.³⁰³ Die großen Latrinen mit 15 Plätzen gehören nach Salza Prina Ricotti ausschließlich zu dem größeren Bereich der Thermen.³⁰⁴

Im zweiten und größeren Teil der Thermen³⁰⁵ existieren deutlich mehr Räume mit größeren Dimensionen. Der zweite Bereich ist so mindestens 4 Mal größer, rechnet man die *cryptoporticus* und die *palaestra* zum diesem Bereich hinzu, so ist er sogar 8 Mal größer.³⁰⁶ In den zweiten Teil der Thermen gelangte der Besucher ebenfalls über Eingänge an den Schmalseiten des Hofes und von dort aus über einen rechteckigen Saal mit kleinen Nebenräumen. Weiter im Osten lag ein schmaler rechteckiger Raum, das *apodyterium*³⁰⁷ des größeren Thermenbereichs. Von diesem womöglich zweigeteilten Raum³⁰⁸ aus konnten drei aufeinander folgende, rechteckige *tepidaria*³⁰⁹ betreten werden, bevor sich der Badende in ein rechteckiges *caldarium*³¹⁰ mit drei Becken begab. Es bestand jedoch

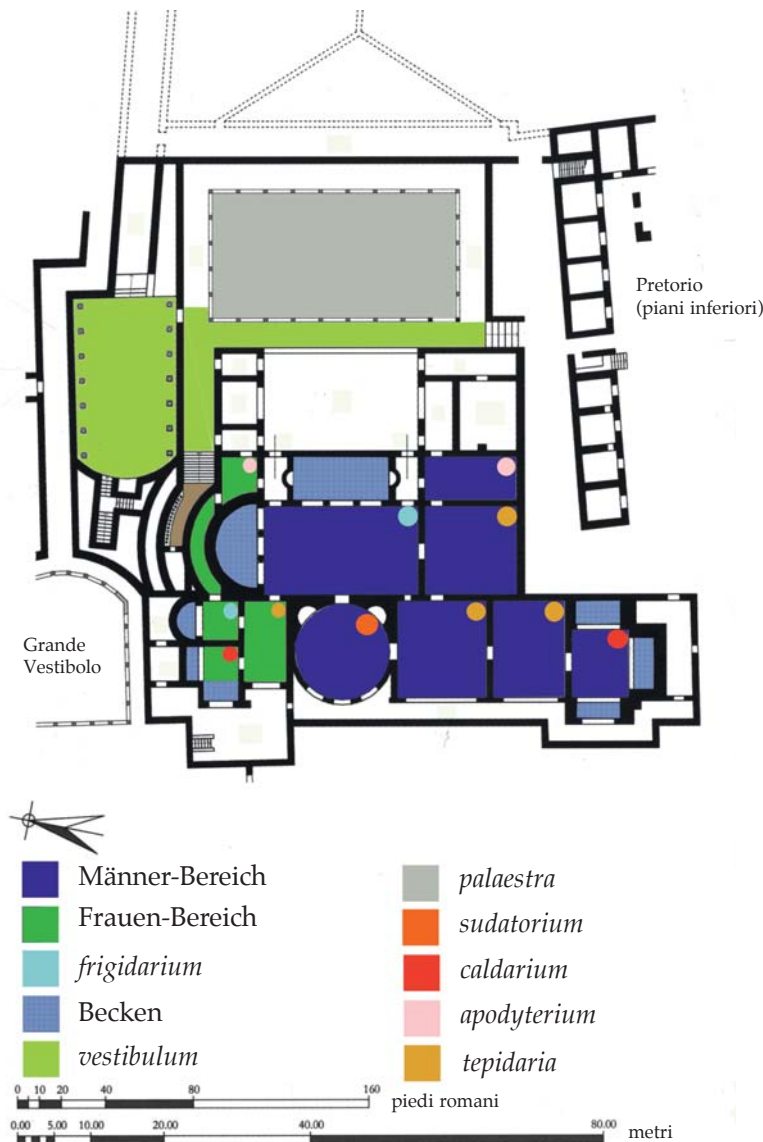


Abb. 6. Plan der Grandi Terme in der Villa Hadriana (Plan nach Chiappetta 2008, 229; männlicher und weiblicher Bereich nach Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 183, Abb. 59, 60; Chiappetta 2008, 173; Raumfunktionen nach Nielsen 1990, II, 102, Abb. 83).

auch die Möglichkeit, sich nach den *tepidaria* in einen runden Raum mit halbrunden Nischen zu begeben. Von diesem *sudatorium*³¹¹ aus gelangte der Badegast wiederum in den zentralen unbeheizten Raum der Thermen, das *frigidarium*,³¹² welches ein halbrundes Becken nach Norden besaß und ein langrechteckiges an der Ost-Seite.³¹³

Ganz im Osten der Thermen lag die bereits erwähnte, von einer *quadriporticus* umgebene *palaestra*, die auch den direkten Zugang zu den Thermen bildete.³¹⁴

Die Grandi Terme der Villa Hadriana müssen als Sonderfall angesprochen werden, da sie als einziges Thermengebäude im Kontext kaiserlicher Wohnsitze zwei getrennte Badezyklen aufweisen.³¹⁵ Die von Hadrian favorisierte Geschlechtertrennung³¹⁶ scheint im Plan der Großen Thermen realisiert worden zu sein, denn diese besitzt zwei getrennte Badekomplexe mit jeweils einem Badezyklus.³¹⁷ Der kleinere Badebereich befindet sich im Norden des Gebäudes.³¹⁸ Zunächst wurde dieser Bereich für eine Projektänderung gehalten, die

dazu dienen sollte, nicht den monumentalen Weg zum Beenden des Badezyklus nutzen zu müssen. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Arbeiten in den Thermen für eine gewisse Zeit still standen, um den Bau anderer wichtigerer Gebäude schneller vorantreiben zu können, bevor Hadrian von seiner ersten Reise zurückkehrte. Nach Salza Prina Ricotti ist ohne Zweifel klar, dass der Bereich im Norden der Thermen Teil der ursprünglichen Konzeption war. Sie ist sich sogar sicher, dass dieser Bereich ein wichtiger Teil des Konzepts war, denn es handelt sich bei diesem um eine abgeschlossene Abteilung, unabhängig von der größeren im Süd-Westen. Der kleinere Bereich wurde vermutlich zuerst fertiggestellt, um die Thermen bereits nutzbar zu machen, bevor die Bauarbeiten am größeren Bereich abgeschlossen waren.³¹⁹ Die beiden Thermenbereiche besaßen beide alle Räume, die für einen römischen Badezyklus nötig waren. Der komplette Zyklus konnte in beiden durchlaufen werden, ohne dass es einen Berührungspunkt zwischen beiden Bereichen gab. Die Ausmaße der beiden Teile lassen sich vergleichen mit denen der zweigeteilten Thermen in Pompeji.³²⁰ Generell sind nur sehr wenige römische Bäder überliefert, bei denen zwei auf diese Weise getrennte Badezyklen vorhanden waren. Wie auch in Pompeji ist bei den Großen Thermen die *palaestra* mit dem größeren Bereich der Thermen verbunden.³²¹ Der größere Zyklus kann in Analogie zu den oben erwähnten Thermen in Pompeji als Männerbereich bezeichnet werden, der kleinere wäre dementsprechend den weiblichen Badegästen zugedacht.³²² Um den Badezyklus im weiblichen Bereich der Thermen zu beenden, mussten die Frauen alle Räume noch einmal in entgegengesetzter Richtung durchlaufen,³²³ dies war im männlichen Bereich nicht der Fall. Der männliche Teil der Thermen bot einen deutlich freieren Badezyklus.³²⁴

In allen Thermen der Villa Hadriana findet sich zudem ein *sudatorium*. Dieses ist hier jedoch nur an den männlichen Teil der Thermen angeschlossen. Für den kleineren, weiblichen Bereich gibt es keinen vergleichbaren Raum so wie auch keine kaltes Badebecken, was typisch für Frauenbäder wäre, denn diesen fehlt meist generell der Heißluftraum und das kalte Schwimmbecken.³²⁵

Die Grandi Terme wurden südlich des Grande Vestibolo und der Kleinen Thermen erbaut.³²⁶ Im Norden befand sich das Stadion.³²⁷ Wie bereits besprochen konnten die kleinen Thermen durch das monumentale *vestibulum* erreicht werden, welches den Eingang der villa für wichtige Besucher darstellt sowie vom Canopus aus, wo ver-

mutlich die wichtigen Gäste wohnten. Den direkten Zugang bildete ein mit Mosaikboden ausgelegter Korridor. Der Zugang zu den Großen Thermen hingegen erfolgte über unterirdische Gänge. So war es möglich, dass sich die Wege von verschiedenen der sozial-hierarchisch unterschiedlich gestellten Gruppen kreuzten, ohne dass sich diese dabei begegneten.³²⁸ Die unterirdischen Gänge³²⁹ verbanden die Cento Camerelle, das Pretorio, den Dienstboteneingang im Untergeschoss der villa von dem Ponte Lucano her mit den Grandi Terme. Auch von der sog. Caserma dei Vigili und den anderen Service-Bereichen der villa aus konnten die Großen Thermen betreten werden.³³⁰

Die Grandi Terme war zudem weniger reich ausgestattet als die anderen Badegebäude der Villa Hadriana. Als Wandverzierung wurden wohl vor allem Stuck³³¹ und Wandmalereien³³² verwendet. Die Böden der Großen Thermen waren komplett mit Mosaiken bedeckt, nur im *apodyterium* des größeren Bereiches wurde *opus sectile* verwendet. Die Bodenmosaik dienten wohl vor allem dazu die Böden vor dem schädigenden Einfluss der Feuchtigkeit zu schützen. So wurden keine aufwendigen Muster verwendet, sondern lediglich sehr einfache Verzierungen in sehr reduzierter Farbigeit auf die Böden gebracht.³³³ Das *opus sectile* im *apodyterium* ist in einfacher Weise aus rechteckigen Platten hergestellt worden. Der Hof der *palaestra* wurde mit einem einfachen *opus spicatum* ausgelegt, der im Unterschied zu *opus sectile* und Mosaiken wesentlich einfacher und damit günstiger zu verlegen war.³³⁴

Bereits bei W.L. McDonald und J.A. Pinto findet sich die These, dass die Großen Thermen von den Dienern und dem anderen Personal der villa genutzt wurden, da sie viel mehr Menschen Platz boten als die Heliocaminus-Thermen und nach einem traditionelleren Plan erbaut worden sind. Zudem ist die Eingangshalle dieser Thermen auf das zentrale Service-Gebäude der Villa Hadriana ausgerichtet.³³⁵ Ebenfalls findet sich diese Meinung bei Raeder. Er nimmt an, die Großen Thermen wären dem Villenpersonal, wie den Sklaven und Soldaten, vorbehalten gewesen.³³⁶ Diese Meinung teilt auch Salza Prina Ricotti. Ihre Deutung der Thermen als einem dem Villenpersonal zugeordneten Bereich beruht vor allem darauf, dass die großen Thermen über unterirdische Gänge betreten werden konnten, die alle von den Gebäuden aus zu den Thermen führten, die mit dem Personal der villa zu assoziieren sind.³³⁷ Chiappetta z.B. geht davon aus, dass allein um die 700 Soldaten in der villa stationiert gewesen sein konnten.³³⁸ Die Anzahl der Freigelassenen und Sklaven muss

also um ein Vielfaches höher gewesen sein.³³⁹

Zudem ist bekannt, dass Hadrian die Situation der Sklaven allgemein verbesserte, so verbot er z.B. die Kastration und die häusliche Hinrichtung von Sklaven.³⁴⁰ Dies wird an vielen Gebäuden der *villa* in Bezug auf die Ausstattung und Bauart deutlich. Die Wohnräume des Personales befanden sich dort wohl meist in den Substruktionen, waren jedoch mit Latrinen ausgestattet und gut gegen Feuchtigkeit isoliert. Diese Räume waren deutlich komfortabler als bspw. die engen Kammern, von denen Horaz³⁴¹ spricht. Die Grandi Terme sind für Chiappetta so auch Teil dieses Verbesserungsprogrammes Hadrians.³⁴²

Besonders schön ist im Falle der Dienerschaftsbäder, dass es eine schriftliche Quelle gibt, welche sich mit Bädern für Diener beschäftigt, wenn auch im Bereich von *villae rusticae*.³⁴³ Collumella regt dort an, für die Sklaven im Wirtschaftstrakt einer *villa* separate *balneae rusticae* zu errichten, um zu gewährleisten, dass diese bei guter Gesundheit sind.

Die großen Latrinen mit 15 Plätzen, die sich im Bereich hinter dem gebogenen Gang des weiblichen Bereichs der Großen Thermen befanden, gehören nach Salza Prina Ricotti zum männlichen Teil der Thermen. Sie geht sogar so weit zu sagen, dass die Scham der weiblichen Badegäste es verböte, solche Räumlichkeiten gemeinsam zu nutzen. Daher gäbe es keine Latrinen im weiblichen Bereich der Thermen.³⁴⁴ Auch Jansen ist zu dem Schluss gekommen, dass Hadrian für sich und seine Gäste kleine Latrinen bauen ließ, während die großen Anlagen für die Dienerschaft errichtet wurden.³⁴⁵

Ich denke vielmehr, die Lage der Latrinen weist darauf hin, dass diese von beiden Geschlechtern gemeinsam genutzt wurden, da sich ihr Eingang in einem Bereich befindet, der von beiden Geschlechtern durchlaufen werden muss, um in den jeweiligen Trakt zu gelangen. Die Lage der Latrinen macht es sogar möglich, diese zu nutzen, ohne sich in den eigentlichen Badebereich zu begeben.³⁴⁶

Zudem können die Latrinen aufgrund der Anzahl der Sitze³⁴⁷ sowie ihrer Lage³⁴⁸ auch als Hinweis darauf gewertet werden, dass diese Thermen von einer Vielzahl von Menschen genutzt wurden. Zudem ist, wie bereits erwähnt, anzunehmen, dass die Diener, Soldaten und Sklaven die größte Gruppe von Menschen innerhalb der Villa Hadriana darstellten.³⁴⁹ Auch ist die Lage der Latrinen ideal, um diese nicht nur im Zusammenhang mit dem Bade zu benutzen, sondern auch unabhängig davon. Dies würde es den Bediensteten, die sich vermutlich in den unterirdischen Gängen

der Villa Hadriana ungesehen von den sozial höhergestellten Gästen und dem Hofstaat bewegen, generell ermöglichen sich auch während der Arbeit zu erleichtern.³⁵⁰

Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass es sich bei den Grandi Terme nur um der Dienerschaft zugeordneten Bäder handeln kann.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der zahlenmäßig überwiegende Teil der 20 von mir untersuchten Bäder, als private Kaiserbäder fungierte, während zwei weitere Gruppen als Repräsentationsbäder und Dienerschaftsbäder identifiziert werden konnten. Die Anzahl der von mir festgestellten Repräsentationsbäder entspricht etwa der Anzahl an Dienerschaftsbädern.

Leider ist derzeit, trotz der unzweifelhaften Bedeutung der kaiserlichen Residenzbäder, noch viel zu wenig über deren architektonische Gestaltung und sozialgeschichtliche Bedeutung bekannt. Somit wäre es für die Zukunft wünschenswert, der Erforschung dieser Badekomplexe mehr Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken, sodass mehr Licht in diesen Bereich gebracht werden kann. Denn es handelt sich bei den Bädern um einen wichtigen Teil der kaiserlichen Wohnsitze, ohne den der funktionelle Zusammenhang der verschiedenen Bauten innerhalb einer Residenz nicht erschlossen werden kann.

Schließen möchte ich nun mit einem berühmten Zitat von Suetonius, welches noch einmal deutlich aufzeigt, welchen Stellenwert luxuriöse Bäder bezüglich der Selbstdarstellung des Kaiserhauses einnahmen:

Die größten Summen jedoch verschlang seine Bauwut. Er [Nero] erbaute einen Palast vom Palatin bis zum Esquilin [...] Hinsichtlich seiner Ausdehnung und Pracht dürften folgende Angaben genügen: [...] Die Bäder wurden teils mit Meerwasser, teils mit Wasser der Albula gespeist. Als er dieses Prachtgebäude nach seiner Vollendung einweihte, sagte er, um seine Zufriedenheit auszudrücken, nur, jetzt fange er endlich an wie ein Mensch zu wohnen.³⁵¹

TABELLEN

Lage bei:	Paläste	Kaiservillen	Grab-Residenz-Komplexe
<i>Otiums-Bauten</i>	Palastthermen Neros, Bäder der Domus Severiana, einzelner Raum mit Apsis des Kaiserpalastes von Sirmium, Bäder des kleinen Kaiserpalastes von Sirmium	Grandi Terme, Bäder im Wohnbereich der Villa Quintiliorum, Bäder der Kaiservilla bei Konz	Beide Bäder in Split
<i>Repräsentationsbauten</i>	Bäder des kaiserlichen Palastes von Arles	Teatro Marittimo, Heliocaminus-Thermen, Piccole Terme, Badesäle der Villa Quintiliorum	Beide Bäder in Split
<i>Service-Gebäuden</i>	Bäder der Domus Tiberiana, beheizter Streifen von Räumen des kaiserlichen Palastes von Sirmium	Grandi Terme, Bäder am <i>nymphaeum</i> der Villa Quintiliorum	Keine
<i>Sakralbauten</i>	Keine	Keine	Beide Bäder in Split, Bäder in Felix Romuliana

Ausstattung	Paläste	Kaiservillen	Grab-Residenz-Komplexe
<i>Reich</i>	Arles	Sabaudia, Heliocaminus-Thermen, Piccole Terme, Badesäle in der Villa Quintiliorum	Westliches Bad in Split, Bäder in Felix Romuliana
<i>Zweckmäßig</i>	Keine	Grandi Terme, Teatro Marittimo	Keine
<i>Unbekannt</i>	Palastthermen des Nero, Bäder der Domus Tiberiana, Bäder der Domus Severiana, beide Bäder des kaiserlichen Palastes von Sirmium, die Bäder des kleinen Kaiserpalastes von Sirmium	zwei kleinere Bäder der Villa Quintiliorum, Bäder der Kaiservilla zu Konz	Östliche Bäder in Split

Nutzer	Paläste	Kaiservillen	Grab-Residenz-Komplexe
<i>Kaiser</i>	Palastthermen des Nero, Thermen der Domus Severiana, einzelner Baderaum mit Apsis des kaiserlichen Palastes von Sirmium, Bäder des kleinen Kaiserpalastes von Sirmium	Heliocaminus Thermen, Baderäume im Teatro Marittimo, Bäder im Wohnbereich der Villa der Quintilii, Bäder der Kaiservilla zu Konz	Westliche Bäder in Split
<i>Gäste und Hofstaat</i>	Bäder des kaiserlichen Palastes von Arles	Sabaudia, Piccole Terme, Badesäle in der Villa Quintiliorum	Felix Romuliana
<i>Diener und Sklaven</i>	Bäder der Domus Tiberiana, Streifen von beheizten Baderäumen des kaiserlichen Palastes von Sirmium	Villa Jovis, Grandi Terme, Bäder am <i>nymphaeum</i> der Quintiliervilla	Östliche Bäder in Split

Größe der Badegebäude mit <i>palaestrae</i>	Private Kaiserbäder	Repräsentationsbäder	Dienerchaftsbäder
Unter 100 m ²	Baderäume des Teatro maritimo, Kleine Bäder im Wohnbereich der Quintilievilla	Keine	Bäder beim <i>nymphaeum</i> der Villa der Quintilier)
Über 100 m ²	Bäder des kleinen kaiserlichen Palast in Sirmium, Kaiservilla zu Konz, westliche Bäder in Split	Bäder in Felix Romuliana	Baderäume der Villa Jovis
Über 1000 m ²	Bäder der Domus Severiana, Heliocaminus-Thermen	Bäder des Palastes in Arles, Bäder der Kaiservilla bei Sabaudia, Größerer Termenbereich in der Villa der Quintilier (erhaltene Säle besitzen mehr als 650 m ²)	Bäder der Domus Tiberiana
Über 2000 m ²	Keine	Piccole Terme	Östliche Bäder in Split
Über 10 000 m ²	Bäder der Domus Aurea	Keine	Keine
Größe unbekannt	Bäder des kaiserlichen Palasts in Sirmium	Keine	Keine

ANMERKUNGEN

- 1 See Nielsen 1990; Yegül, 1992, 2010.
- 2 Even though the interest in private baths has recently increased, see: De Haan 2010; Bouet, 2003; García-Entero, 2005.
- 3 Nielsen 2000, 167.
- 4 Ziegler geht davon aus, dass der ganze Hügel zunächst in republikanischer Zeit und auch noch das erste Jahrhundert der Kaiserzeit hindurch nur als *palatium* oder in der griechischen Schreibweise *palation* genannt wurde, bis die Bauten der Kaiser den Hügel fast gänzlich einnahmen und *Palatium* im Sprachgebrauch nun auch die Residenz der Kaiser auf diesem Hügel bezeichnen konnten. Er nimmt an, dass der Begriff *palatium* nun für die kaiserliche Residenz und den Hügel benutzt werden konnte, so dass es nötig war dem Begriff *palatium* „mons“ voranzustellen um den Hügel zu bezeichnen, nicht aber die kaiserliche Residenz (Ziegler 1949, 7-8; siehe ebenfalls, Ilser 1978, 3).
- 5 Der Übergang von dem Ortsnamen *palatium* oder *palation* zum Synonym für das griechische *basileia* (Königspalast) fand jedoch nach Mayer (2002, 40; siehe auch F. Millar, *The emperor in the Roman world*, London 1977, 40-41) schon in der Antike statt, so ist bei Cassius Dio (53.16.5-6), einem Historiker und Staatsmann des 3. Jh. n.Chr., zu lesen: „Der Kaiserpalast (*basileia*) wird *palation* genannt, nicht weil beschlossen wurde, daß er so genannt werde, sondern weil Cäsar auf dem Palatin wohnte und dort sein Hauptquartier hatte. Sein Haus erhielt auch durch den Hügel selbst ein gewisses Prestige, weil dort früher Romulus lebte. Deshalb wird, auch wenn der Kaiser an einem anderen residiert, sein Wohnsitz *palation* genannt.“
- 6 Nielsen 2000, 167.
- 7 Auch bei Cassius Dio (53.16.5) findet sich die Verbindung von Wohn- und Amtssitz (*strategion*). Ähnliche Definitionen von Kaiserpalast finden sich bei Duval 1987, 467 und Mayer 2002, 39-41.
- 8 z.B. *Trist.* 3.1.31-34 „*Tecta digna deo [...]*“ oder *Fasti* 4.951-954 „*Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit; quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet. State Palatinae laurus, prae-*

textaque quercu stet domus! Aeternos tres habet una deos.“ (Einen Teil besitzt Phoebus Apollo, Vesta erhielt den anderen; was übrig ist, hält der Kaiser selbst als dritter. Es soll der Palatinische Lorbeer Bestand haben, es soll das mit dem Eichenkranz geschmückte Haus Bestand haben! Drei ewige Götter beherbergt das eine Haus.)

- 9 Suet. *Nero* 31.1 „*Non in alia re tamen damnosior quam in aedificando domus a Palatio Esquilinas usque fecit, quam primo transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque auream nominavit.*“ (Es gab jedoch Nichts, wofür er sich finanziell mehr ruinierte als für seine Bauprojekte. Er baute einen Palast, welches sich vom Palatin bis zum Esquilin erstreckte, diesen ersten Palast nannte er *domus transitoria*. Nachdem dieser Palast aber kurz nach der Fertigstellung niedergebrannt und anschließend wieder aufgebaut worden war, nannte er ihn *domus aurea*.)
- 10 Lib. *or.* 11.207 (Text siehe Mayer 2007, 42, Anm. 166 oder Fatouros/Krischer 1992, 42).
- 11 siehe Bardill 2004, 7.
- 12 Leppert 1974.
- 13 Suet. *Domit.* 21; Plin. *Paneg.* 82. Beide zu den Aufführungen im kleinen Theater für die Feier der *quinquatria Minervae*, vermutlich wurde das Theater auch für poetische und rhetorische Wettkämpfe genutzt.
- 14 Iuvenalis, 4.145; Tacitus, *Agr.* 54; Suet. *Dom.* 67.1.
- 15 Martial, 9.101, 11-12; siehe auch Martial, 9.64.1-4.
- 16 SHA *Hadr.* 26.5 „*Tiburtinam villam exaedificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lycium, Academicum, Prytanium, Canopum, Poecilen, Tempe vocaret, et, ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam inferos finxit.*“ Vor allem auf diese Aufzählung der Namen von Örtlichkeiten der Villa gehen auch die meisten modernen Namen der Gebäudeteile der Villa zurück.
- 17 Diese Mauer waren nach Wulf-Rheidt jedoch weniger als tatsächliche Verteidigungsanlagen geplant, als viel eher repräsentative, auf Fernwirkung bedachte Bestandteile der Anlagen (Wulf-Rheidt, 2007, 66).
- 18 In Felix Romuliana gibt es zwei Podiumstempel, denen jeweils ein Altar vorgelagert ist. Der Grab-Residenz-Komplex von Split besaß nur einen Tempel, diesem konnte bisher kein Altar zugeordnet werden. Durch den Fund eines Jupiter- und eines Herculeskopfes in der Nähe des größeren Tempels von Felix Romuliana

- ist es sinnvoll den Tempel den Schutzgottheiten der Tertrarchie zuzuschreiben. Der Tempel in Split wird ebenfalls generell als Jupitertempel gedeutet (Wulf-Rheidt 2007, 66-67).
- ¹⁹ Zu Felix Romuliana siehe Srejić/Lalović, 1989, 18-19; zu Diokletians Palast siehe McNally 1994, 108.
- ²⁰ Zu dem Diokletianspalast siehe McNally, 1994, 108; zu Felix Romuliana siehe Vasić 2007a, 46-48.
- ²¹ *Not.Dign.occ.* 11.48.
- ²² Marcellinus Comes, *Pat.lat.* 51.431.
- ²³ Prokop, *de aedificiis*, 4.4. Prokopius (um 550 n.Chr.) berichtet, dass Kaiser Iustinian (527-565) ein Kastell Romuliana erneuern ließ. Er erwähnt Romuliana nur nebenbei als eines der Kastelle im Distrikt der Stadt Aquae. (nach nach Srejić/Vasić 1994, 124 und Anm. 3).
- ²⁴ Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* 40.16), auch Pseudo-Aurelius Victor genannt (etwa 360 n.Chr.), bezeichnet Romuliana als den Ort der letzten Ruhestätte des Galerius: "*Ortus Dacia Ripensi ibique sepultus est; quem locum Romulianum ex vocabulo Romulae matris appellarat.*" (nach Srejić/Vasić, 1994, 124 und Anm. 2).
- ²⁵ Nielsen 1990, 3. So werden z.B. in zwei wichtigen Quellen des 4. Jh. n.Chr., der *Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIV* und der *Notitia Regionum*, elf *thermae* in Rom mit ihren Namen aufgezählt, die weiteren öffentlichen Bäder, *balneae*, jedoch nur in ihrer gesamten Anzahl angegeben. (nach Yegül, 1992, 43, Anm. 93).
- ²⁶ Vgl. Varro, *LL* 9.68 und 8.48 "*publicae balneae, contra quod privati dicant unum balneum*". Zu den Begriffen *balneum*, *balnea*, *balneae* siehe auch Nielsen 1990, 29, Anm. 31 sowie folgende Textstellen Varro, *LL* 9, 68-69; sowie c.f. *Gramm.Lat.* 1.99.3 (Charisius); *Gramm.Lat.* 7.108.7 (Caper), 5.126.23 (Pompeius) und besonders 5.572.16 (unbekannt). Siehe auch Nielsen, 1990, 3.
- ²⁷ Nielsen 1990, 3.
- ²⁸ *De Arch.* 5,10.
- ²⁹ Ep. 7.42. Er beschreibt nach Nielsen hier vermutlich öffentliche Bäder in Rom (Nielsen 1990, 37, Anm. 7). Siehe auch Seneca, letters (trans. R.M. Gummere), 86; Text bei Yegül 1992, 40.
- ³⁰ Mart. *Epig.* 7.42 oder auch Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.34.
- ³¹ Weitere wichtige Briefe stammen von Cicero und beschreiben am Rande seine Bäder, auch wenn er den Fokus auf den *palaestra*-Bereich zu legen scheint (*Att.* 13.29 und *Fam.* 14.20). Sie bilden eine wichtige Quelle für Villenbäder der späten Republik.
- ³² Plinius d. J. (2.17) *C. Plinius Gallo suo s.*
- ³³ (3.1) *C. Plinius Calvisio Rufo Suo s.*
- ³⁴ (5.6) *C. Plinius Domitio Apollinari suo s.*
- ³⁵ Siehe Nielsen 1990; Yegül, 1992, 2010;
- ³⁶ Siehe z.B.: De Haan 2010; Bouet 2003; García-Entero 2005.
- ³⁷ F. Bianchini, *Il Palazzo dei Cesari*, Verona 1728.
- ³⁸ Auch Coarelli (1975, 203), Moormann (1998) und Meyboom/Moormann (2013) nehmen an, es handele sich bei den Titusthermen um die ehemaligen Palastthermen der Domus Aurea.
- ³⁹ Nielsen 1990, 46-47.
- ⁴⁰ Champlin 1995, 342.
- ⁴¹ Moormann 1998, 2003, Meyboom/Moormann 2013.
- ⁴² Herrmann 1976.
- ⁴³ Die umfassenden bauhistorischen Maßnahmen brachten in ihrem Verlauf völlig neue Erkenntnisse zu diesem Teil des Palatins sowie zu den Kaiserpalästen auf dem Palatin insgesamt ans Licht (Hoffmann/Wulf 2004, 156 und 185, Anm. 1).
- ⁴⁴ Siehe z.B. Hoffmann/Wulf 2004; siehe hierzu auch Wulf 2002/2003.
- ⁴⁵ Siehe hierzu: Wulf-Rheidt 2012. Womöglich handelt es sich hierbei um dieselben Bäder, die Castagnoli (1964, 192) bereits vor mehr als 30 Jahren erwähnte. Er publizierte jedoch leider nie einen Plan der Bäder.
- ⁴⁶ u.a. Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 145-149, 177-199, 171-177; Verduchi 1975, 55-95; Franceschini 1991, Band 1-2, 175-184, 422-427, 548-553, 254-283, 244-253, 526-531, 185-198, 428-436.
- ⁴⁷ Chiappetta 2008.
- ⁴⁸ Zu den westlichen Bädern in Split: McNally 1994, 115-116; McNally et al. 1976, 22-24. Zu den östlichen Bädern in Split: McNally/Marasovic/ Marasovic/Wilkes 1972, 28-30; Mirnik 1989, 1-57. (Teil über die Funde aus dem Bad 19-20.); Marasović/Marasović, 1994, 89-106. Siehe zu Felix Romuliana bezüglich der Großen Bäder Von Bülow 2006, 3-7; Vasić 2007a, 43-44; siehe zu den sog. kleinen Bädern vermutlich Speiseräumen Vasić 2007a, 42.; Vasić 1993, 133; Čanak-Medić 1978, 228-229.
- ⁴⁹ Chiappetta 2008.
- ⁵⁰ Über Funde aus kaiserlichen Bädern, besonders Kleinfunde ist auf Grund der meist Jahrhunderte langen Ausgrabungsgeschichte meist nichts bekannt.
- ⁵¹ Suet. *Nero*, 31.2 und 27.2 (über die Themen der Domus Aurea bzw. die privaten Thermen Neros).
- ⁵² Siehe dazu C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Sämtliche erhaltenen Werke* in der Neubearbeitung von Franz Schön und Gerhard Waldherr, Essen 2004, 528, Anm. 110.
- ⁵³ Eine Zusammenstellung der Quellen findet sich bei Nielsen 1990, II, 2, C.3.
- ⁵⁴ "(Maxentius) *thermas in palatio fecit et circum in catecumbas*" siehe dazu Valentini/Zucchetti 1940, 280. Siehe auch zu antiken Quellen zum Palatin Lugli 1960, 124 und Anm. 444.
- ⁵⁵ SHA, *Sept. Sev.* 19.5. Hier werden als Septimius Severus wichtigste Bauwerke in Rom Septizonium und *thermae severianae* genannt, jedoch wird nicht erwähnt, ob sich diese auf dem Palatin befunden haben. Iacopi/Tomei (1988, 70) verorten diese Thermen in der Region I und verweisen dabei auf Valentini/Zucchetti 1940, 90, 208.
- ⁵⁶ Aelius Lampridius berichtete davon, dass Commodus 300 Konkubinen aus verschiedenen Ständen, Sklaven und Matronen besaß und weitere 300 Lustknaben, die er sich ebenfalls durch Zwang aus verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Schichten angeeignet hatte. Mit diesen zusammen feierte er seine Orgien bei Banketten oder im Bade (SHA. *Comm.* 4.4-5). Außerdem berichtet Lampridius noch, dass Commodus auch täglich sieben- oder achtmal badete und auch gerne im Bade speiste (SHA. *Comm.* 10.5).
- ⁵⁷ Wie Columella (1.6.19) es vorschlägt.
- ⁵⁸ Die Trennung von gesellschaftlichen Schichten durch verschiedene Bäder war wohl schon in der griechischen Antike bekannt (Xenophon *Constitutio Atheniensium* 2.10 und Polyb. 30.29.3-6). Auch aus der römischen Zeit gibt es zahlreiche Quellen, die von einer solchen Trennung sprechen, so z.B. Tert. *De Anim.* 150 (Bäder für die Armen); Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.92 (Bäderwechsel eines Mannes der zu Geld kam); Mart. *Epig.* 2.14.11-12. (Bäder der Plebs) Mart. *Epig.* 1,59 (über die Luxusbäder von Baiae für die Oberschicht). Zu Trennung nach Berufsgruppen siehe: Columella *Rust.* 1.6.20 (einen Bäder für Dienerschaft oder Amm. Marc. 26.6.14 (Soldatenbäder). Nielsen 1991, 146-147, Anm. 2 und 3
- ⁵⁹ *Anth. Gr.* 9.624 oder auch *CIL IX* 1136. Nielsen 1991, 146, Anm. 2.
- ⁶⁰ Siehe zur Domus Aurea v. a. Moormann 1998, 361.

- ⁶¹ Besonders schön ist dies im Falle der Villa Hadriana zu zeigen, daher werde ich folgenden immer wieder auf die Bäder dieser Villa näher eingehen.
- ⁶² Die Thermen der Domus Aurea bilden hier im Bezug auf ihre Größe einen Sonderfall, wie später genauer beleuchtet werden.
- ⁶³ Chiappetta 2008.
- ⁶⁴ Soweit im folgenden Text die Ausstattung der Baderäume nicht besprochen wird, kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass über die Ausstattung nichts Aussagekräftiges bekannt ist.
- ⁶⁵ Siehe u.a. Moormann 1998, 361; Yegül 1992, 141, Abb. 151 (Verbindung mit der Domus Aurea und den Thermen des Traian); Krencker 1929, 265, Abb. 395 (Genereller Plan in Verbindung mit der Domus Aurea und den Traiansthermen).
- ⁶⁶ Nielsen 1990, II, 2, C.3.
- ⁶⁷ Dazu und zu weiteren Gründen siehe: Moormann 1998, 358-359.
- ⁶⁸ Moormann 1998, 359; siehe auch Peters 1985, 112.
- ⁶⁹ Moormann 2003, 379.
- ⁷⁰ Moormann 1998, 361.
- ⁷¹ Meyboom/Moormann 2012, 141.
- ⁷² Moormann 2003, 376-377.
- ⁷³ Meyboom/Moormann 2013, 34.
- ⁷⁴ Suet. *Nero* 31.
- ⁷⁵ Nielsen 1990, II, 2, C.3. Es gibt einige Teile von Architekturdekoration, Altfunde von 1590 aus dem Bereich der Titusthermen, die genutzt wurden um die Kirche Il Gesù zu schmücken (Yegül 1992, 139, Anm. 36).
- ⁷⁶ Nielsen 1990, II, 4, C.12.
- ⁷⁷ Hoffmann/Ritter/Weferling/Wulf-Rheidt 2000, 456-457.
- ⁷⁸ Ilser, 1978, 14-16.
- ⁷⁹ Aus dem Bereich der Wand, die A2 von A3 trennt, aus proconesischem Marmor. Die länglichen Formen und die nachlässige Ausföhrung machen dieses Stück typisch für spätantike Architekturdekoration (Herrmann 1976, 419, Taf. 146).
- ⁸⁰ Aus den Substruktionen unter den beheizten Räumen, mindestens eines der Stücke aus lonesischem Marmor ist wiederverwendet, denn auf der oberen Fläche des Blockes befinden sich zerstörte Tierfiguren. Die einfache Ausarbeitung zusammen mit der strukturellen Differenzierung der Teile, die deutlich schwächer ist als bei früheren Stücken, datiert dieses Gesims in die Spätantike (Herrmann 1976, 420, Abb. 7, Taf. 147, 1).
- ⁸¹ *In situ*, sie flankieren eine Nische in der zentralen Exedra des *frigidarium*. Das Gebälk scheint ohne weitere Veränderungen von einem früheren Monument übernommen worden zu sein (siehe dazu Herrmann 1976, 421 und für eine Abbildung Herrmann 1976, 422, Abb. 8, Taf. 147,2).
- ⁸² Siehe Herrmann 1976, 411, 417. Abbildungen des 18. Jh. zeigen noch diesen alten Zustand (Iacopi/Tomei, 1988, 70, Abb. 3 und 1988, 76, Abb. 11).
- ⁸³ Große Teile der Ausstattung wurde in den Vatikan verbracht ohne zu dokumentieren, von wo sie stammen; vieles ging verloren (Iacopi/Tomei 1988, 70). Auch wurden viele Teile als Spolien in römischen Bauten verwendet, wie in der Kirche S. Maria in Trastevere.
- ⁸⁴ Es ist nur ein Bruchteil des Palastes recht unsystematisch ergraben und nur ein Teil eines Baderaumes, so wie ein schmaler Streifen von einem weiteren Badebereich. Siehe Duval/Popović 1977, Plan I (Überblicksplan) III (Steinplan der Reihe von Räumen mit *hypocaustum*); VI (Steinplan vom Raum mit Apsis).
- ⁸⁵ Jeremic 1993b, 101. Leider wurde das Mosaik mit geometrischen Mustern im Bereich des einzelnen Raumes bei den Grabungen zerstört, bevor es fotografiert oder gezeichnet werden konnte (Duval/Popovic 1977, 76-77).
- ⁸⁶ Siehe u.a. Popović 2007, 22-24, Abb. 5 und 6 und Jeremic 1993a, 90-93, Abb. 27.
- ⁸⁷ Siehe Jeremic 1993c, 104-105, Abb. 35.
- ⁸⁸ Siehe dazu Parović-Pesikan 1973, 1-31.
- ⁸⁹ Berechnet anhand der Abbildung bei Jeremic 1993c, 105, Abb. 35a.
- ⁹⁰ Siehe Yegül 1992, 141, Abb. 151 (Verbindung mit der Domus Aurea und den Traiansthermen); Krencker, 1929, 265, Abb. 395 (Genereller Plan in Verbindung mit der Domus Aurea und den Traiansthermen).
- ⁹¹ Siehe Wulf/Riedel 2006, 228, Abb. 5 (Phasenplan des Palatins: flavisch-severisch-maxentianisch).
- ⁹² Siehe dazu Popović 2007, 22-23, Abb. 5 und 6 und Popović/Ochsenschlager 1976, 157, Abb. 1 (Ausgrabungsplan: Cirkus, Bad, Palast, *horreum*).
- ⁹³ Siehe Jeremic 1993b, 104-105, Abb. 35 und 35a (Phasenplan), Parovic-Pesikan 1966, 42, Abb. 28 (Rekonstruktion) und Parovic-Pesikan 1966, 32, Abb. 2 (Grabungsplan).
- ⁹⁴ Nielsen 1990, II, 9, C.56.
- ⁹⁵ Salza-Prina-Ricotti 2001, 145-147.
- ⁹⁶ Franceschini 1991, 426.
- ⁹⁷ Büste einer jungen Frau mit der Frisur von Livia Plautilla, der Ehefrau Caracallas (siehe Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 148).
- ⁹⁸ Kniende Venus (Venus im Bade) gefunden auf dem Gebiet der Thermen, befindet sich heute im Museo Nazionale delle Terme (siehe Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 148; Franceschini 1991, 422), Nr. 108597. Bei den Grabungen Paribenis 1920-1922 gefunden (bei Raeder 1983, I 55, Seite 72).
- ⁹⁹ Bei den Grabungen von Marefoschi, durchgeführt von Jesuiten um 1740 auf dem Gebiet der Thermen, gefunden. Sie befindet sich heute im Museo Pio Clementino in den Vatikanischen Museen (siehe Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 148, leider ohne Bild; siehe auch Penna 1831, IV, CVIII, Taf. CVIII).
- ¹⁰⁰ Befindet sich im Museo Nazionale Romano in Rom Nr. 108601, bei den Grabungen Paribenis in den Jahren 1920-1922 gefunden (bei Raeder 1983, I 59, Seite 75; Franceschini 1991, 424).
- ¹⁰¹ In Rom im Museo Nazionale Romano Nr. 108602. Bei den Grabungen Paribenis gefunden (siehe Franceschini 1991, 424; bei Raeder 1983, I 60, Seite 76).
- ¹⁰² Im Magazin der Villa Hadriana, bei den Grabungen Paribenis ans Licht gekommen (bei Raeder 1983, I 107, Seite 98; Franceschini 1991, 424).
- ¹⁰³ Franceschini 1991, 425-426.
- ¹⁰⁴ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 148.
- ¹⁰⁵ Chiappetta, 2008, 28-29, 33-67.
- ¹⁰⁶ Siehe dazu Verduchi 1975, 55-95.
- ¹⁰⁷ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 186-192, siehe auch siehe Salza Prina Ricotti, 189, Abb. 62 und 63.
- ¹⁰⁸ Chiappetta 2008, 35-50 und 54, sowie zum Überblick die Pläne auf den Seiten 28-29 und 46-47.
- ¹⁰⁹ Chiappetta 2008, 36.
- ¹¹⁰ Siehe z.B. Chiappetta 2008, 36; Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 130.
- ¹¹¹ Vermutlich ein wegen eines Materialfehlers verworfenes Stück des Konsolengesimses der äußeren Exedra-Säulenreihe (Taf. 44, 4). Anhand dieses Blockes kann der Arbeitsvorgang beim Herstellen gut nachvollzogen werden: Zunächst wird das Profil grob abgearbeitet, wobei ein schmaler Streifen, wohl mit Hilfe einer exakten Schablone, bereits voll geglättet wird, um den end-

- gültigen Profilaufbau zu zeigen. In gewissen Abständen wurden diese Streifen angelegt, damit die dazwischenliegenden Bereiche ohne weiteres profiliert und geglättet werden konnten. Die Konsolen sind bereits angegeben aber noch nicht bearbeitet (Ueblacker, 1985, 33).
- ¹¹² Ueblacker 1985, 17-20.
- ¹¹³ Ueblacker 1985, 17-20.
- ¹¹⁴ Ueblacker 1985, 17-20.
- ¹¹⁵ Salza Prina Ricotti 1991, Taf. 1.
- ¹¹⁶ Ueblacker 1985, 17-20.
- ¹¹⁷ Franceschini 1991, 192, genauso bei Ueblacker 1985, 17-18.
- ¹¹⁸ Sogar eigene Latrinen in Raum 17 mit individuellem Sitz gehörten zu der Anlage (Chiappetta 2008, 28-29, und 35-50).
- ¹¹⁹ Auf der Faltafel I in Paris 2000 ist zu erkennen, dass die Bäder im Wohnbereich etwa dieselbe Größe hatten, wie der erhaltene Bereich der Baderäume am *nymphaeum* (Die erhaltenen Baderäume am *nymphaeum* messen etwa 59,03 m² (berechnet anhand des Planes bei Ricci, 1986, 609, Abb. 331).
- ¹²⁰ Siehe Paris 2000, Taf. II, B 21-24.
- ¹²¹ Siehe SHA *Comm.* 4.4-5 und 10.5.
- ¹²² Neyses 1987, 24.
- ¹²³ Neyses 1987, 25.
- ¹²⁴ Der Apsidensaal (Länge 10,74 m und Breite 9,53 m an der südlichen Wand; 9,62 m an der nördlichen Seite, ohne Apsis) befindet sich in der Nord-Süd-Achse des Bauwerkes und ist mit 142 m² der größte Raum der *villa*. Die Lage und Größe machen diesen Saal zum Hauptraum der *villa*. Die Mauern dieses Raumes sind mit 1,05 m die stärksten in der *villa* verwendeten. Die Stärke der Mauer kann als Hinweis auf eine beträchtliche Höhe dieses Raumes gewertet werden. So wird er womöglich sogar die Eckkrisaliten überragt haben (Neyses 1987, 13).
- ¹²⁵ Eine große Halle mit Audienzfunktion war unerlässlich für die Repräsentation der kaiserlichen Macht und durfte im 3. Jh. n. Chr. in keinem kaiserlichen Sitz fehlen (Pisani Sartorio 1980, 89).
- ¹²⁶ Siehe Plan bei Neyses 1987, 16, Abb. 5.
- ¹²⁷ Neyses 1987, 24.
- ¹²⁸ Nielsen 1990, II, 4, C.12.
- ¹²⁹ Hoffmann/Wulf 2004, 162.
- ¹³⁰ Ziegelstempel: CIL XV 1569a und 1649 b-c (Nielsen, 1990, II, 4, C.12). Zur Datierung der Stempel siehe Herrmann 1976, 418-423.
- ¹³¹ Hoffmann/Wulf 2004 163, Abb. 225.
- ¹³² Hoffmann et al. 2000, 457.
- ¹³³ Wulf/Riedel 2006, 225.
- ¹³⁴ Wulf/Riedel 2006, 228, Abb. 5, severische Phase.
- ¹³⁵ Wulf 2002a, 131-133.
- ¹³⁶ Nielsen 1990, II, 4, C.12.
- ¹³⁷ Herrmann 1976, 406, Abb. 1 vgl. mit der neueren Bauaufnahme bei Wulf/Hoffmann 2006, 163, Abb. 225.
- ¹³⁸ Herrmann 1976, 410. Die Existenz eines beheizten Beckens ist für ein *frigidarium* ungewöhnlich. Zieht man allerdings Plinius den Jüngeren (5.6, *Domitio Apollinari suo s.*) zu Rate, der von zwei kalten Becken spricht, die verschiedene Temperaturen hatten, das eine innerhalb des *frigidarium*, das andere im Außenbereich, letzteres wärmer da es von der Sonne erwärmt wurde, ist es nicht auszuschließen, dass es auch beheizte Becken in *frigidaria* gab. Herrmann nimmt daher an, dass, da ein äußeres Becken in diesem Fall nicht möglich war, auf ein beheiztes Becken im Innenbereich zurückgegriffen wurde (Herrmann 1976, 410).
- ¹³⁹ Herrmann 1976, 410. Auch Nielsen (1990, II, 90, Abb. 60) hält es für möglich, dass sich die *apodyteria* in diesem Bereich befanden.
- ¹⁴⁰ Herrmann 1976, 414. Siehe auch Nielsen 1990, II, 90, Abb. 60.
- ¹⁴¹ Herrmann 1976, Taf. 142.
- ¹⁴² Herrmann 1976, 410-412.
- ¹⁴³ Nielsen 1990, II, 90, Abb. 60.
- ¹⁴⁴ Beschreibung der Baureste nach Herrmann 1976, 413-414. Weiteres zu den Raumfunktionen bei Herrmann 1976, der diese Thermen anhand des Modells der Heliocaminus-Thermen rekonstruierte.
- ¹⁴⁵ Herrmann 1976, 415.
- ¹⁴⁶ Herrmann (1976, 415) nimmt an, die beiden südwestlichen Räume könnten *caldaria* beherbergt haben, während Nielsen (1990, II, 90, Abb. 60) den runden und den hufeisenförmigen Raum als *solaria* versteht.
- ¹⁴⁷ Von Caretoni als *castellum aquae* bezeichnet (G. Caretoni, *ArchCl* 24, 1972, 101).
- ¹⁴⁸ Herrmann, 1976, 416 (*forica* genannt), siehe auch Nielsen, 1990, II, 90, Abb. 60.
- ¹⁴⁹ Herrmann, 1976, 417.
- ¹⁵⁰ Siehe u.a. Hoffmann/Wulf 2004, 170, Abb. 235.
- ¹⁵¹ Hoffmann et al. 2000, 456-457.
- ¹⁵² Ilser, 1978, 14-16.
- ¹⁵³ Siehe Wulf/Riedel 2006, 228, Abb. 5.
- ¹⁵⁴ Wulf/Riedel 2006, 228, Abb. 5.
- ¹⁵⁵ Nielsen 1990, II, 90, Abb. 60.
- ¹⁵⁶ Es stammt aus dem Bereich der Wand die A2 von A3 trennt (siehe Abb. 1 bei Herrmann 1976, 406) und wurde aus proconesischem Marmor hergestellt. Die länglichen Formen und die nachlässige Ausführung machen dieses Stück typisch für spätantike Architekturdekoration (Herrmann 1976, 419, Taf. 146).
- ¹⁵⁷ Aus den Substruktionen unter den beheizten Räumen. Mindestens eines der Stücke aus lonesischem Marmor ist wiederverwendet, denn auf der oberen Fläche des Blockes befinden sich zerstörte Tierfiguren. Die einfache Ausarbeitung zusammen mit der strukturellen Differenzierung der Teile, die deutlich schwächer ist als bei früheren Stücken, datiert dieses Gesims in die Spätantike. (Herrmann 1976, 420, Abb. 7, Taf. 147, 1).
- ¹⁵⁸ *In situ*, sie flankieren eine Nische in der zentralen Exedra des *frigidarium*. Das Gebälk scheint ohne weitere Veränderungen von einem früheren Monument übernommen worden zu sein (siehe dazu Herrmann 1976, 421, 422, Abb. 8, Taf. 147, 2).
- ¹⁵⁹ Siehe Herrmann 1976, 411, 417. Abbildungen des 18. Jh. zeigen noch diesen alten Zustand (Iacopi/Tomei, 1988, 70, Abb. 3; 76, Abb. 11).
- ¹⁶⁰ Große Teile der Ausstattung wurden in den Vatikan verbracht ohne zu dokumentieren, von wo sie stammen. Auch wurden viele Teile als Spolien in römischen Bauten verwendet, wie in der Kirche S. Maria in Trastevere (Iacopi/Tomei 1988, 70).
- ¹⁶¹ Herrmann 1976, 414.
- ¹⁶² Chiappetta 2008, 35-50 und 54, sowie zum Überblick die Pläne auf den Seiten 28-29 und 46-47.
- ¹⁶³ Siehe Ausstattung; siehe insbesondere zu den berühmten Böden: Guidobaldi 1994, Abb. 89-99, Taf. LX, 91; LXII, 90; LXX, 97 und LXXII, 93.
- ¹⁶⁴ Wie es z.B. bei den großen Badesälen der Villa der Quintilier der Fall ist (siehe Schädler 1998, 94, Kat. N. 33, 100, Kat. N. 48, Taf. X, 100-101, Kat. N. 49, Taf. XI, 101, Kat. N. 50, Taf. XII.2, 111, Kat. N. 92, Taf. XV.3).
- ¹⁶⁵ Wie bei den Heliocaminusthermen der Villa Hadriana, in denen u.a. ein Marc Aurel Portrait gefunden wurde (siehe Salza-Prina-Ricotti 2001, 148, leider ohne Bild; siehe auch A. Penna, *Viaggio pittorico nella Villa Adriana*,

- Roma 1831, IV, CVIII, Taf. CVIII) oder bei dem Badegebäude von Felix Romuliana, in dem sich ein Kaiserportrait aus Porphyrt fand (siehe Von Bülow, 2006, 5-6, 7, Abb. 10 oder Vasić 2007a, 45, Abb. 12 (farbig). s. Anm. 194.
- ¹⁶⁶ Ohne *palaestra*.
- ¹⁶⁷ Berechnet nach dem Plan bei Heijmans 1990, 148, Abb. 3.
- ¹⁶⁸ Heijmans 1999, 147-150, Abb. 2 und 3; siehe auch Heijmans, 1998, 209-231.
- ¹⁶⁹ Heijmans 1999, 142-148, Abb. 1-3 (Pläne der Lage der Baderäume in Arles).
- ¹⁷⁰ Aus der östlichen Rotunde des *frigidarium* (Grenier 1960, 260).
- ¹⁷¹ Nielsen 1990, 6, C.32.
- ¹⁷² Jacopi 1936, 41.
- ¹⁷³ Jacopi 1936, 42. Zu den parietalen Wandverzierungen siehe besonders Di Renzo 2004.
- ¹⁷⁴ Ohne *palaestra* aber nur ca. 1550 m² siehe dazu Nielsen, 1990, 9, C.55.
- ¹⁷⁵ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177; siehe auch Raeder 1983, 279.
- ¹⁷⁶ siehe Ausstattung; siehe insbesondere zu den berühmten Böden: Guidobaldi 1994, Abb. 89-99, Taf. LX, 91; LXII, 90; LXX, 97 und LXXII, 93.
- ¹⁷⁷ Im Magazin der Villa Hadriana. Von ihm ist bekannt, dass er aus den Kleinen Thermen stammt, aber nicht, wann er gefunden wurde (Aurigemma 1961, 86 und Abb. 63).
- ¹⁷⁸ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 175.
- ¹⁷⁹ Berechnet anhand Abbildung 30 bei Quilici 1977.
- ¹⁸⁰ Spera/Mineo 2004, 146, Abb. 142.
- ¹⁸¹ Schädler 1998, 94, Kat. N. 33.
- ¹⁸² Schädler 1998, 100, Kat. N. 48, Taf. X.
- ¹⁸³ Schädler 1998, 101, Kat. N. 50, Taf. XII.2.
- ¹⁸⁴ Schädler 1998, 100-101, Kat. N. 49, Taf. XI.
- ¹⁸⁵ Schädler 1998, 111, Kat. N. 92, Taf. XV.3.
- ¹⁸⁶ Pettinau 2000, 77-79 und Abb. 90 auf Seite 76.
- ¹⁸⁷ Bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts waren alle Baderäume an Wänden und Böden komplett mit Inkrustationen versehen, auch alle Becken waren mit Marmor ausgekleidet (Frontoni/Galli 2000, 45).
- ¹⁸⁸ Berechnet nach dem Plan bei McNally/Marasović/Marasović 1976, 55, Abb. 24.
- ¹⁸⁹ Mirnik, 1989, 23-24, McNally 1994, 116.
- ¹⁹⁰ Smith 1979, 144.
- ¹⁹¹ McNally 1994, 116, siehe dazu Smith, 1979, 139-149 und Mirnik, 1989, 1-57.
- ¹⁹² Allerdings kann auch die Lage der östlichen Bäder auf ähnliche Weise beschrieben werden (siehe Plan bei McNally et al. 1972, Zeichnung 14).
- ¹⁹³ Berechnet nach der Abbildung bei Wulf-Rheidt 2007, 64, Abb. 5.
- ¹⁹⁴ Auf dem Gebiet der Thermen 1993 gefunden - siehe v. Bülow, 2006, 5-6, 7, Abb. 10 oder Vasić 2007a, 45, Abb. 12 (farbig). Der Kopf war vermutlich Teil einer Figurengruppe. Hierauf weist vor allem die Hand hinter dem Kopf des Galerius hin, welche die Enden der Krone oder des Kranzes hält. Vermutlich handelte es sich um eine Gruppe, die Galerius im Triumph darstellte, während jemand, vermutlich Fortuna, ihn krönt. Das Portrait ist stark vereinfacht, das Haar ist kappenhaft, die Konturen stilisiert, alle Oberflächen glatt und leer. Es sind nur Stirn- und Nasolabialfalten angegeben. Der Kopf ist an der Nase, den abstehenden Ohren und an der Krone beschädigt. Zudem weist der Hals einen unregelmäßigen Bruch auf. Die Gesichtsmerkmale, wie die kurze und gerade Nase sowie die ausgeprägten Augenbrauen und das fleischige Doppelkinn, identifizieren den Kopf als Portrait des Galerius. Die sorgfältig gearbeitete Krone, stellt zahlreiche Details dar, es sind drei Medaillons und vier kleine Büsten, die sich abwechseln, dargestellt. Da die Büsten alle an den Köpfen beschädigt sind, kann keine Aussage darüber getroffen werden, wen sie darstellen sollten (siehe dazu Vasić 2007, 44).
- ¹⁹⁵ Vasić 2007a, 44.
- ¹⁹⁶ Nach Vasić 2007a, 36, Abb. 3 und 37, Abb. 5.
- ¹⁹⁷ Siehe z.B. Vasić 2007a, 52.
- ¹⁹⁸ Nielsen 1990, 9, C.55.
- ¹⁹⁹ Vermutlich beruht diese These darauf, dass Hadrian die Geschlechtertrennung in Bädern besonders wichtig gewesen sein soll (Cass Dio. 69.8.2; SHA *Hadrian*. 18.10). Die These der Geschlechtertrennung in den zwei Thermen, tauchte erstmals bei Lanciani (Villa Adriana, 1906, 72) auf, sie findet sich auch bei Aurigemma (1961, 23).
- ²⁰⁰ Ohne *palaestra* aber nur ca. 1550 m² siehe dazu Nielsen 1990, 9, C.55.
- ²⁰¹ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 192, 189, Abb. 62-63 (Lage der Baustellen für die beiden Thermen). Drei Ziegelstempel stammen aus dem Jahre 122 n.Chr., alle anderen, die im zuerst erbauten Teil der Thermen gefunden wurden, stammen aus dem Jahre 121 n.Chr. (Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 176).
- ²⁰² Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 171. Siehe besonders die Abb. 67 bei Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 197 hier sind die gefundenen Ziegel mit Stempeln und deren Position eingezeichnet.
- ²⁰³ Räume t1-t6 auf dem Plan von Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 172, Abb. 55.
- ²⁰⁴ Raum s auf dem Plan von Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 172, Abb. 55.
- ²⁰⁵ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 175.
- ²⁰⁶ Franceschini 1991, 244-253, Abb. 27; insbesondere die Räume 28-32 sind kaum noch erhalten.
- ²⁰⁷ In den Wänden des Korridors befanden sich noch Hinweise auf Wasserleitungen (Franceschini, 1991, 244).
- ²⁰⁸ Franceschini 1991, 244.
- ²⁰⁹ Franceschini 1991, 244.
- ²¹⁰ Franceschini 1991, 246.
- ²¹¹ Franceschini 1991, 244.
- ²¹² Franceschini 1991, 250.
- ²¹³ Für diesen Boden wurden verwendet *giallo antico*, *rosso antico*, *porfido* und *serpentino*. Auch konnten noch Fragmente der Wanddekoration festgestellt werden: offenbar war die Sockelzone der Wände einst mit *giallo antico* verkleidet. Die Gewölbe hingegen waren vermutlich mit Malereien geschmückt (Franceschini, 1991, 247). Siehe auch Guidobaldi 1994.
- ²¹⁴ Franceschini 1991, 247-248.
- ²¹⁵ Franceschini 1991, 248.
- ²¹⁶ Der *opus sectile*-Boden des Korridors ist nur noch anhand der Plattenabdrücke zu rekonstruieren. Die Decke des Korridors war mit Malereien versehen, die ein recht einfaches Muster aus roten Binden auf weißem Hintergrund sowie kleine schwarze Blumen aufwies. Die Wände des Korridors waren wohl mit Inkrustationen versehen, von diesen ist noch der Sockel in weißem Marmor z. T. erhalten sowie die Reste von Klammern (Franceschini 1991, 249). Zudem auch Guidobaldi 1994.
- ²¹⁷ Dieser Raum war vermutlich ebenfalls mit Marmorinkrustationen versehen und mit einem *opus sectile* Boden ausgestattet (Franceschini 1991, 250). Siehe ebenfalls Guidobaldi 1994.
- ²¹⁸ Nielsen 1990, 103, Abb. 84.
- ²¹⁹ Franceschini 1991, 250.
- ²²⁰ Franceschini 1991, 250.

- 221 Franceschini 1991, 250-251.
 222 Franceschini 1991, 250-251.
 223 Nielsen 1990, 103, Abb. 84.
 224 Franceschini 1991, 251.
 225 Chiappetta 2008, 270.
 226 Franceschini 1991, 252. Franceschini hält es jedoch auch für möglich, dass es sich bei diesem Raum um ein *sudatorium* handelte.
 227 Einige der Platten befinden sich heute noch *in situ*.
 228 Franceschini 1991, 252.
 229 Leider ist dieser Raum heute fast komplett zerstört (Franceschini 1991, 252).
 230 Siehe z.B. Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 172, Abb. 55, t1-t4.
 231 Franceschini 1991, 252.
 232 Franceschini 1991, 252-253.
 233 Sowohl bei Nielsen (1990, 103, Abb. 84) als auch bei Chiappetta (2008, 109) befindet sich in diesem Bereich eine *latrina* mit vermutlich drei Sitzen.
 234 Die Räume 28-33 müssten dringend restauriert werden, um ihre Bedeutung für die Thermen untersuchen zu können und sie der Nachwelt zu erhalten (Franceschini 1991, 253).
 235 Im Magazin der Villa Hadriana. Von ihm ist bekannt, dass er aus den Kleinen Thermen stammt, aber nicht, wann er gefunden wurde (Aurigemma 1961, 86 und Abb. 63).
 236 Guidobaldi 1994, 157-165.
 237 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 175.
 238 Siehe zu den Böden den Katalog von Guidobaldi 1994, Abb. 89-99, Taf. LX, 91; LXII, 90; LXX, 97 und LXXII, 93.
 239 Franceschini 1991, 246, 252.
 240 Auf die ich später näher eingehen werde.
 241 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177.
 242 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177.
 243 Chiappetta 2008, 92-141, insbesondere Abb. 14, Seite 109 und Abb. 2c, Seite 140.
 244 Chiappetta 2008, 88.
 245 *Nat. Hist.* 37.55, wie auch bereits von Martial (*Epig.* 6.42) und Petronius (*Sat.* 28) beschrieben.
 246 Galen, *Meth. Med.*, 11.10.
 247 Chiappetta 2008, 88.
 248 Cassius Dio, 76.17.2-3.
 249 Zu weiterem siehe Chiappetta 2008, 88.
 250 Siehe Ausstattung; siehe insbesondere zu den berühmten Böden: Guidobaldi 1994, Abb. 89-99, Taf. LX, 91; LXII, 90; LXX, 97 und LXXII, 93.
 251 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 175.
 252 Siehe Chiappetta 2008, 270.
 253 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 176 und Anm. 368.
 254 Jansen 2007, 165.
 255 Fast alle Wände waren mit Marmor verkleidet, die Böden mit wertvollem und feinem *opus sectile* ausgelegt (siehe Franceschini 1991, 529).
 256 Siehe Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 119, Abb. 38.
 257 Siehe Ausstattung; siehe insbesondere zu den berühmten Böden: Guidobaldi 1994, Abb. 89-99, Taf. LX, 91; LXII, 90; LXX, 97 und LXXII, 93.
 258 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 175.
 259 Dieses wird jedoch von verschiedenen Forschern unterschiedlich verortet. Siehe dazu u.a. Nielsen, 1991, II, 103, Abb. 84; Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 172, Abb. 55 oder Chiappetta, 2008, 270.
 260 Brödner 2011, 115.
 261 Columella, I.6.19.
 262 Wie es bei den Grandi Terme der Villa Hadriana der Fall ist (siehe Salza Prina Ricotti, 2001, 177; siehe dazu auch den Plan bei Chiappetta 2008, 158-159).
 263 Wie es bei dem schmalen Streifen von Baderäumen beim Palast von Sirmium angenommen werden kann Popović, 1971b, 125.
 264 Columella, I.6.19.
 265 Ilser 1978, 16.
 266 Berechnet anhand des Planes bei Krause, 1986, 457, Abb. 155.
 267 Duval/Popović 1977, Plan I (Überblicksplan) III (Steinplan Reihe von Räumen mit Hypokaustum).
 268 Siehe Krause 1986, 452-459.
 269 Die 191 n.Chr. einem Brand zum Opfer fielen (Ilser 1978, 16).
 270 Columella I.6.19.
 271 Popović/Ochsenschlager 1971, 125.
 272 Jeremic 1993b, 100-103.
 273 Siehe u.a. Popović 2007a, 22-24, Abb. 5 und 6 und Jeremic 1993a, 90-93, Abb. 27.
 274 Siehe Grandi Terme.
 275 Siehe dazu Krause 2005, 151; Maiuri (1955, 40-41) gibt an, alle Dekorationsgegenstände seien gestohlen worden, alle Mosaikböden, die Auskleidungen der Wannen aus Marmor, die Wandverkleidungen aus Marmor und sogar die Hypokaustempfeiler. Trotzdem sei noch erkennbar, mit welcher Sorgfalt die Thermen einst ausgestattet waren.
 276 Plinius d. J. (2.17) lobt in einem Brief an Gallus explizit die schöne Aussicht auf das Meer von seinen Bädern aus.
 277 Krause 2003 177-180.
 278 Vgl. die Lage der sog. Thermen des Maxentius auf dem Palatin.
 279 Siehe z.B. den Plan bei Krause 2003, 92, Abb. 140.
 280 Die Baderäume könnten sich wie Plinius d. J. (5.6) *C. Plinius Domitio Apollinari suo s.* es für eine seiner *villae* beschreibt direkt unter diesem Bereich befunden haben.
 281 Columella, I.6.19.
 282 Hadrian soll Geschlechtertrennung besonders wichtig gewesen sein (Cass Dio. 69.8.2; SHA *Hadr.* 18.10). Die These der Geschlechtertrennung in den zwei Thermen, wobei die Großen Thermen als Männerthermen und die Kleinen Thermen als Frauenthermen verstanden werden, tauchte erstmals bei Lanciani (1906, 72) auf, sie findet sich auch bei Aurigemma (1961, 23).
 283 Einen weiteren Hinweis darauf, dass die Großen Thermen nicht die Männerthermen gewesen sein können, bietet auch die unterschiedliche Ausstattung der beiden Thermen. Während die Kleinen Thermen luxuriös mit Marmor verziert sind, wurden die Großen Thermen nur sehr einfach mit weißen Mosaiken ausgestattet (Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 180).
 284 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 119, Abb. 38.
 285 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177.
 286 Franceschini 1991, 550-551.
 287 Frontoni 2000, 41.
 288 Siehe Spera/Mineo 1986, 609, Abb. 331 (Bereich 4 und 5).
 289 Siehe Piccole Terme.
 290 Die Ziegelstempel aus den Thermen datieren alle auf die Jahre 123, 126 und 135 n.Chr. Siehe zu den Ziegelstempeln Abb. 67 bei Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 197 und 186-192 über die Probleme mit den Stempeln.
 291 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 192, 189, Abb. 62-63. Drei Ziegelstempel stammen aus dem Jahre 122 n.Chr. Alle anderen, die im zuerst erbauten Teil der Thermen gefunden wurden, stammen aus dem Jahre 121 n.Chr. (siehe auch Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 176).
 292 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 176.
 293 Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 171. Siehe besonders die Abb. 67 bei Salza Prina Ricotti, 2001, 197, Abb. 67, hier sind die

- gefundenen Ziegel mit Stempeln und deren Position eingezeichnet.
- ²⁹⁴ Siehe Franceschini 1991, 254.283.
- ²⁹⁵ Nach Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 185. Siehe auch Salza Prina Ricotti, 2001, 182, Abb. 59, Bereiche a, e, f, t1 und t2 und c; sowie auf 183, Abb. 60, Bereiche A, V und V1, *frigidario maschile*, T1, T2 und T3 sowie C.
- ²⁹⁶ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 182, Abb. 59, Bereiche a, e, f, t1 und t2 und c.
- ²⁹⁷ Salza Prina Ricotti (2001, 177-184) nimmt an, der Bereich der *palaestra* gehöre nur zu dem größeren Thermenbereich.
- ²⁹⁸ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 182, Abb. 59, genauso bei Chiappetta, 2008, 229.
- ³⁹⁹ In der Apsis konnte Franceschini (1991, 277-278) noch *tubuli* in den Wänden und einen schwebenden Boden feststellen. In dem Raumbereich befanden sich ebenfalls *suspensurae*.
- ³⁰⁰ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 182, Abb. 59, genauso bei Chiappetta, 2008, 229.
- ³⁰¹ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 182, Abb. 59, genauso bei Chiappetta, 2008, 229 und Franceschini, 1991, 278. Nach Franceschini sind die *suspensurae* nicht mehr erhalten.
- ³⁰² Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 184-185.
- ³⁰³ Salza Prina Ricotti (2001, 185) geht davon aus, dass die latrina nur zu dem größeren Thermenbereich gehörte.
- ³⁰⁴ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 185.
- ³⁰⁵ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 183, Abb. 60, Bereiche A, V und V1, *frigidario maschile*, T1, T2 und T3 sowie C.
- ³⁰⁶ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 184.
- ³⁰⁷ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 183, Abb. 60; sowie auch bei Chiappetta, 2008, 229.
- ³⁰⁸ Franceschini 1991, 273-274 (siehe Franceschini, 1991, 540, Abb. 83: Raum 17 - 3 m x 3,8 m und Raum 19 - 5,9 m x 4,2 m).
- ³⁰⁹ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 183, Abb. 60; sowie auch bei Chiappetta, 2008, 229.
- ³¹⁰ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 183, Abb. 60; sowie auch bei Chiappetta, 2008, 229.
- ³¹¹ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 182, Abb. 59, genauso bei Chiappetta, 2008, 229.
- ³¹² Nielsen, 1990, II, 102, Abb. 83.
- ³¹³ Nach Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 185; McDonald/Pinto 1995, 74, Abb. 81; Franceschini 1991, 549, Abb. 83; Chiappetta, 2008, 173.
- ³¹⁴ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 179, Abb. 57.
- ³¹⁵ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 184-185.
- ³¹⁶ Überliefert ist Hadrians Dekret dazu bei Aelius Spartianus, SHA. 18.10: "*lavacra pro sexibus seperavit*"; siehe auch Cass. Dio 69.8.2; SHA *Hadr.* 18.10. Geschlechtertrennung ist bereits aus den griechischen Bäder bekannt und auch kann besonders häufig in den griechisch geprägten Regionen wie Magna Graecia, Sicilia oder Campania angetroffen werden (Nielsen 1991, 147). Es ist daher anzunehmen, die getrennten Badezyklen in den Grandi Terme seien ein weiteres griechischen Element in der Residenz des für seine Liebe der griechischen Kultur bekannten Kaisers.
- ³¹⁷ Raeder, 1983, 279 und vor allem aber Salza-Prina-Ricotti 2001, 182-183, Abb. 59-60 und Chiappetta 2008, 151-152 und 173.
- ³¹⁸ Raeder 1983, 279 und vor allem Salza-Prina-Ricotti 2001, 182-183, Abb. 59-60.
- ³¹⁹ Zu dem Zeitpunkt, als Hadrian 125 n.Chr. von seiner ersten Reise zurückkehrte, konnte wohl nur der kleinere Teil der Thermen vermutlich zusammen mit dem großen *frigidarium* und dem *apodyterium* im größeren Bereich genutzt werden (Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 186-192).
- ³²⁰ Salza Prina Ricotti merkt hierzu an, dass diese kleineren Badebereiche für die weiblichen Besucher während der Zeit der Republik vorhanden waren, aber in der Kaiserzeit aufgegeben wurden, wie z.B. bei den Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji im 2. Jh. v.Chr. oder den Forumsthermen vor der römischen Eroberung. In den Zentralthermen, die erst in der Kaiserzeit öffneten, gab es keinen kleineren weiblichen Badebereich mehr (Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 184, Anm. 381).
- ³²¹ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177-184.
- ³²² Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 184.
- ³²³ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 184-185.
- ³²⁴ Der Besucher gelangte über zwei Eingänge zu beiden Schmalseiten der *palaestra* in den Bereich der Baderäume. Dieser Bereich der Bäder konnte vom *apodyterium* her begonnen und über die *tepidaria* zum *caldarium* hin benutzt werden. Zum Abschluss konnte sich der Badegast wieder, je nach Belieben, durch zwei oder drei der *tepidaria* zurück durch das *frigidarium* zum *apodyterium* begeben (Salza Prina Ricotti, 2001, 185). Natürlich könnten die Räume auch in einer anderen Reihenfolge benutzt worden sein. So bietet es sich auch an den Badezyklus mit einem Besuch im *frigidarium* zu starten und von dort aus die *tepidaria* zu betreten um ins *caldarium* zu gelangen.
- ³²⁵ Brödner 2011, 115.
- ³²⁶ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, Taf. 1.
- ³²⁷ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, Taf. 1.
- ³²⁸ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177, siehe auch Chiappetta 2008, 92-141 und die Pläne auf 109 (Kleine Thermen) und 173 (Große Thermen).
- ³²⁹ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 119, Abb. 38.
- ³³⁰ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177; siehe dazu auch den Plan bei Chiappetta 2008, 158-159.
- ³³¹ McDonald/Pinto 1995, 71 und 156, Abb. 188-189; siehe auch Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 420.
- ³³² Franceschini 1991, 550.
- ³³³ Franceschini 1991, 550.
- ³³⁴ Franceschini 1991, 550-551.
- ³³⁵ McDonald/Pinto 1995, 71.
- ³³⁶ Raeder 1983, 279.
- ³³⁷ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 177.
- ³³⁸ Chiappetta 2008, 147.
- ³³⁹ Chiappetta (2008, 145-147) führt einige Funktionen auf, die von Freigelassenen und Sklaven in der Villa übernommen wurden. Siehe auch Seneca, *Epist.*, 2.37; hier erklärt Seneca, welche Funktionen Sklaven während eines Bankettes übernahmen.
- ³⁴⁰ Chiappetta 2008, 147.
- ³⁴¹ Horaz, *Sat.*, I.8.8.
- ³⁴² Chiappetta 2008, 147.
- ³⁴³ Columella, 1.6.19.
- ³⁴⁴ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 185.
- ³⁴⁵ Jansen 2007, 165.
- ³⁴⁶ Siehe z.B. Abb. bei Chiappetta, 2008, 173 und Salza Prina Ricotti, 2001, 182, Abb. 59.
- ³⁴⁷ Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 185.
- ³⁴⁸ Siehe z.B. Abb. bei Chiappetta 2008, 173 und Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 182, Abb. 59.
- ³⁴⁹ Über 700 Soldaten und ein Vielfaches an Sklaven und Freigelassenen, siehe dazu Chiappetta 2008, 145-147.
- ³⁵⁰ Siehe z.B. Abb. bei Chiappetta 2008, 173 und Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, 182, Abb. 59.
- ³⁵¹ Suet. *Nero* 31.

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Emilie Haspels and the Fortresses and Monuments of the Phrygian Highlands

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Abstract

The starting point for this paper is the publication of *I am the Last of the Travelers* by C.H. Emilie Haspels, with contributions by Halet Çambel¹ (second revised and enlarged edition²), Istanbul, Archaeology and Art Publications, 2012, 196 pp.; 91 figs, large folded map at end; 24x16.5 cm. – ISBN 978-605-396-029-4.

This paper consists of three parts: Part 1 is a review of the book - an autobiographical report edited with great care and expertise by Dr. Dietrich Berndt³ - in which Haspels describes the excavation of Midas City and two survey expeditions in the Phrygian Highlands (1946 and 1950). In Part 2 the author will discuss some specific questions, sites and monuments in the Phrygian Highlands, to elucidate matters that have not been treated in Highlands, or are difficult to appreciate to the full in the enormous mass of the material of the two volumes. In Part 3 the author, who accompanied Haspels on the expeditions of 1953 and 1958 (of which the reports are lacking in the book under review, though an extensive written manuscript is known to exist), will give some further information on the archaeological work that led to Haspels' masterpiece: *The Highlands of Phrygia* (1971).

Note concerning the pictures that are mentioned: Fig. (Figure) refers to the pictures in the book under review (abbreviated *Travelers*), and ill. (illustration) to the pictures in the present article. Pl. (Plate) denotes the photos and drawings in Haspels' two volumes, *The Highlands of Phrygia* (abbreviated *Highlands*).

PART 1

APPRAISAL OF *I AM THE LAST OF THE TRAVELERS*

The publication of *I am the Last of the Travelers* is an unusual event. It is based on a manuscript⁴ of Prof. C.H. Emilie Haspels, in which she tells about her very adventurous life and especially her experiences during her excavations of Midas City (1937-1939) and her subsequent survey journeys in the region of the Highlands of Phrygia (round the highest mountain in the centre, the Türkmen Baba: see map at the end of the book, DE4, here ill. 1). The stories are fascinating, mostly describing the daily life of a traveller in these rough landscapes.

Haspels was inspired to write this autobiographical report by *Accidents of an antiquary's life* by D.G. Hogarth (1910); she often talked with great admiration about it. The report she worked on and wanted to publish consists of four parts, two of which are published here. Dr. Dietrich Berndt has taken great care in editing it; he had much help from Haspels' life-long friend Halet Çambel (pp. 67, 156, Figs 31, 34). At the time of the publication of this review Çambel, born in 1916, died. As Haspels, who was an excellent story-teller, wrote a somewhat unusual and some-

times old-fashioned English, the two of them worked hard on the text and made it 'as close as possible to the diction of Haspels in order to bring out her personality properly' (pp. 156, 163).

After a Preface by Çambel, Haspels' text covers pp. 11-142. The remainder, down to p. 196, is by Berndt with occasional contributions by Çambel. Berndt also made the excellent choice of the 91 figures for the plates, which he selected from the Haspels' archive in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam and (the portraits) from her relatives (see the Glossary, p. 184; s.v. Viets and Wanroij).

Emilie Haspels

Caroline Henriette Emilie Haspels (1894-1980) is well-known for her book on *Attic Black-Figure Lekythoi* (1936) and the subject of this paper, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, which appeared no less than 35 years later - in 1971. The latter was the product of years and years of study, and four expeditions into these highlands. This entailed travelling in the most primitive manner and under unusual, sometimes risky, circumstances. She always called herself 'the last of the travelers'.

And indeed it is a telling title, for nobody nowadays is willing to wander through these mountains as she did: she used to hire a local farmer

with an *araba*, a wagon drawn by two horses, a very primitive vehicle without brake or springs. These wagons (see Figs 46, 59, 81) consisted of four wheels and a central pole which supported a large number of loose planks that formed a kind of box in which she could sit. This vehicle was filled with straw and not at all too uncomfortable. It was, however, a ramshackle contraption and, because the boards were violently shaken about on the rough, rocky tracks, things tended to fall out (or through) and got lost, which was highly annoying. For example: on a certain day in 1958 one of Haspels' shoes fell out and the *arabacı* (coachman) had to walk for miles in the dark to find it: this was sheer necessity for there was simply no way of getting hold of a pair of gym shoes: there were no shops within the range of a day's journey and gym shoes were essential for their grip on rocks while climbing about. Travelling in these carts was sometimes quite dangerous: in the Paragraph, 'An Awful Accident' (pp. 101-102), she tells how the Circassian *arabacı* drove his horses so recklessly, that she and Çambel were 'swung out of the cart in a wide curve'. And similar accidents happened more often (Part 3, Par. 8).

Once, no horses were available (at harvest time), and so she hired a wagon with two oxen (see Figs 78-79); this was one of the worst experiences, because of the filthiness of the beasts, their extremely slow pace and their obstinacy: see Fig. 78, where Mehmet Emin, my helpmate for measuring in 1953 and 1958, tries to pull them forward.

During these expeditions Haspels and her companion were wholly dependent on the villagers for meals and lodging. 'Hospitality is a virtue grown out of necessity' (p. 74). Since Haspels' first task was to take pictures of the monuments and since these monuments often are facing North East and even North (p. 75; e.g. Figs 51-52), they had to get up before dawn and for similar reasons they often arrived at a village after dark: and then, but especially in the first expedition of 1946, they had to remain without food; Çambel tells that once she was crying for hunger (p. 76) and Haspels went dizzy. For it was impossible to buy food from the villagers; this was regarded as highly offensive (p. 74), according to the *adet* (strict conventions, in this case related to hospitality).

Contents of the Book I am the Last of the Travelers

But let us enumerate the chapters of *Travelers*. First comes the Preface which is remarkable indeed. It is a passionate eulogy written by Halet Çambel. Çambel was Haspels' companion in 1939 during

the excavation of Midas City, and accompanied her during the survey of 1946. She became a great friend during the war, when Haspels was stranded in Turkey because there was no possibility to return home for her: Çambel took her in her house and helped her through the five very rough years of the war (see Çambel's moving narration on pp. 62-65). Çambel's preface speaks of 'the modest, heroic life she (Haspels) led, her real personality hidden modestly under a simple outward appearance'. It is written with so much love and gratitude and even reverence that I have no doubt that Haspels would have been very happy to read it. She herself praises Çambel exuberantly on p. 67.

Haspels' own report is divided into a number of sections: 'Prelude to the enterprise' (pp. 11-14); 'The excavations of Midas City' (pp. 15-61); then we have Halet Çambel's chapter 'Life during World War II' (pp. 62-65); followed by 'Reconnoitring expedition I', 1946 (pp. 66-103) and 'Expedition II', 1950 (pp. 104-142).

Next is the Epilogue by Berndt (pp. 143-165) and his curriculum vitae of Haspels (pp. 166-167). Then follows the Bibliography (p. 168) and an extensive Glossary (pp. 172-185), which 'covers persons, places, historical and archaeological terms and Turkish words', such as *hoca*; also the names of relatives of Haspels'. There is an extensive Index (pp. 185-190) and a List of the pictures (pp. 191-193); finally a very useful and admirably complete List of the villages and sites with references to the large folded Map at the end of the *Travelers* (pp. 194-196). The reader will notice that unfortunately in the text there are only few references to the Figures. However, the captions under the Figures do refer to the relevant pages.

Prelude to the Enterprise

In the first chapter (pp. 11-14), Haspels tells us how she became an archaeologist and how she got involved in the study of Phrygian culture. It is a fascinating story, both for the unusual events and for the casual (and often humoristic) way in which she relates it. Here, for once, she breaks with her passion for privacy. For she was very reserved and, in personal matters, extremely incommunicative (see pp. 157-159).⁵ She did not like to tell more than strictly necessary; and we are grateful for the wealth of information Berndt has collected in his extensive Epilogue (pp. 143-165) and in her curriculum vitae. In these sections there are, I am sure, not a few details which she would have disliked to be published, especially the paragraphs entitled: 'Haspels' personality' (p. 157); 'Her family' (pp.

158-159) and 'No men in her life?' (pp. 160-161).

But more should be said about her Prelude (pp. 11-14). After some years of teaching Classics in a secondary school (gymnasium) she managed to get small scholarships and these enabled her to study in Oxford and Munich for a while. More important was, however, that she became attached to the French School of Archaeology in Athens. In the years 1927-1937 she joined many excavations: in Lesbos, Perachora, Ithaka, Samos and Delos. Finally she became field director of the French excavations in Thasos. In this way she developed into an internationally highly esteemed, all-round expert, both in digging and, of course, in pottery: *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* was published in 1936.

But she had another, less well-known expertise: she was a most efficient photographer as appears from her book about the *lekynthoi*, but no less from the excellent pictures published, not only in *Highlands*, but also in *Phrygie* I-IV (see the Bibliography): all of them (except the aerial view) are by Haspels, in spite of the fact that this is mentioned nowhere. Her earlier photos were made with a big camera on a tall wooden tripod, with large negatives (first of glass) and with a black hood over her head (see p. 90). At the very beginning of her career (at the digs in Thasos or Delos or so), she used to develop these negatives herself, working at a fountain in the dark through the night without light; then it happened, she told me, that a policeman interrupted her work: 'she was not allowed to do the laundry at night!'

The Excavations of Midas City

In the next chapter (pp. 15-60), she tells how she was invited to act as field director of the French excavations in Midas City (ill. 1). This, of course, was a great honour but it meant 'a leap in the dark'. With great pluck she struggled through the first campaign of 1937 all on her own, for her assistant, M.R. Jestin, bluntly refused to join in the work: he wanted to study Chinese (p. 19). At the time she hardly knew any Turkish and therefore found it difficult to keep a tight hand over the fiery Circassians, the inhabitants of the village Yazılı Kaya, who wanted to dig with zest and speed and not with care (p. 19). This excavation was no small affair; she led five campaigns until World War II made an end to it; on p. 59 she tells us that at a certain moment she had 200 men at work. The whole report is adventurous and often funny and much of her story is about social life and encounters with the inhabitants. The editor, Berndt, certainly arouses the appetite of the

reader heading the different paragraphs with titles such as 'The first payday' (p. 20); 'What to eat and how to cook' (p. 22); 'A wolf cub' (p. 25); 'Workers on strike' (p. 28); 'What to do against sickness in such a village' (p. 38); 'An early morning on the plateau' (p. 44); 'A Circassian bride costs a cart with two horses' (p. 47); 'A needle in the hay' (ibid.); 'We owe 1000 liras for taxes' (p. 52); 'Money problems' (p. 53); 'Responsibilities in the highlands' (p. 57); 'The problem of the staircases' (p. 59; see Part 2, Par. 2) and finally we find the heading: 'World War II stops the digging' (p. 60).

As for the hope, after the exertions of the day, to find some rest in the dig-house (Fig. 21 and *Phrygie* IV, Pl. 36), that was an illusion: often people flooded into it out of curiosity; 'for they turned up just as they pleased - I had, by way of refuge - to draw back into myself -, taken out a piece of needle work, Swiss Grisons design, with large blue cross-stitch work on linen. The women had heard about it and that was why they came to admire...' Village women had barged in at a very inconvenient moment and Haspels had a hard time 'to get them again out of the room'.

Plenty of curious events are mentioned. She had a cow-bell on the window sill against thieves when there was much money (for payday). It would fall if someone would climb in. At one moment she even practiced throwing knives, in case of danger. She was bitten by one of those formidable dogs that are supposed to defend the house. The government commissioner who was appointed to keep an official eye on the excavations, was a nuisance and rarely of any use. He was hated by, and very afraid of, the Circassian inhabitants: he had been told by one of them that he would be beaten up. In the middle of the night he entered Haspels' room in panic, entreating her to call the whole dig off and depart straightaway to Istanbul.

But the reader had better discover for himself. There are some fifty of such paragraphs and it is impossible to give a summary. When in 1939 she had to leave Yazılı Kaya head over heels, because the war was on, she closed this phase of her life as an archaeologist with the proud words (p. 61): 'I had taken up the challenge and achieved the end.'

World War II

After the chapter dealing with the excavations there is a very sympathetic paragraph by Halet Çambel about Haspels' life during World War II

(pp. 62-65). In September 1939 Haspels was stranded in Turkey in very straight circumstances, with jobs that hardly could support her. Fortunately, as has been said above, she was taken care of by Çambel. It is typical of Haspels who used to avoid describing private events, that she hardly spends a word on this endless, harassing period in her report, but Çambel has furnished a moving account in this chapter.

After the war the University of Amsterdam appointed her as Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art History of Antiquity (as the chair was called). This appointment lasted until 1965, and in the course of these 20 years she spent as much time as she could on her study of the Phrygian highlands. She travelled, with an assistant, through the region in 1946 (with Halet Çambel), in 1950 (with Aşkıldil Akarca), and in 1953 and 1958 with the present reviewer. She seems to have started writing this autobiographical report before 1965 (p. 162).

The Expeditions of 1946 and 1950

These two survey journeys are described in the next two chapters, 'Reconnoitring Expeditions I and II' (pp. 66-142).⁶ The absence of a report of the later expeditions (1953 and 1958) is to be regretted but I shall try to give some idea of her work during these years in Part 3 of this article.

Again the stories Haspels relates about her adventures are excellent reading. For example, what happened when, in the highlands, she was 'adjusting the tripod and my camera' for a very early shot of a fine monument (the Arslan Taş, Figs 51-52, here *ill. 11*, no 6 and *12a and c*; Part 3, Par. 3a), she describes in a splendid rural scene on pp. 91-92: 'we ... got up before half past three' etc., how suddenly the solitude is filled with life, animals and even quarrelling gypsies.

Again Berndt has headed the paragraphs with captivating headings, such as: 'Arrested as spies' (p. 72; where Çambel tells how Haspels was going to take a picture: 'Haspels stood bent forward under her black cloth behind her tripod; a soldier was approaching her with slow, deliberate steps, rifle in hand, bayonet ready as if to stab her in the buttocks', but they escaped); 'Anatolian nightingale' (p. 85; which denotes the highly primitive ox-cart, see Fig. 42, with solid wheels fixed to the axle that itself rotates in a wooden fitting under the box and so produces a melancholy 'screeching noise', meant as a singsong to break the solitary silence of the steppe); 'An awful accident' (p. 101; mentioned above); 'Immigrants in Turkey' (p. 108); 'Man-eaters in Göçeri' (p. 110: Haspels and

her assistant were thought to be cannibals); 'Çürütüm: with a treasure-hunter in a tunnel' (p. 115): creeping on knees and hands through a tunnel, long enough to get a lack of oxygen; such Byzantine flight-tunnels are numerous and remind the Dutch of the hiding places during the war: see the fine example of the Delik Taş (*Highlands* Pl. 570, here *ill. 18c-e*; Part 3, Par. 4); 'Circassian dance' (p. 130); 'A policeman beside my bed at 2 o'clock in the night' (p. 132) etc.

Special mention deserves the chapter 'A rubber cement squeeze' (pp. 120-123). Here she tells how she managed to make a squeeze of the large relief above the gate of the Broken Lion Tomb (Yılan Taş) in the Köhnüş (Figs 63-64; here *ill. 11*, no 7 and *12e*; Part 3, Par. 3b): it is of the 6th century and shows two large warriors (one in Fig. 64) with Greek helmets pointing their lifted spears at a colossal Medusa head in the centre above the entrance (*ill. 12e*). Making that kind of casts lying on one's back in a narrow hole dug under a fallen rock, is highly unpleasant and fatiguing.⁷ When it was finished she went off to let it dry, but later 'a passing cart informed us that a big white sheet was lying on the road near the Broken Lion Tomb....' and indeed, there it was 'the Latex squeeze, as a rag in the dust... The shepherd boys must have snatched it off from the relief where we had left it to dry.' Such a thing was a disheartening setback (for the Köhnüş see Part 3, Par. 3). Nevertheless, she made a mould, which was used to make a copy which is now in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (*ill. 12e.1*).

Her excavations of Midas City had brought some well-being to parts of the region for a while, and for this she was gratefully remembered and recognized almost everywhere. She was generally accosted with the respectful *hoca(m)* (pp. 100 and 178; *hoca* was used for those with knowledge of religion - master or priest -; to translate it here with 'My Lady' would give an idea). I myself also used to address her with this honorary term *Hoca*.

Fındık

In the first trip she discovered an important Phrygian site: that of Fındık (*Travelers*, 78-80; 176; Fig. 40; Pl. 504; Map *ill. 1-2*; *ill. 5*; *ill. 17*). This site lies right in the upper left corner of map *ill. 1*. Haspels' pleasant narration about the discovery may be illustrated and clarified by means of *ill. 5*, in which Berndt has indicated the monuments and other remains. The *kale* (fortress) is on the right, but neutrally stippled, because a detailed plan of it figures on a large scale in *Highlands*, Pl.

505. The niches are on the left. For the little niche in Fig. 40, see the photo and drawing of *Highlands*, Pls 228 and 527.1. The fortress and the religious area are 'neatly separated parts'. Among the small niches there is a very curious, half demolished shaft-niche, in the left upper corner of the plan (*ill. 5a, no 4*). We shall return to this important monument below (Part 2, Par. 3e; *ill. 17*).

Once more we are told the ever-repeated absurd story, that some rogues (this time Armenians) broke the wall of its tiny shaft and took away a treasure: for it is self-evident - many inhabitants believe - that strangers who travel through their country and measure stones with letters or reliefs, do so for no other reason but to find treasures that by magic have been hidden inside the rock. Wilful destructions were the logical consequence of this superstition; a particular bad case is the destruction of the colossal lion above the Hellenistic tomb called the Gerdek Kaya; still partly in place in Fig. 57.⁸

By adding maps or plans from *Highlands*, such as the one of Findik (*ill. 5*), all the other subjects treated in this chapter might be illustrated, but this must suffice.

Points of Criticism

This book is so pleasant and informative, that it deserves no criticism,⁹ yet two points may perhaps be mentioned. First the readers will be baffled by the large folding map found at the end (it dates from 1941-1942, see p. 164). It is very difficult to read. This is not the fault of the editor: maps are a precarious item in the circumstances (see for maps *Highlands*, 26-27). The very complete list of villages and sites Berndt has added on pp. 194-196, is truly perfect but even so, it remains difficult. To help the reader, I print here part of Haspels' rather sketchy map in *ill. 1* (= *Highlands*, Fig. 493, which I have made a little clearer), and, to facilitate the orientation, *ill. 2-3*, which are parts of the same, but enlarged: *ill. 2* comprises the area of Findik; *ill. 3* shows the rather larger region with the Köhnüş, Kümbet and Yazılı Kaya. In spite of all this, it remains difficult to follow on the maps her very complicated voyages in 1946, 1950, 1953 and 1958 (as summarized on pp. 152-154). No doubt better maps will in future become available, but then names of the sites and villages may have changed, so that identification of the present names will often be difficult.

A second point of criticism might be the lack of references to Haspels' *Highlands*. This, I admit, could hardly have been prevented, because the

scope of the present book would not allow it. This is explained on p. 164, where it says: 'references to Haspels' archaeological works were omitted because the monuments can be found easily with the help of the respective index.' This is not wholly true; I find it quite complicated; and, in any case, it is to be feared that readers will not realize that all these sites and monuments have thoroughly been treated and measured and photographed and drawn in Haspels' two volumes. References to her book *Highlands* are, I believe, essential, as shall be shown in Parts 2 and 3.

Conclusion

The book under review is to be recommended with fervour. As for my personal admiration for Prof. Haspels, I passed many months with her in these highlands, watching her 'roughing it' in the most awe-inspiring way. I admire her terse way of describing unexpected events and the many nearly impossible problems she had to face; especially her coolness and patience surprise me: the more so since she was not (as I and my fellow students knew very well) of a very patient temperament. She was a complicated personality but her most striking qualities were perhaps her extreme tenacity and admirable courage.

The key word to her life was *kudos*, a very important term for Homeric heroes, meaning: 'general recognition of one's deserts' and therefore: something like 'fame'. She often spoke of the *kudos* of her work, meaning the recompense for the life-long sacrifices she had made for it. And indeed, she eventually received the *kudos* she wanted so much and deserved so well: she was honoured with a Knighthood of the Order of the Netherlands Lion (Ridder in de Orde van de Nederlandse Leeuw; see pp. 166-167).

PART 2

SOME SPECIFIC QUESTIONS, SITES AND MONUMENTS IN THE PHRYGIAN HIGHLANDS

The following paragraphs are meant to throw light on some matters that have not been treated in *Highlands*, or are difficult to appreciate to the full in the enormous mass of the material of the two volumes. Further a number of interesting questions and examples are elucidated in order to facilitate the study of the monuments in general.

Contents

1. Rock-cut Architecture, Positive and Negative

2. Note on Underground Staircases
3. Note on Shaft-monuments
4. The Scope of Haspels' Enterprise and its Long Duration

1. Rock-cut Architecture, Positive and Negative

The tuff stone of the Highlands is not very hard to cut and carve. There must have been a large body of artisans in Phrygia who were very experienced in cutting out flat gables with niches and ornaments and statues such as Figs 48–49. For the most colossal ones they chose outcrops of rock that stood like an Ocean wave in the countryside (the Arslan Kaya of Fig. 47 and compare Fig. 39; here map *ill. 1*) or steep outcrops of a rock-plateau like the Midas Monument (Figs 6–9; here map *ill. 1*). These grand gables were products of the Phrygians' profound reverence of the Great Goddess of Nature and Fertility, but they are also great works of art, belonging to the most awe-inspiring and spectacular monuments of Antiquity. They were carved from above downwards, the workmen standing on a ledge they left standing while finishing the part of the gable they had carved, as is visible in the unfinished monument in Yazılı Kaya (*Highlands*, Pls 14–16; here map *ill. 3*).

While this was carving rock from the outside, in the 8th century BC the artisans started to penetrate into the rocks. The oldest example, still of the eighth century, is the Arslan Taş (Figs 51–52; here map *ill. 11*, nos 6, 12a and 12c). Here a new technical problem was taken in hand. The door had, apparently, to be small: 0.84 x 0.64 m only (*ill. 12a. 2 and 4*). Penetrating through this opening into the rock, in order to get some space for working inside, must have been very awkward. For a long while the workmen had no space for using heavy tools. Before that, they had to cut their way into the rock by leaning through the narrow entrance. In the Arslan Taş the workmen lost their bearing straight away: the room is far from neatly square (*ill. 12a. 4*). Still this oldest example is not very small: 2.25 x 2.25 x 1.75 m. This means that about 8 m³ was carved and carried out through the narrow doorway, always working in near-darkness, by the light of smoking torches: no wonder that the room is not perfect and the corners are not exactly 90 degrees (see further below for this tomb Part 3, Par. 3a). Incidentally, the small size of the doorways made it easier to lock the tomb with a firm wooden panel or lid that could be locked (from the outside) with some simple contraption; for example by means of a small beam that was shoved into a cutting in the doorjamb with a rope from the outside.

Shortly after the Arslan Taş other tombs were made: they are small but neatly shaped. To be able to scoop these pretty 'houses' out of the rock in so small a space fills me with admiration (*ill. 12a. 3 and 5*, and *12b*). However, compared to the room of the Arslan Taş, a sheer miracle was accomplished in the Broken Lion Tomb (also called Yılan Taş), which is some 150 years later or more (see Part 3, Par. 3b; *ill. 11*, no 7 and *12d*). Its room is 4.80 x 6.20 and 3 m high (with pitched ceiling). The workmen toiled in the dark with torches, and yet the finishing is quite fine. Especially the two small columns on cushion-shaped bases, reserved in the rock with their Aeolic capitals, standing on the long bench on its East side (*ill. 12d. 3 and 5*) must have been difficult to carve by the light of a couple of torches.

All these tombs will be discussed below (Part 3, Par. 3), but I mention all this in order to come to a wonderful climax: the great Byzantine church of Ayazin. The church was hewn out of the rock like a huge piece of sculpture, first the outside and then followed the work on the inside (Fig. 65; see Part 3, Par. 6a; map *ill. 1 and 3*; *ill. 21 a-c*). Did the workmen proceed from above downwards, or did they hew away at the same time above and below? I guess that the work was started at different points. There were some windows: in the apse, above the entrance and in the cylinder or tambour under the dome. But the only spacious one was, of course, the entrance gate to the left of the apse on Fig. 65 (*ill. 21c*). But even this one was narrow: its minimum width is only 1.49 m (*ill. 21a*), just enough for a very small cart with a mule! Its height is less important and, anyway, is lost, broken out, as can be seen in Fig. 65. Hundreds of tons of rocks must have been transported. If they worked above and below at the same time, how could they manage to carve so perfect an edifice (*ill. 21a and c*)? It is clear that very strict plans and drawings must have been used right from the start: just as in actual stone-built, domed churches.

The 'Hamam' of Ayazin (as it is called because the shape with its dome is like a Turkish bath-house = *hamam*) is not only a great achievement of negative engineering; it seems to me a breathtaking piece of pure sculpture: see the photographs of the dome, pendentives and the arches in: *ill. 21c* (*Highlands*, Pls 425–427).

2. Note on Underground Staircases

One of the remarkable features of many fortresses is a flight of steps that descends into the earth (or rather: rock) and leads, so one has to assume, to an underground source (or, perhaps sometimes,

to an underground escape-gate). They are found all over the ancient world (e.g. at Mycenae), usually filled up with stones and earth. In 1953 and 1958 we recorded and made drawings of four of them (ill. 9): on the *kales* (rock-fortresses) of Yapıldak, Kümbet, Demirli and Pişmiş (see ill. 10, in B. East end).

But of the two most impressive ones, the staircases F and B on the Midas Kale (see the plan on p. 10: and here ill. 4.) there are no drawings in *Highlands*, though they are described in detail in *Highlands*, 37-39; Pls 45-49.¹⁰ It should be noted that, when she visited Midas City in 1953 and 1958, Haspels strictly forbade herself to study the excavations on the *kale*. She insisted that A. Gabriel, the director of the French Institute that organized the excavations, had stipulated from the very beginning in 1937, that she should keep far from any attempt at publishing the remains and even her own excavations of 1937-1939 (except for the finds in her digs). This meant that she could not make use of the drawings the architect of the time, Jean Bodin (Figs 24, 25, 36) made. These drawings are also of use here: especially those of the underground staircases (ill. 6-8), as because of the lack of these drawings the description on *Travelers* pp. 30 and 33 is difficult to follow. Haspels tells how she was busy with the huge staircase B: see her photo (Fig. 13) where we are looking up the steps (to East): this photo was taken when the staircase had not yet been dug out down to the split into two flights of steps, to left and right, leading to the entrances *g* and *h* in ill. 6: she and her foreman Mehmet Efendi stretched out 'like seals on their bellies' and so crawled into the right-hand entrance: *h* in ill. 6. The other entrance is at *g*, which was the original one, as Haspels tells us and as can be guessed from the course of the staircase in ill. 6: the entrance *h* is at a higher level and of later date than *g*. The vertical section of the grotto in ill. 7 runs through entrance *g* and *g* and via *f* to *g* (the West end of the grotto); straight in front of us is the deep roundish niche *j*, and above the grotto is a bit of a wall ('mur') that once must have belonged to a protecting tower. In ill. 7 water is indicated at the bottom of the cave, but this is conjecture: the line above it indicates how far down the excavation went, though I doubt if it went as far as that. The grotto was full of earth, up to about one meter from the ceiling.¹¹ The further excavation can be read in *Highlands* pp. 37-39: there are fine photographs made by Haspels (e.g. *Phrygie* IV, Pl. 8), with the two entrances into grotto B (ill. 4).¹² The grottoes were never dug up to the bottom: the danger became too great.

The even greater grottoes at F (plan of p. 10; here plan ill. 4, in its SW corner) are located on the lower terrace of the *kale*; their excavation was begun in 1937-1939 by Haspels. The drawings in ill. 8 needs some explanation. In the middle there is a vast vertical shaft into which narrow staircases descend zig-zag-wise (B-B' in ill. 8); at the bottom there are tunnels to right and left (A-A' and C-C' in the plan), ascending to left and right in the vertical section (of ill. 8). The enormous size of the complex is astonishing: why so great? Was it necessary to be open to great multitudes? They must have led to water as again is indicated by conjecture in ill. 8. For further reading one has to turn to *Highlands*, 37-39 and they are also treated in *Phrygie* IV, 29-38.

It is clear that the Phrygians were inclined to monumental undertakings of tremendous size, the Midas Monument (Figs 5-9), being the most impressive example, but these staircases are hardly less spectacular.

3. Note on Shaft-monuments

It is somewhat surprising that in *Travelers* there is hardly any reference to the most puzzling aspect of Phrygian culture: the vertical shafts behind, or rather inside, some gable monuments (but see the Glossary s.v. shaft monuments p. 182).

These shafts are still not definitively explained.¹³ There are only five gables with a shaft; drawings of them are printed here, in ill. 13-17. The absence of a shaft in all other monuments shows that a shaft was not indispensable for the cult.¹⁴ In my opinion (but nobody has so far agreed with my suggestion)¹⁵ these shafts were made to receive a holy, religious object: possibly part of the meteorite or heaven-fallen-stone that formed the heart of the mystical cult of Kybele at Pessinus, and was later transported (or perhaps rather the anthropomorphic statue of the goddess) to Rome, in 204 BC, to save Rome from calamity in the second Punic war.¹⁶ Apparently Kybele was regarded as a most powerful immanent goddess: no doubt all meteorites were believed to be the goddess herself, or at least to contain her divine power. A fragment of this special meteorite or, perhaps, another, smaller meteorite, would add magical power to the community that 'built' the façade; it would increase the divine might of the image of the goddess (with her lions), which was to be seen in the shallow 'gate' of nearly all niches, small or great.¹⁷ It is important to note that the small shaft monument of Findık mentioned in Part 1 above (ill. 17) lacks a Kybele statue: apparently the holy object

in its little shaft sufficed for the ceremonies (and this may have been the case with the Bakşeyiş gable (*ill. 15*) and perhaps the Değirmen monument (*ill. 16*), as we shall see below).

I imagine that the conditions that led to the creation of a shaft monument were as follows. A Phrygian community wanted to acquire, for the cult of the Great Goddess, a small or larger piece of the cult-meteorite in Pessinus, or one from another source (the greater the more impressive and precious). When they had acquired it (or perhaps rather before that time), they would start a shaft in a place where a good gable monument could be carved. They made the shaft together with the gable, slowly working downwards into the rock (compare the unfinished gable in the rock of Midas City, *Highlands*, 102, Pls 14-16). They made the shaft to fit the holy stone, or perhaps - to make it more impressive - they made the entire complex enormous, as if the stone to be treasured was a very big one, comparable to the one in Pessinus the size of which is unknown. Of course, also the rock that was to be carved, determined the size of the monument, but in their rocky country they could pick and choose. In this way, the gable and the shaft were cut out together, precisely to scale and as a whole. On the other hand, a small meteorite would need no more than a small shaft behind a rectangular panel such as that of the Findik shaft (*ill. 17*). However, in the case of the Değirmen monument, the rock was ill-chosen or unstable, or was not large enough to contain the whole monument, for it collapsed and was partly probably built in blocks: see *ill. 16a-d*. Of course, the holy stone was to be safeguarded: therefore, arrangements were made for three, or at least two thick lids to close the shaft.

The monuments have been described in great detail by Haspels (*Highlands*, 100-108) and also by Susanne Berndt-Ersöz (Berndt-Ersöz 1998, especially her Appendix, pp. 98-110); so I may confine myself to what seems strictly necessary. Four of the monuments in question are found in the book under review: Figs 41, 55, 62, 75-77, but not the highly interesting, tiny one in Findik (see section e below).¹⁸

a. Mal Taş¹⁹

(Map *ill. 1*; *ill. 13a-c*; *Travelers*, Fig. 62; *Highlands* Pls 157-158; 519-520; Berndt-Ersöz 1998, 98-100)

Haspels tried to excavate the gable in 1950 (*Travelers*, 119-122, Fig. 62) and this was attempted again in 1958, when we made the drawings of *ill. 13*. The water spoiled it all, it kept flooding the dig (pp. 119 ff), because a water channel had been cut right

through the shaft (see *ill. 13b. 1-2*); still we managed. We did not reach the bottom of the shaft (*ill. 13b. 2*), nor the bottom of the niche itself, but we had enough evidence to finish the measuring and drawing.²⁰ We reached the hole that was broken through the back-wall of the porch.²¹

The height of the gable must have been about 9.70 m (without steps). The top of the monument, with its acroterion, is lost (*ill. 13a-b*). Because of the evidence of the other shafts (see below), I believe that the shaft was closed at the top with a heavy lid, but we did not see any trace of the original surface (the channel was dug through it).

The shaft was very wide above: 2.20 x 1.70 m. About 4.60 m down there is a ledge for the second lid. The shaft must have been more than 9 m deep. It was made for a very big bolder of a meteorite, it seems to me. The porch is relatively deep.

We dug as deep as the hole in the back-wall of the porch. These holes are found in all shafts and are definitively not original, as Berndt-Ersöz assumes (see below, at the Delikli Taş). They were made by treasure-hunters, surely after Phrygian times (and, I prefer to believe, after Antiquity).

b. Delikli Taş

(*ill. 14a-b*; *Travelers*, 82, 175, Fig. 41; *Highlands*, Pls 209-214, 511-512; Berndt-Ersöz 1998, 106-109)

This also is a big gable: 13 m high from the floor of the niche. There was a Kybele image in the shallow porch, reserved in the rock; traces of her feet or base are still to be seen. The image has been cut away with some care. The hole in the back of the niche pierces the place where formerly her image stood.

The gable looks like a tall house; it is, curiously enough, not decorated with ornaments in relief (may it have been painted? In Christian times there were painted areas, see *Highlands*, 253-254). Also unusual is that the flat front of the gable is interrupted at about 5 m above the ground; here is the platform where the shaft begins (see *g* in *ill. 14a*). A number of beam holes above this platform perhaps indicate that this gap in the gable was once masked behind some sort of screen.

The shaft is some 5 m deep and widens a little downwards where it is roughly 1.90 x 1.35 m. In *ill. 14b. 2* we recognize the fittings for three heavy lids, at the levels *a*, *b* and *c*.

They clearly consisted of wood with short beam-ends jutting out at the corners and fitting into cuttings, see *ill. 14b. 1-3*. It is not clear how the third lid was fixed at level *c*. It would be quite impossible to climb down in the shaft in order to speak ora-

cles, as some believe: anyway, other shafts are too small for this theory. Moreover, the provisions for three heavy wooden lids with protruding beam-ends that fit into cuttings, were clearly meant for permanence, not to be lifted every now and then.

c. Bakşeyiş Monument

(*ill. 15a-c; Travelers*, 99, 173, Fig. 55; *Highlands*, 81, Pls 124-125, 516-517; Berndt-Ersöz 1998, 100-103)

The former two gables belonged to the heyday of Phrygian history (before 700 B.C). The Bakşeyiş monument is later, as appears from the simplification of the old ornaments (very simple diamond-filled 'blind windows', so to speak). It is sculpted out of the rock almost like a true cottage. The porch is 2.03 m high and relatively deep (0.80 m), its rear wall is decorated with a frame in the shape of an oblong window. Because there is enough space, it is possible that once there was a statue; if so, it must have been a separate statue fixed somewhere in the floor (which is damaged) and standing in front of the framed back-wall. However, this seems improbable to me, since it would hide the oblong frame; in short, I believe that the sanctity of the shrine wholly depended on the (invisible but, of course, well-known) presence of the holy object in the shaft behind the frame.

The shaft (*ill. 15a. 2*), is 1.20 m wide but narrow across (*ill. 15b*), hardly wide enough to use your arms for digging. It must have been very difficult to hollow it out below; there is no space to work under one's feet (where it was not properly finished: *ill. 15a. 2*).

We have not seen any arrangement for a lid at its top; but there are some irregularities that may be remains of such cuttings (*ill. 15a. 2*); anyway, it seems excluded that the shaft should not have been locked above. Lower down, there is space for a lid: two rounded cuttings forming a ledge below (*ill. 15b. 5*); these are meant to receive a lid that rests with one side on one ledge while the other side is lowered down. This is an easy way to close the shaft, but to open it is less easy: there must be a (bronze) ring on top of the lid, which one, standing on the roof, should pull up with a hooked stick or a rope.

As is usual, a big hole was broken through the back-wall of the niche to get into the shaft for the 'treasure'.

d. Değirmen Monument

(*ill. 16a-d; Travelers*, 150, 153, 164, Figs 75-77; *Highlands*, Pls 160-166, 520.4 and 521; Berndt-Ersöz 1998, 102-105)

The Değirmen monument was on the point of being destroyed when we visited it for the last time in 1958: an enormous road-working machine was busy shoving earth and rocks to left and right off the road that was to be built.

This monument was totally different from the others. I believe that it was of the kind of the Bakşeyiş monument: a three-dimensional house. This one, however, contained a nearly rectangular room or, as others say: courtyard (*ill. 16a. 2*; 3.23 x 2.13 m).²² It may have been partly roofed with beams: see the beddings on top of the two rocks to left and right of the entrance. In the back-wall there was, in front of the shaft, a blind window-like frame, more or less comparable to that of the Bakşeyiş monument (*ill. 16a. 1*). Here, however, there were two tiny, square, peep holes above this frame at a level of ca 1.50 m above the floor (*ill. 16b*). One of these holes was entirely preserved, the other one partly. For once, then, there was a shaft into which one could peep and perceive, though vaguely, the hidden object. One may be sure that worshippers knew of the existence of the shaft and the holy stone because of the religious significance of its presence that no doubt had been advertised. The shaft was 0.85 m square in plan. It seemed neatly cut, and there was a remnant of a ledge for a lid, 1.42 m above its floor in its N.E. wall (*ill. 16b*). The upper part of the shaft has disappeared together with the rock. No doubt there was a heavy lid at the top of the shaft, which must have been about 5 m high.

e. The Findık Shaft

(*ill. 5a. no 4* and *ill. 17; Highlands*, 92, Pls 221-222, 504.4 and 527.4; Berndt-Ersöz 1998, 105-106)

After the foregoing, we may be short about the small monument of *ill. 17*. It consists in a mere panel (1.06 m wide), with a frame along three sides, and a small shaft, square above, but bag-shaped below. The stone it contained must have been small, the 'neck' of shaft measuring only 0.27 x 0.37 m. Above was a narrow rectangular ledge. In it a stone lid fitted (a wooden lid seems excluded). Of course, the panel has been broken through by treasure-hunters.

The inhabitants of the region, one may be sure, were aware of the presence of the hidden object that embodied the divine power of Kybele, the great goddess of nature and fertility. Such a road-side shrine reminds one of the countless small road-side images of Holy Mary, the Mother of God. She it was who replaced Kybele in later

times and often was identified with her by incised crosses (*Highlands*, 254). It is easy to imagine how the local people and passers-by worshipped this modest shaft-panel.

Summary

The gables represent the house of Kybele; she appears with her lions in the doorway or porch (Arslan Kaya, Fig. 47). In part of the country the statue of the goddess was reserved in the rock; in the other part the image was a separate statue placed in the porch, and fastened below and, sometimes, above, by means of a peg on the head that was fixed into a hole in the lintel (at the Midas Monument this hole is preserved: see the drawing, *Highlands* Pl. 510.5).

In the region of the Mal Taş (map *ill.* 1 and 3) the statues are cut out of the rock: witness the Büyük and Küçük Kapı Kayalar (Figs 48-49),²³ but also in the Delikli Taş, where it has been cut away thoroughly, leaving only slight remains. Therefore we should expect a rock-cut image in the Mal Taş. However, in Gabriel's drawing (*Phrygie* IV, figs. 41-42) there is a rectangular cutting for a statue.

On the other hand, we should expect a separately made statue in the Bakşeyiş monument: there is space enough there, but no hole in the lintel to receive a knob on its head; and an image would have obstructed the view on the framed panel (*ill.* 15a), which must have been the focus of the worshippers' attention. Therefore, I believe that there, as in the miniature shaft at Fındık and, as I believe, also in the Değirmen monument, the actual image of the goddess was lacking and the holy stone in the shaft, indicated by the framed panel, was the only object of veneration (*ill.* 16-17). The meteorite was invisible, but so are some holy objects in Catholic reliquaries. Besides, the shafts were pitch dark, even when the worshipper could peep through the tiny holes above the panel on the hind wall of the Değirmen monument. This meant looking at the goddess without seeing her, a truly mystical experience, it seems to me.

4. The Scope of Haspels' Enterprise and its Long Duration

When she started her enterprise Haspels had no idea of the true scope of the work she was going to undertake. After the war she had a conversation with Sir Ronald Syme (p. 66): 'What was highly needed', he said, 'was a book on the Phrygian monuments;.... we both judged it at two years....'

It has taken up more than twenty-five years.

Clearly Haspels was omnivorous as an archaeologist: she felt responsible for all historical remains of the region: everything had to be recorded. In the Preface of *Highlands* (p. viii) she writes: 'In some cases I have simply collected the evidence, not attempting any definite interpretation. If I cover more ground than is usual in these days of specialization, this was unavoidable. I had to record what I found: I am the last of the travelers.' As a consequence of the size of the task ahead, we often felt dismayed when again another rock-cut church cropped up, or a Byzantine living quarter hidden in the rocks showed itself, or an underground hiding tunnel made and used for fear of enemies, was discovered (see the living quarters and ant-like corridors in *Highlands*, Pls 568-573 and here Part 3, Par. 7).

The scope of her enterprise may appear from the enumeration of the contents of the huge two volumes of *The Highlands of Phrygia*: they contain detailed discussions and pictures of many monuments, among which eight sites, 13 *kales* and some 30 or more gable monuments, niches and altars. As for rock-cut tombs, there are 45 Phrygian ones; 6 Hellenistic and 28 Roman and Byzantine tombs. Further there are ruins of 4 stone-built edifices (one well-preserved, see here Part 3, Par. 5a) plus a later fortress with a big, rubble wall (*Highlands*, Pl. 546); 35 Byzantine churches and some 10 Byzantine rock-cut living quarters.

Haspels was also keenly aware of the plants and trees of the region and included botanic observations in her reports (p. 114). Finally, in 1958, Haspels had promised to take home samples of rocks for the Geological Institute in Amsterdam. Apparently she was knowledgeable in that field too (see *Highlands*, 20-28). For that purpose she travelled with a great number of cloth bags, which in the course of the four months were gradually filled and administrated.

Further, there was the task of making squeezes of all inscriptions and copies of the reliefs of the Broken Lion Tomb (Yılanlı or Yılan Taş). For this purpose she had to use rubber cement. She tells about the almost insurmountable difficulties to get the necessary stuff on board in the U.S. when she returned to Europe (p. 121), how hard it was to get it into Turkey and how difficult it was to brush it on, lying on your back in the narrow space under the relief that has toppled down flat on the ground (pp. 121-122, this exercise was repeated in 1958, see here Part 3, Par. 3b, *ill.* 12e).

I have always wondered how she managed to transport these squeezes and bulging bags with

stones out of the mountains and out of Turkey, but in some way or other she succeeded in doing so.

But her book on the highlands is much more than an analytical description of this vast material. It is an overall treatment of all aspects of the whole region, including geological and geographical aspects; there is, of course, a history of previous research, and a general description of the spread of prehistoric remains, of Phrygian settlements and fortresses (*kales*) and the meaning and appearance of their religious monuments and tombs. And then the same topics are treated for Greek and Roman times, the Byzantine period and even Selçuk era. It is a great, integrated portrait of everything that is known about these highlands, with emphasis, of course, on Phrygian culture.

The above does, I think, explain the long duration of the genesis of the book. She says that the manuscript was completed in 1965 (*Highlands* p. ix), but it took another six years before it was printed (Princeton 1971).²⁴ The book is so wide of scope and the material presented is so overwhelming that I doubt if anyone has ever studied it from cover to cover. There is one exception: Berndt, who edited the book under review and who has visited all the villages and sites that are described in *Highlands*.

PART 3

SOME SAMPLES OF HASPELS' RESEARCH IN THE FIELD, 1953, 1958

As mentioned before Haspels' reports on the expeditions in 1953 and 1958, when I was her companion, are not included in *Travelers*. Therefore I add the following paragraphs and addenda.

1. Preparations in 1953
2. Midas City
3. The Köhnüş
4. Delik Taş
5. Edifices built with Dressed Stones
6. Rock-cut Churches
7. Byzantine Living Grottoes
8. The Türkmen Baba

Addendum 1: Measures and Measuring

Addendum 2: The Geometric Patterns of the Great Monuments

1. Preparations in 1953

In 1953 most of the work for *Highlands* was still *in statu nascendi*. Much of it, especially the drawings, but also most of the inscriptions, had to be dealt with during the expeditions of 1953 and 1958; and

this work had to be done efficiently and quickly, under pressure for time. In 1953 I accompanied her for only one month, but in 1958 we roamed through the region for four months altogether. In these months she gathered most of the material she needed for her great book, which consists, as we have seen, in almost innumerable photos and drawings or plans; these were to be worked out at home and they had to be inked by a professional line-draughtsman.

The preparations in 1953 happened as follows. Haspels was very well-organised and prepared everything with care. This I understood only years later; at the time it all looked rather easy and casual. After the first two expeditions she wanted, I think, to begin writing the book she had in mind: only there was still so much to be done, and a number of still unknown sites were first to be studied. It was in 1952, I believe, after my final exam, that she asked me to accompany her to Phrygia. I was then in Cambridge where she had procured a scholarship for me to prepare a dissertation.

When she told me about her plans, she proposed that I should make drawings for her book. I had no experience whatsoever, but at school I had been good in goniometry and stereometry and that would, we hoped, suffice. We arranged that I should meet her in the Çağlayan Oteli at Eskişehir in July 1953. There she took me to a carpenter shop and ordered a very light but large drawing-board which I could carry round my shoulder; further she bought the necessary things such as paper, pencils, scissors, rulers etc. etc. She was very resolute and quick in such matters, she was clearly wholly at home in Turkish daily life and language. Now I was in the possession of a, perhaps somewhat primitive, but efficient equipment. Later, when it proved impossible to make satisfactory drawings of whole sites with these instruments, a geologist told me how to use a simple but very handy theodolite (with 100 instead of 90 degrees to a straight angle; see *Highlands*, viii).

As we have seen, Haspels' collecting information on Phrygia included taking geological samples; also a small sharp hammer for cutting off pieces of rock belonged to our equipment. For our daily life the geological rock-hammering proved quite important; this hammer (*tokmak*) served as a defence against the large, awe-inspiring sheep-dogs that roamed the streets and fields in the region (Çambel was bitten in her ankle: p. 62): whenever someone went to the 'toilet' (*yüz número* = 'number hundred') he or she carried this handy weapon with him or her; and after four months of relieving our-

selves in this primitive way (crouching with hammer in hand on a narrow board above a stinking hole, more or less hidden from view behind a low fence), it seemed to us the highest form of luxury once again to be allowed to go *tokmaksız yüznümero*: to go to a toilet without our hammer.

2. Midas City

Of course, Midas City (*ill. 4*) was the foremost topic of the preparation of her all-encompassing study of Phrygian culture; it is, moreover, by far the largest and richest of the *kales* and she knew it as nobody else. However, as I have told above, Gabriel had decreed that Haspels should not work on the *kale* nor publish anything that had to do with the excavations, not even her own excavations (except her own finds). In spite of this veto she could not possibly leave Midas City unrecorded; in fact she gives an extensive description (*Highlands* pp. 36-40 and 139-146). For this she was eminently equipped. She wanted to include drawings of the famous façades (*Highlands*, Pls 510, 513-515), apart from the Midas Monument that had been drawn by Bodin and is therefore missing from *Highlands* (except for a few sketches I made; *Highlands*, Pl. 510). She also wanted drawings of tombs, and of some religious objects sculpted (or reserved) in the rock (*Highlands*, Pls 528-529). Besides, I was set to make a plan of the Pişmiş Kale (see Fig. 33 and pp. 59-60: here *ill. 10a* = *Highlands* Pl. 496). This surprised me since Çambel had dug there in 1939, apparently without a plan of this fortress. Haspels needed one, for she wished to deal with the Pişmiş Kale in great detail, calling it 'the most embattled among the Phrygian *kales*' (*ill. 10b*; see the fine photos in *Highlands*, Pls 60-76 and pp. 41-45).

3. The Köhnüş

We started in 1953²⁵ with a thorough study of the Köhnüş, a valley rich in all kind of Phrygian remains (map *ill. 3*; *ill. 11-12*; Travelers folding map EF 8/9; Figs 51-52; 63-4; *Highlands* pp. 117-123, 129-133; Pls 126-156). We lodged in Kayaviran (map *ill. 3*) with Hüseyin Emin and his brother Mehmet; the former provided his horses and wagon, the latter would help me, as my *metreci*, in measuring the monuments. He had been in military service as a medical orderly and therefore had learned a few things: he even was allowed to possess and handle an injection syringe with penicillin, for there were no doctors nor medical provisions in the furthest surroundings.

Haspels had great plans. The whole Köhnüş -

and it is a rich and big site - should be taken in; she would study the site and prepare in her mind the analysis and description for her book, while Mehmet and I would climb into all tombs. Many of them are high up in the vertical cliffs (*Highlands* Pls 129-130, 140). Hüseyin and Mehmet had made a ladder of some 5 m. They managed to find two slender fir-stems for it and these were joined by small boards. With this ladder we clambered into the tombs (there are some forty or more).

Apparently, the Phrygians of about 700 BC and later, were wont to hoist their dead up such a ladder, then to shove the corpse through the narrow entrance into the small space of the tomb and finally to arrange the body on one of the rock-cut couches (*ill. 12a, b and d*). Perhaps they had a more solemn way of lifting the body up to the level of the entrance than hoisting it up by a ladder.

The graves are family affairs and made for repeated burials, though they are small; there may be as many as three couches, as in our *ill. 12b*, in which there is also a little seat or throne; the ceiling is pitched and beams and rafters are imitated in the rock, with small pediment-shaped gables at the short ends. All this may be vaguely reminiscent of Etruscan rock-cut tombs, but these Phrygian tombs are on a much smaller scale, more intimate and the ones of *ill. 12a* and *b* date to the late 8th century BC.

In some of these tombs vultures nestled: heaps of dung, white, very hard and evaporating an all-penetrating stench, made the work disagreeable (for this 'Vulture' tomb see *ill. 12a. 3* and 5).²⁶ While Mehmet called out the measures from the measuring tape, I made the drawings and some notes.

a. Arslan Taş

(*ill. 11*, no 6; *ill. 12a* 1-2, 4, 6 and 12c; Travelers, Fig. 52; *Highlands*, 118-119, Pls 127-134)

The earliest and by far the most important tomb is, of course, the Arslan Taş (= Lion Rock). It is reminiscent of the far older Lion Gate at Mycenae (or rather: 'Lioness Gate', for they seem to be females), but the Phrygian beasts are much more powerful and awe-inspiring, two gigantic roaring animals that lean with their forepaws on the upper door-sill and (surprisingly but very appropriately) having their cubs on the ground next to them. One of the cubs has been wilfully damaged; apparently to get at the hidden 'treasure'. The colossal lions of the Arslan Kaya (Fig. 47a-b), which lean with their forepaws on the head of Kybele herself, are also awesome, but the winged sphinxes in the gable seem to show that this façade may be of a

somewhat later date than that of the Arslan Taş. The style of our colossal lionesses is analysed by Haspels (*Highlands*, 118, 134-135); it is clear that they date to the great Phrygian period before 700 BC.

The tomb must have been made for a high nobleman, possibly the governor of the region. Its inside (*ill. 12a. 1-2, 4, 6*) appeared to be the simplest of all: a squareish, empty room with a flat ceiling, roughly 2.25 m wide and long. Its rock (11 m high; *Fig. 52, ill. 12c*) forms a huge cube, which is not natural but more or less carved into shape; its top has also been worked over and flattened (*ill. 12a. 6*); one suspects that there may have been some ornament or sculpture, something like the lion on top of the Gerdek Kaya (*Fig. 57*, which is an old photo, the lion has been destroyed since). In Byzantine times the grave of the Arslan Taş was re-used and a large, oblong space was cut out in the left-hand wall, rounded off at all corners (*ill. 12a. 1 and 4*). This almost royal tomb is the only one in the whole series in which the furniture has not been reserved in the rock; apparently it received couches and chests in wood and luxurious material, like the tombs in the tumuli at Gordion.

Understandably, the ordinary Phrygians regarded it as an honour to have their graves near this central tomb (such as *ill. 12a. 3, 5 and 12b*).

b. Broken Lion Tomb

(*ill. 11, no 7; ill. 12d-f; Travelers*, 154-155, *Figs 63-64, 80-81; Highlands*, 129-133, 136-138, *Pls 141-156*)

The Broken Lion Tomb offered by far the most intricate and also the most pleasant problem. It is usually called Yılan Taş, which means 'Snake Rock' (the population took the two lion paws for snakes). The photo of *Fig. 63* shows how an earthquake or some other disaster must have ruined the tomb:²⁷ very big rocks lie thrown across each other. The colossal lion which gave the name to the tomb, is visible in *Fig. 63*. Haspels had figured out that this lion must be part of a couple that sat opposite each other, looking round, with raised forepaws touching, as in *ill. 12f* (= *Highlands*, p. 132, *Fig. 5*).²⁸ Without much trouble we located the other animal and made the top of its head visible: *Highlands*, *Pl. 153*.

Next we wanted a reconstruction of the entire tomb. While I clambered over the broken rocks, drawing and taking measures with Mehmet, we imagined that we lifted the rocks up and put them back in their original place. This was not as hard as it seemed at first; and so we reached a relatively accurate reconstruction of the tomb (*ill. 12d*). The tomb was wider than long: it measured

4.80 m in length, and 5.13 m + 1.20 m (bench) in width. The ceiling was pitched with two slanting boards or rafters and along the top of all four walls ran a raised 'timber' board.

Let us look at *ill. 12d. 1, 3 and 5*: there is a long couch against the wall to the left; on it two thick short columns, reserved in the rock, were standing on cushion-bases, their tops adorned with a primitive Aeolic capital (*Highlands*, *Pls 150, 152*); only one of them was preserved and the cast we made of it (shown in *Pl. 152*) is now in the Allard Pierson Museum. The capital itself, however, has since been destroyed by treasure hunters. Against the back-wall (1 in the drawing *ill. 12d. 1*) stood a bench under the gable which is provided with a king-beam. The outer (West) wall which was broken into big pieces, consisted of only two parts, with the truly colossal lion on the outside, made visible (by our draughtsman A. de Jong, who inked my drawings for the publication, see Addendum 1b) through the wall in *ill. 12d. 2*. On this side there was a 'table' in the corner with legs in relief (imitating an ordinary wooden table, see also *ill. 12d. 4*) and a couch (*ill. 12d. 2-3*). The entrance wall was gabled; its doorway was, as usual, quite small (0.76 x 1.00 m) and deep 1.15 m (*ill. 12c. 3-4*). On its outside were the reliefs of the two warriors, threatening a colossal Gorgon with their spears; they are not visible in *ill. 12d*, but see *ill. 12e*. The upper picture is the rubber cement cast Haspels made in 1950; she had to rescue it from shepherd-boys, as we have seen above; the Medusa head and the helmeted soldier are casts made in 1958. Haspels had all necessary material taken with her (michaplast, *Highlands*, 136 n. 77) and managed to take all these unique casts out of the country to Holland. The Medusa head or Gorgon (*ill. 12e*) has what looks like donkey-ears but they are meant to be the ears of a horse (when her head had been cut off by Perseus, the blood from her neck gave birth to the divine horse Pegasus: this must be the explanation of the unusual ears of this monumental Gorgon). All the figures above the doorway are in very high relief and are very large: the Gorgo of *ill. 12e* has a diam. of 0.90 m; the spear that threatens her (*ill. 12e*) is 3 m. This warrior (*ill. 12e*) is, in Haspels' words, 'a Greek hoplite, the crest of his helmet mounted on a bird's head; his hair is folded into a kind of bun at the back, his beard is well-carved' (top of helmet to break below 1.90 m). As for the lions on the West side, they are huge: the fragment of head and body as seen in *Fig. 63* is 2.65 m, the head alone is 1.70 m high.

As for the date of the tomb, it is clear that it

belongs to the 6th century. Haspels hesitates on the date: 'one wonders if the tomb could have been ordered by some important family from outside the highlands proper' (*Highlands*, 138). The lions on the West side and the relief above the entrance do differ in style and technique (*Highlands*, 137-138), which in view of the dimensions is, I think, not surprising: different workshops may have undertaken so great a task. Comparing the style with Greek art, it seems to me that the warrior's head of *ill. 12e* cannot be dated before 546 BC, which is the date of the fall of the Lydian empire and the conquest by Persia; if so, the tomb belongs to the Persian period of the Phrygian history.²⁹

In Fig. 81 Haspels is flat on her belly to take a picture of the head of the second lion we had just uncovered by scooping out some earth under it (*Highlands*, Pl. 153).

Before we leave the Köhnüş we must have a look at the great caravan of camels which one day passed in front of the Arslan Taş (Fig. 51) with slow steps carrying some freight from East to West and giving the valley an almost biblical solemnity (in the background we see the square rock of the Arslan Taş). Haspels was quick to grasp the occasion and grateful to capture so striking a picture of her beloved Köhnüş.

4. Delik Taş

Among the 13 *kales* Haspels studied, the Delik Taş was (after Midas City) her favourite (*ill. 18a-e*; map *ill. 2*; *Travelers*, Folding Map DE6/7; NE of İnli, E6/7; *Highlands*, 65-68, Pls 199-206, 501.2 and 570). It lies high up in the mountains. Standing on its plateau one has a view all over the region even as far as Midas City and the *kales* near it. Delik Taş is a small affair: only some 60-70 m long; measured from E in *ill. 18a* to the end of the curved 'tail' in the South, which is an extension of the great entrance stair-case A in *ill. 18a* and *b*. It may be small but it is a very adventurous *kale*. Haspels thought at the time that it would be worthwhile to excavate this rock plateau, because it looked comparatively untouched.

The fortress walls followed the edges and made use of a number of rock-cut 'towers', especially D-E-F in *ill. 18a*. There was an inconspicuous entrance at C (between 4 and 6), probably meant for emergencies, but the main entrance was at A: this must have been monumental and impressive. It consists of a big and high stairway leading up onto the rock (A in *ill. 18a* and *b*: see the photo *Highlands*, Pl. 200). The staircase has broken and part of it lies at its foot to its South. The Southern

offshoot or spur of the rock-formation, indicated by number 1 in *ill. 18b* contains a small rounded niche with a Kybele image, that stood guard at the gate (also visible, as a dark spot in *Highlands*, Pls 200 and 205).

Apart from the main entrance at A, there was another staircase leading up the rocks to its right, at B. Here, at A, Haspels asked me to climb up the rocks to the right of the staircase and make a photograph from above with her Rolleiflex camera (*Travelers*, 150): so I clambered up with her camera loosely hanging round my neck, and jumping from one rock to another, the camera swung forward and hit a rock: its green filter was smashed. I felt horribly guilty and stupid and was completely stunned, so much so that I could not utter a word, I did not even offer apologies. Haspels was, understandably, very annoyed, for in the glaring light of these mountains it was impossible to make good photographs without such a filter; and this sort of lens was at the time not available anywhere in the region, perhaps not in the whole of Anatolia. What was to be done?

With her admirable 'elasticity' in awkward situations, she recovered quickly and remembered that she had a (smaller) green filter lens somewhere; and from that moment onwards she had to take photographs holding a small green filter on her lens with her left hand, while keeping the camera in the palm of her right hand and pushing the button with her index. She became used to it and her photos did not suffer under it (see Fig. 1). Nonetheless I still feel guilty (compare the situation in the photo Fig. 33, where I had climbed on a similar wall-rock, of Pişmiş Kale).

In the plan, *ill. 18a*, one can see that on the top of many rocks of the fortress-wall, shallow holes were made for catching water (whether they are Phrygian or later, is not clear); for water was, as we have seen, an important consideration for those who had fled into these fortified plateaus. When we left the site, we said that we had expected to find a hidden staircase, but the whole surface was covered with earth and shrubbery.

But there is more to the Delik Taş: at the point marked Z in *ill. 18a*, between the bastions D and E, is the entrance of a complicated Byzantine hide-away, an abode running on four levels or 'floors': *ill. 18c-e*. Through very narrow and low tunnels one has to crawl on all fours, and in order to ascend or descend from one 'floor' to another one had to pass through narrow, strangely shaped, shafts, some 3 m high (*ill. 18d. 1*; note the foot-holds in the sides).

The lowest level is at the large hole in the wall

of the rock, indicated with 4 in *ill. 18c. 2*, broken open at a later date. There is also the small window-hole no 5, which is the original size. At the back of the room is shaft a (see *ill. 18c. 1*); this leads to level II, which consists of various rooms, not quite pitch-dark, because of the window 3 and the very tiny ones 2 and 1. This last window is on the other side of the rock, at the end of a long straight tunnel.

When we go back to the room of level I, we find that there is a second shaft, B, at the end of a tunnel running East. This one leads us upwards to level III, which is cut deep into the rock and reaches for air and light with a long narrow passage to the West, to window 6. The same shaft B brings us further upwards to level IV which is a long horizontal, low corridor serving four 'rooms', the Western one lighted by two windows, nos 7 and 8: window no 7 is hardly damaged as can be seen in *ill. 18d. 2-3*; the cuttings at the edges show how it was closed, and made nearly invisible from the outside (*Highlands*, Pls 423-424).

For indeed, from the outside no one would suspect a safe hiding-place for a considerable number of people (now some of the walls of the caves are broken open). Such secret hiding-places are not rare in the region; they were perfectly safe, for it would be impossible for any enemy to enter. Apparently there were many times in which the Byzantines felt terribly menaced: see *Highlands*, 232-233. Haspels says about this refugium: 'The entire set-up is an amazing labyrinth and an example of haphazard planning.' I would rather say: no planning at all.

But to return to the rock plateau itself, the Phrygian *kale* (*ill. 18a*), there is one aspect that ought to be stressed: here, as almost everywhere else, all city-walls built of large dressed stones have wholly disappeared. This is often found so surprising by visitors (and sometimes scholars) that they can hardly believe that they ever existed: yet there are, fortunately, some remains that show how the *kales* were protected by colossal walls: see, for example, the remnants of the gate at Akpara *kale* and elsewhere (*Highlands*, Pls 72, 79-80, 507). After Antiquity the population of this isolated and hardly prosperous region has carried off all Phrygian building blocks for re-use in houses, churches, bridges, mosques. etc. The omnipresent Phrygian cuttings in the rocks which were made to receive these building blocks³⁰ are from time to time mistaken for steps and even step-altars. And indeed, it is easy to take these cuttings for steps: for, when climbing up these rocks, they serve as comfortable staircases: see Fig. 33, where I have used these 'steps' to climb to the top of a rock. How-

ever, there is one exception: an edifice built of large blocks that is still standing - as we shall see now.

5. Edifices built with Dressed Stones

a. A Roman tomb at Avdan Teşvikiye (map *ill. 1*; *ill. 19a-b*; *Travelers*, Folding Map D6; 111-112; *Highlands*, 165-166; Pls 275-280, 552-553)

This tomb is the only structure built of separate blocks in the whole region that has not been robbed of its stones. It has so far been protected by its heavy construction: it would be very dangerous to demolish it for the ordinary peasant who is looking for nice blocks for his fountain house, mosque, school or some other building.

It was discovered in the early 19th century by J.R. Steuart and then was lost again; Haspels rediscovered it. She went back in 1958 to make a definitive analysis and I enjoyed drawing it: for it was a pleasure to work for once on a true building instead of all those imitation-edifices negatively hollowed out of the rocks. Its measures outside are: 7.00 x 8.65 m, its height: 5.65 m. Inside the width is 5.15 m and the height above the level of the moulding (*ill. 19a-b*) that runs all along the top of the wall, is 2.90 m.

It is built on very uneven ground (*ill. 19b. 1* and *3*), and consists in a large barrel vault resting on a low side-wall, partly reserved in the rock on one side. It is constructed of large blocks of different sizes, some very big (hind wall *ill. 19b. 4*; and the keystones in the ceiling: *ill. 19b. 3*). The moulding on the outside, is lifted to a higher level above the entrance (*ill. 19a*). Then it continues on its own level around two rectangular bases at the corners of the building, which were meant for statues.

On one side of the interior, the rock was so high that the sarcophagi were partly cut out of it; on the other side three separate coffins were seen by Steuart; they were lost when Haspels first entered the tomb; one of the sarcophagi may have been taken out for the water basin in the village (*Highlands*, 166, n. 13), though I wonder how they could get such a coffin out of the rather narrow doorway (h. 1.54 m and about 1 m wide).

The tomb probably dates to the latter part of the 2nd century AD, when Marcus Aurelius returned from Syria overland to the Aegaeon. As Haspels tells us, an inscription in the village pays honour to him (*Highlands*, 166-167 with App. III, 93).

b. Kızıl Saray (near Türkmen Baba)
(map *ill. 1*; *ill. 20a-c*; *Highlands*, 218-221, n. 56; Pls 342-356, 565-567; see Folding Map E4)

In the entire region there are, as we have seen, hardly any remains of stone constructions left, none completely preserved, except the tomb in Avdan Teşvikiye just described. However, there are remains of a big building, not so far from the Türkmen Baba, named Kızıl Saray (= the Red Palace, so-called because of its red volcanic stone), the stones of which are rapidly being carried off. When we returned in 1958, it appeared that part of the North stylobate I had drawn in 1953, was gone. This made it necessary to record as much as we could of the building, or rather foundations. Mehmet started to cut away the brushes and so we uncovered what can be seen in *ill. 20a-c*.

The plan, extensively described in *Highlands*, 219-221, looked to me like a Roman basilica, later changed into a church. I believed this because originally the building did not seem to have had an apse and was built with big, well-cut stones, some with fine mouldings. Clearly, the apse had been added at a later stage (*ill. 20b*): we found its foundation consisting of rubble with mortar (a typical Roman technique, not further found in this building nor in the big tomb of Avdan Teşvikiye, *ill. 19a-b*). But Haspels, rightly perhaps, believed it to be originally an 'early' church: from the 5th or 6th century. The early date is suggested by the strong building technique and material, witness also the bold mouldings (*Highlands*, Pl. 567, 6 and 8), which are uncommon in the ordinary Byzantine ruins of these areas.

The building formed a rectangle (20.53 m x 13.30 m). On the outside there was a stringcourse with a fine moulding around the base, and the outer wall was crowned, it seems, by a moulded stringcourse or 'architrave' (*Highlands*, Pl. 567, 6-8).

Inside (*ill. 20a*) there was a nave (*c*) with two side-aisles (*b*) and a narthex (*a*) the measures of these parts were well-adapted to one another (*Highlands*, 221). The narthex was divided from the church proper by a wall, but between the aisles and the nave was a row of at least five archivolts (*Highlands*, 220), resting on four columns between two pilaster-responds (standing on a stylobate), supporting arches (3 voussoir-blocks were found: *Highlands*, Pl. 566, 1-3). In the nave (*c*) part of the pavement was undamaged (*Highlands*, Pl. 567, 3). There may have been a screen in front of the apse (*Highlands*, 220). One capital and a piece of a column, found in the neighbourhood, may have belonged to it (*ill. 20c*). See further my description

in *Highlands*, 218-221.

It is to be feared that at present (2014) much more of the remains has already been carried off to the villages in the neighbourhood.

6. Rock-cut Churches

All those years I was working on the plans and drawings, I had wondered what Haspels would do with my countless drawings of churches (*Highlands*, Pls 574-597). In fact, she devotes a short but very interesting paragraph to them (*Highlands*, 245-254).

a. 'Hamam' of Ayazın

(map *ill. 3*; *ill. 21a-c*; *Travelers*, Fig. 65; *Highlands*, 245, Pls 577-579, 425-431)

Let us take, as an example, the most spectacular church of all, the one about which we have already spoken above (in Part 2, Par. 1): the so-called Hamam of Ayazın.³¹ The outside of its East part has surprisingly been sculpted out of the rock: both the apse, its roof and the cupola (*ill. 21c*). They are shaped as parts of a real church, inclusive the ridge-tiles on its roof (Fig. 65). This, of course, is highly remarkable and rare; there is one window in the cupola and three narrow, oblong windows in the apse (see also *Highlands*, Pl. 425).

It is a cross-in-square, the nave measuring roughly 8.20 x 7.10 m (*ill. 21a* and *b*).³² The dome rests on a cross-shaped arrangement of short barrel vaults (*ill. 21c*) 'supported' by four pillars (now lost), but the West side of the cross is lengthened and therefore the nave is oblong (the ceiling 'resting', not on four, but on six pillars; *ill. 21a*). There is a central apse with niches topped by arches between columns (*ill. 21b. 5*) and three windows right through the rock (Fig. 65; *ill. 21c* above right and below). The main apse was flanked by two side apses (one lost). The top of the cupola is not spherical but slightly depressed; it receives light through a window cut right through the rock. The entrance door and the pillars were well-cut, with mouldings like those of a true church (*ill. 21b. 1-4*). Haspels gives a detailed description of the entrance (S. of the apses) and the galleries that led into the two doorways, *g* and *k* in *ill. 21a*. What she calls the gallery to the West of the church proper, consists in a complicated, rather misshapen chapel (or narthex): it was hollowed out in later times and was entered through gate *h*.

b. 'Hamam' of İnli
(map *ill.* 2; *ill.* 21d; *Highlands*, 251, Pl. 596)

In İnli there is another church called 'Hamam'.³³ Its nave is only 2.25 m long and 3.50 m wide, and is irregularly shaped. The square under the cupola is only about 2 x 2 m. It is a tiny thing but it imitates an ambitious cross-in-square with a dome on a high cylinder (tambour) with narrow sham-windows; it rests with pendentives on four arches (or short barrel-vaults); these are leaning inwards to meet the circle of the dome. In the apse an altar has been reserved in the living rock and above it a niche with a slit-window right through the rock. At both sides of the apse there are high niches, rounded above. The narthex is on a lower level and there is a broad bench at the north end under a high vault. There is a window above both the entrance door and the entrance into the church itself.

As for the date of these churches, it is clear that, until the coming of the Selçuks, the rock-cut churches were in use (*Highlands*, 253). There are no data for dating. Graffiti and inscriptions in some churches offer little to rely on. However, the utter refinement of the lay-out of the two churches discussed here seems reminiscent of the hey-day of early architecture of this kind and therefore one would be inclined to date them to early Byzantine times, preferably to the 6th or 7th century. Yet, also in Muslim times the Greeks must have gone on building their churches and sculpting them from the rocks.

This must suffice for the churches; it shows that, also in this field, Haspels has collected and documented a rich material for future research.

7. Byzantine Living Grottoes

The Doğanlı Kale
(*ill.* 22a-b; *Travelers*, Fig. 68; *Highlands*, 238-240, Pls 92, 405-414, with drawings Pls 574-575)

The Doğanlı Kale ('Falcon Fortress'), is an enormous, honey-combed rock. The entire rock and the 'roof' are seen in *ill.* 22a; the main floor and its chapel are shown in *ill.* 22b.

Parts of the outside of the rock have collapsed and are lost, but enough is left to roam through a high 'building' cut out in the living-rock with many floors, rooms and halls. The finest part is the main floor with its chapel (*ill.* 22b. 2). This chapel (d) is entered from a square hall (c), which is quite spacious (5.10 x 5.00 m), while there is a tiny, roughly cut chapel next to it (e). The main chapel (d) (*ill.* 22b. 1) is not larger than an average room

(4.70 x 2.45 m) but well-worked, with arched niches along the walls, and an altar in the apse (reserved in the rock) under a narrow window.

On the 'roof', where the rock ends in two outcrops (*ill.* 22a. 2), we were surprised to find graves, four of them (in a): it seemed strange to bury your dead above your head on the top of the rock. On the other outcrop (in b) there is a cistern with overflow, for running water so to speak, to be saved below.

When, in 1953, we had climbed into the hall on the first floor (see the large hole in the front of the rock in Fig. 68, here *ill.* 22a) by means of a tree trunk that leaned against the rock, we clambered upward through a very narrow shaft, some 11 m high, holding on to small hollows for feet and hands in the roughly hewn sides. It ended in b in *ill.* 22b. 2. Haspels was then 59 but still could climb 'like a goat', so Mehmet said.

I made drawings of all four 'floors' in 1953, but they got lost and so we returned for new ones in 1958. Haspels made a detailed description that reads like a novel: *Highlands*, 238-240. Many such Byzantine rock-dwellings are found in the Highlands, 11 of them are published in her book.

8. The Türkmen Baba

The visit to the Türkmen Baba (map *ill.* 1, *ill.* 23) was, in my mind, the culmination of our expedition. The highest top, Haspels tells us (*Highlands*, 194) belonged to the Mother of the Gods. To reach the summit (1826 m high) was not without painful accidents. In the last village where we stayed overnight, our *araba* was parked in the village-stable: therefore the village-bull was left to roam freely about. That night Haspels went to *yüz nümero* somewhere in the village; and while returning, the bull tried to take her on his horns: she escaped miraculously, but she was very painfully bruised and her strong riding breeches were torn. She came in white as a towel (we say), grumbling but not discouraged.

It was, I believe, the following day that we ascended the summit of the Türkmen Baba. I went afoot the last stretch but the *araba* rode straight on round the steep slope, and so it toppled over, with Haspels sitting in it. The wagon fell upside down on her: she lay squashed under it. However, again, she escaped unbroken, in body and soul.

Near the top there was a pleasant surprise: a tiny piece of white marble in the soil shimmered through the grass: we dug it out with our knives. And look: it was a small Roman altar with a Greek inscription: for Helios: *ill.* 23 (*Highlands*, 195 and

n. 147; it was found in the centre of the photo Pl. 251). So, in Roman times, the summit was sacred to the sun; an appropriate god in this lofty spot, nearest to that god.³⁴

Addendum 1: Measures and Measuring

a. Taking Measures in the Field

Drawing the sites and monuments had to be done at great speed. I have already described the available tools: a theodolite, a prism for checking or setting out straight angles in the field. As markers in the field we used aluminium tent poles and we had two measuring tapes, one of 10 and the other of 20 m. In the course of the months my assistant Mehmet Emin became experienced and swift in reading and calling out measures. When back in Holland, however, I noticed to my annoyance that the measuring-tape of 20 m had shrunk some 10 cm or more because of the dryness of the air in the mountains. This shrinking must already have taken place in Phrygia. The consequences for my drawings cannot have been very great, but future checking may well bring it out.

Often measuring was all but impossible; yet we always managed. The most baffling problem was no doubt the enormous, wildly shaped rock of the Arslan Kaya (map *ill. 1*; Fig. 47, *Highlands*, Pls 186-191). I stood in front of it quite disheartened, but I was fortunate: I tied a stone of the size of a clenched fist to the end of the 20 m. tape and swirled it around like a sling to throw it towards the top of the monument in the hope it would get stuck somewhere in the rock. And after three or four throws it actually did: in the pediment; it was caught in a hole about level with halfway up the king beam. Thus I could read all the heights with my binoculars. The horizontal measures were less difficult.

The measuring of the great church of Ayazın, (*ill. 21a-c*, see Part 3, Par. 6a), was also a problem as it is nearly 9 m. high inside; but Mehmet climbed on to the roof and held the measuring-tape through the window in the dome (see Fig. 65, *ill. 21b. 5*).

As for the *kales* (and sites): I started with two fixed points (a and b) and worked from them with simple trigonometry, fixing the marked points of the *kale* by measuring the angles from the two points, while regularly checking distances with the 20 m tape. Drawing on a large scale meant that, brought down to a smaller scale, the inaccuracies of the drawing would become minimal.

b. Missing Measures in *Highlands*

Berndt-Ersöz repeatedly writes that she deduced the finer measures of details of the gables from the scale of the drawings in *Highlands*. Apparently sometimes measures were lacking.

I made the drawings in pencil and on a large scale, with measures marking all details. Haspels received a subsidy from the Netherlands' Foundation of Pure Scientific Research (ZWO) to pay for a professional draughtsman, who was allowed to work in the drawing-office of the Institute for Prae- and Protohistory in Amsterdam. This draughtsman, A. de Jong (see Part 3, Par. 3b), inked my drawings and eventually brought them down to the desired scale. I checked all his drawings carefully and never noticed that any measures were omitted. However, in the final stage of the preparation of the book it seems that not rarely measurements were left out in order, I suppose, to give the drawings sufficient 'air', so to speak.

I believe that these omissions took place after I had finished my supervision: for I had to quit working for Haspels in about 1961-1962 for personal reasons: at that moment all the drawings were ready and had, I think, been checked by me. Still, I heartily apologize for this defect. However, Berndt-Ersöz might have come to Amsterdam where all drawings and photos are kept in Haspels' archive in a big cupboard on the top-floor of the Allard Pierson Museum. Here Berndt saw them all and chose what he needed.

Addendum 2: The Geometric Patterns of the Great Monuments

When I drew the patterns of the Mal Taş (*ill. 13a*) and Arslan Kaya (and also of the Midas Monument), I did not copy them after the photos but analyzed the way the Phrygians may have produced them. Thus I found a way to generate the patterns by means of geometrically playing about with chequered squares based on a fixed module. I remember that I used two identical chequered squares which I shoved the one over the other, thereby annihilating or neutralising some and emphasizing other (rows of) squares. In the period I drew these monuments with success (1959, I believe), I tried to explain this generative technique in English, but I did not succeed: I could not even explain it in Dutch. It is a geometrical or planimetric problem that is not to be put into ordinary words; so I gave up. At present, more than 50 years later, I have forgotten how I did it. I write this to establish the fact that the Phrygians did not

simply use their fantasy to create these patterns, but that they must have had a fixed method to generate them by playing geometrically with moduled chequer-squares. The technique derived, no doubt, from plaiting flat ribbons of leather or wood/reeds for furniture and the like: similar patterns appear in the tumuli of Gordion (a chair with a leather back, for example). Some archaeologist, I hope, shall re-discover the method they may have used.

NOTES

* I am deeply grateful to Gerdal Jurriaans-Helle for the energetic and intelligent help she gave me in preparing the publication of this paper.

¹ For Halet Çambel the excavator of Karatepe and a great friend of Haspels', see the Glossary, p. 174.

² The book is a second edition; for the first edition see p. 164; it appeared in 2008-2009 and was more or less a mistake and required corrections. However, on the cover of this somewhat irregular edition the name of the author is far more prominent and so is her proud saying: I am the last of the travelers. The photograph on the cover is also different: we see the rock with the façade monument of the Kes Kaya site, here Fig. 39.

³ Dietrich Berndt is from origin not a professional archaeologist, as he tells in the Glossary p. 173. He studied law, got a doctor's degree on 'Lenin and the right of self-determination of peoples'; and was lucky enough to spend 1961-1962 in the German Archaeological Institute in Teheran. For more than 30 years he was an employee of the German Ministry of Interior. His interest in Phrygian culture began in 1973; he travelled extensively all through the highlands for many years. Since 1986 he has produced many excellent publications (see the bibliography on p. 168). Therefore he is eminently qualified to edit this report; he is personally acquainted with all the sites and monuments and is one of the present experts in the field. He prepares a book about it and he has kindly allowed me to use the plans of Midas City, Findik and the Köhnüş with his explanations, which greatly facilitate the reading of the present report and of Haspels' *Highlands*.

⁴ The book contains the first two parts of an unfinished report found among her papers after her death. There are two more (1953 and 1958), see n. 6. Below I shall try to furnish some information on these later expeditions (Part 3).

⁵ Her nephew G.F. Viets, see p. 159, speaks of 'the near pathological partition between her work and her private life'.

⁶ The report of later expeditions (1953 and 1958) are not included. Haspels had not translated them into English (as Berndt told me; see p. 143, 156, 162-164). Nobody has so far been allowed to see the report of 1953 and 1958: a relative of Haspels' who has the manuscript under her care, Josine van Wanroij, refuses to part with it. She is the daughter of G.F. Viets (see n. 5) who was a son of Haspels' youngest sister Charlotte (see the Glossary, s.v. Wanroij, p. 184).

⁷ I know, because we repeated the operation in 1958, but then took only the head of one of the warriors and the Medusa head (see Part 3, Par. 3b, *ill.* 12e).

⁸ Wilful destructions: p. 100 n. 77; p. 164, Figs 18, 43, 48-49, 57, 66-67, 69, 75-77. As Haspels says (n. 77): 'an extreme case of the ignorant folly.... when the villagers demolish those objects which we have studied especially.'

⁹ The captions of Figs 35-36 should read 1939, not 1945. On p. 156 we must, I believe, read: a far later date (not 1958): Haspels traveled for the last time.... etc....

¹⁰ It almost seems as if she did not know of the existence of Bodin's drawings, but that seems hardly possible. Gabriel kept them for *Phrygie* IV, 30-32, Figs 16-20 and signed them AG.

¹¹ The drawings *ill.* 6-8 are by Bodin but are signed by A. Gabriel, who may have entered minor changes.

¹² The drawings are by Bodin (see n. 10 and 11) and the photographs are all by Haspels.

¹³ Berndt-Ersöz - who, by the way, is no relative of the editor of the present book - has written a very useful paper (Berndt-Ersöz 1998). But I totally disagree with her assumptions. These are that the shafts are for oracles and a priest hides in the shaft speaking the oracle. She believes that the holes made by treasure hunters are original and were made to look into the (pitch-dark) shaft or to carry the voice of the oracle. Sometimes the hole has been broken through the place where the upper part of the image of the goddess was, or of what was left of her (Delikli Taş). This seems to disprove the theory.

¹⁴ Haspels does not say much about them, *Highlands*, 100.

¹⁵ See Berndt-Ersöz 1998.

¹⁶ A most obvious example of a venerated stone is, of course, the meteorite in the Kaaba in Mecca, a mighty object of religious worship.

¹⁷ See e.g. Arezastis (*Highlands*, Pl. 84); there must have been a very small one in the little niche high up in the flat field of the gable. Incidentally, Berndt told me that under the niche part of the rock has been demolished (for treasure, of course; see note 23).

¹⁸ Berndt-Ersöz 1998 gives very precise measurements. In my original drawings all measures were indicated; I am sorry that readers of *Highlands* are forced to deduce measures from my drawings, because some of my measures have been lost in the final publication. See below: Addendum 1b.

¹⁹ The Turkish names of the monuments and villages are monotonous. Mal Taş means Treasure Rock; Akpara (a *kale*) means White or Silver Money. Such names show the tenacious belief that there is treasure inside such rock-monuments. Other monuments are called 'Broken Rock' or 'stone' (Delik or Delikli Taş) or 'Door-stone large' and 'small' (Büyük and Küçük Kapı Kaya) etc.

²⁰ Gabriel also dug it up; his drawing is not entirely exact as regards the lower parts of the side-frames (see *Phrygie* IV, Fig. 41).

²¹ These holes are found in all five shafts and were no doubt made by treasure-hunters; see n. 13.

²² As will be explained in the Addendum 1b, the measurements that I noted in my pencil drawings, have not always been inscribed in the final publication of the plans: in this case two of them must have been erroneously exchanged: the width of the room must have been 2.13 m. and its depth 3.23 m.

²³ These images have been wilfully damaged in the last few decades, see Hemelrijk/Berndt 1999.

²⁴ This was filled mostly with wrangling with the editor of the Princeton press; at least, when I met her, Haspels would grumble about it.

- ²⁵ See pp. 154-155. All this happened nearly sixty years ago and my memories are not very precise nor chronologically exact (I did not keep a diary: Haspels did, I saw).
- ²⁶ And then there were the omnipresent flees which we fought with ddt.
- ²⁷ Haspels does not mention a disaster, but says that the tomb was undermined by the weather and broken asunder: *Highlands*, 130. But the broken *kale* seems to point to a similar, or perhaps the same disaster (*Highlands*, Pls 128, 135-137).
- ²⁸ This drawing is not by me: it was made after I had quit-
ted in 1961-1962.
- ²⁹ For the measurements of the reliefs, see *Highlands*, 136-138, and n. 76. For a very extensive description and discussion of the tomb see *Highlands*, 129-133 and for the style of the reliefs see *Highlands*, 136-138.
- ³⁰ A very important example are the step-like cuttings in the side of the Midas Monument, just visible in Fig. 9 (rising to the level of the lintel of the doorway or niche): these cuttings have been recognized to serve to receive the blocks of another stoa, opposite to, and symmetrical with, the one on the side of the rock-plateau. So there was a square or open space in front of the Midas Monument, flanked on both sides by a stoa with a roof slanting down towards the open area between them. See T. Sivas 1999 (see Bibliography in *Travelers*).
- ³¹ The shape with its dome is like a Turkish bath-house = *hamam*.
- ³² The rectangle of the church is less regular than my drawing suggests, as the recorded measurements show.
- ³³ Haspels called it İnli Armutlu; Armutlu's modern name is Sabuncupınar; İnli (map *ill.* 2; Folding map C4), is sit-

uated about 10 km SSE from Sabuncupınar (map: BC3), as Berndt informs me.

- ³⁴ The tomb of the saint Father (Baba) Türkmen now found on the top, was rather neglected.

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- Tome IV. *La cité de Midas; architecture*, par A. Gabriel, Paris 1965.

ZOMERDIJK 16

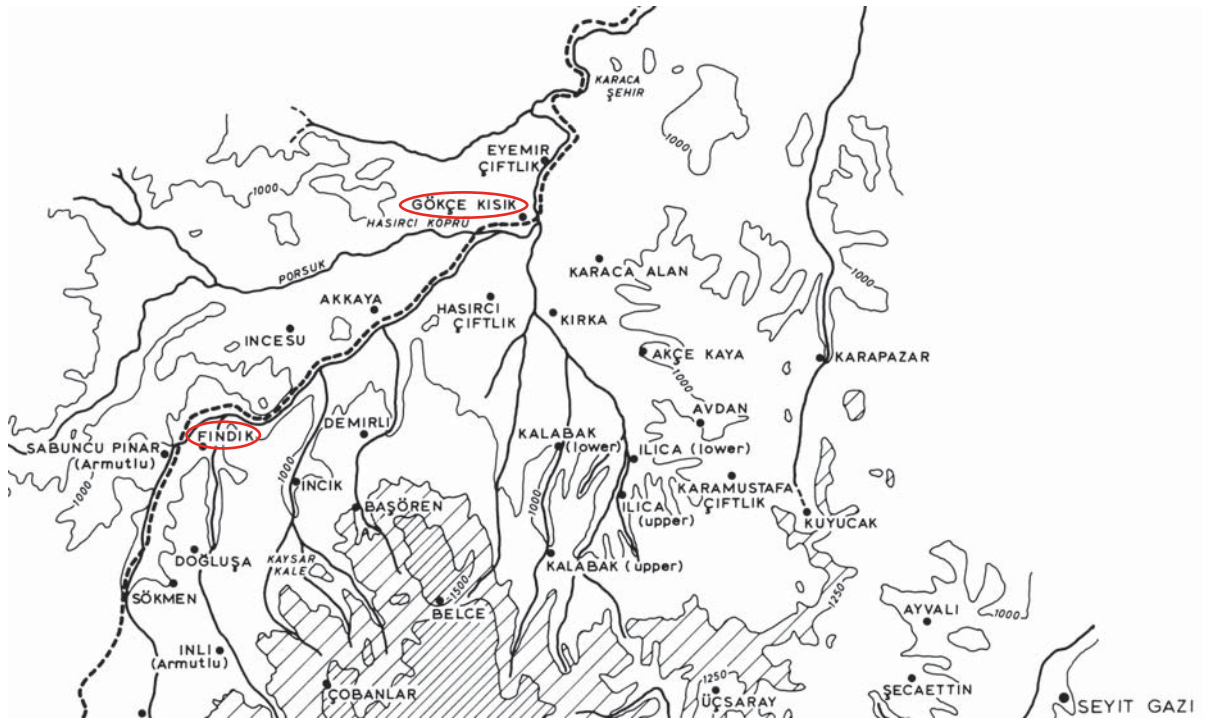
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anthropos@xs4all.nl

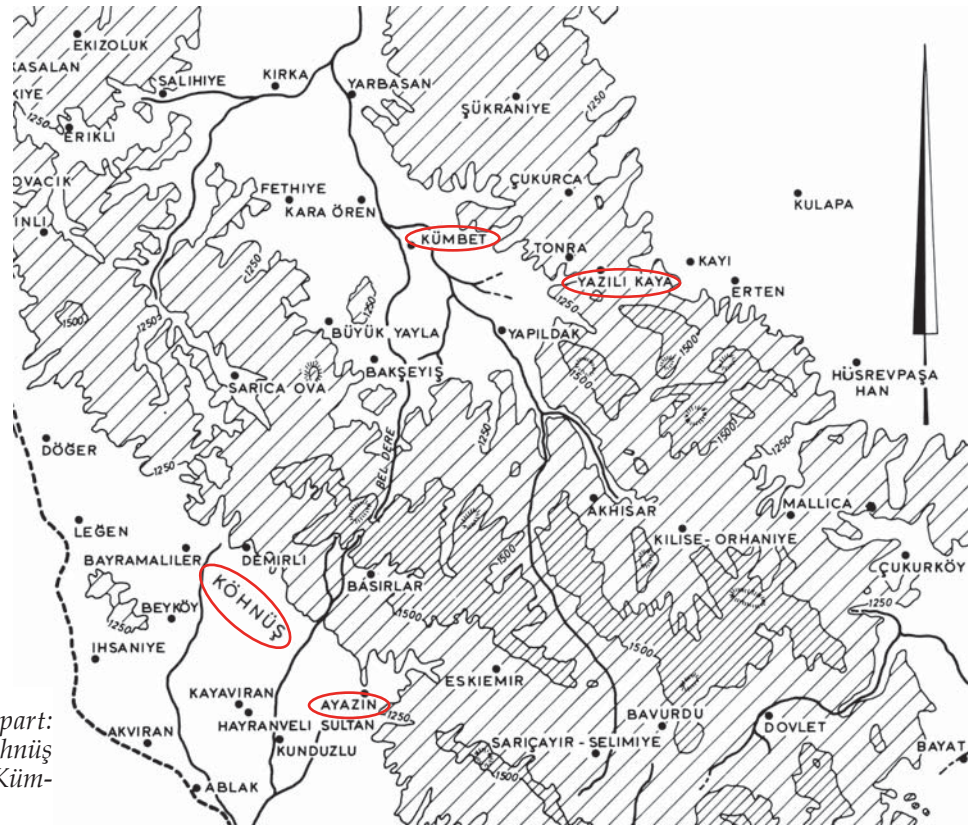
illustrations



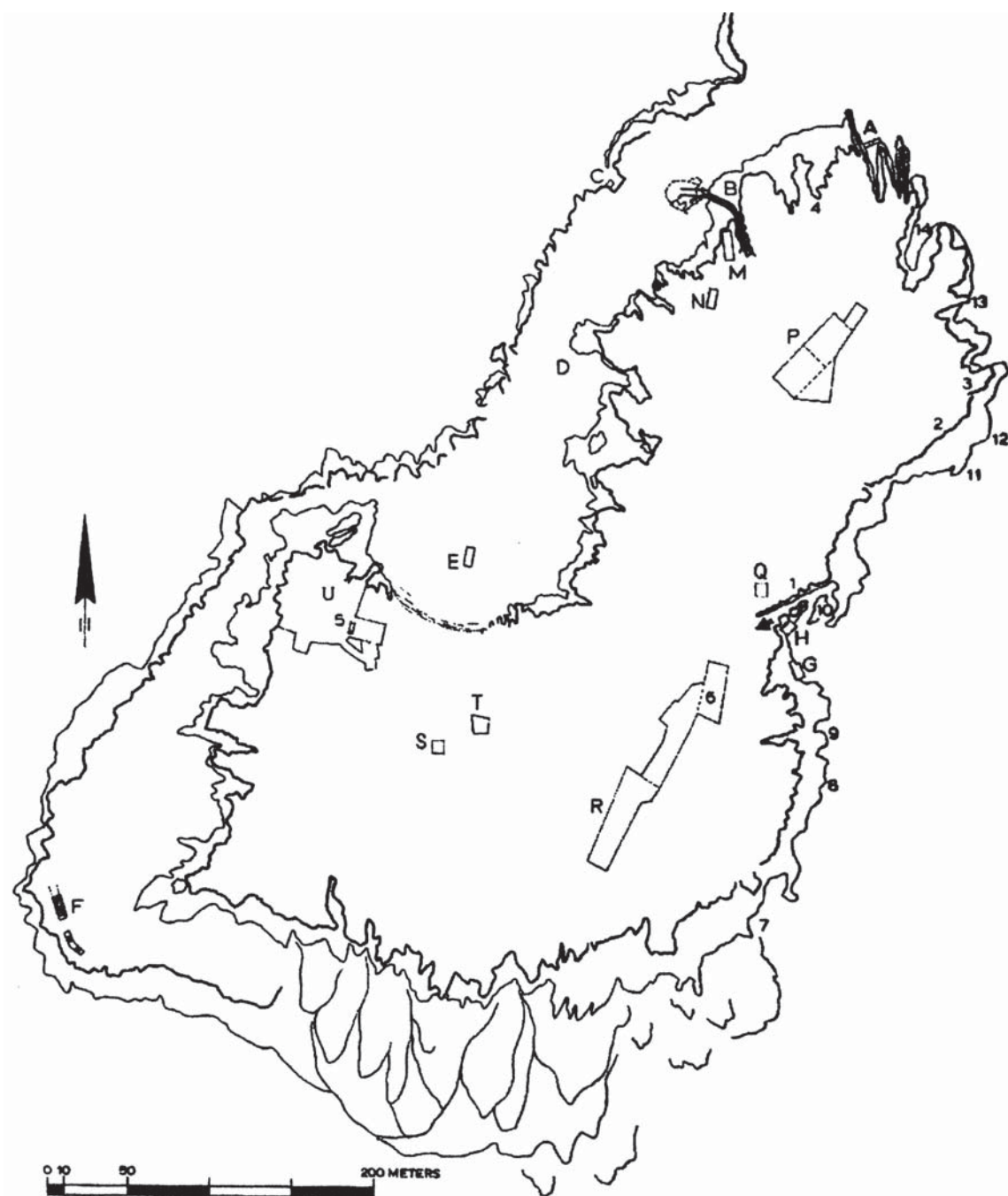
ill. 1. Map (Highlands, Pl. 493). Midas Monument = Midas City (Yazılı Kaya).



ill. 2. Map of the North Eastern part of the region with Fındık and Gökçe kısık.

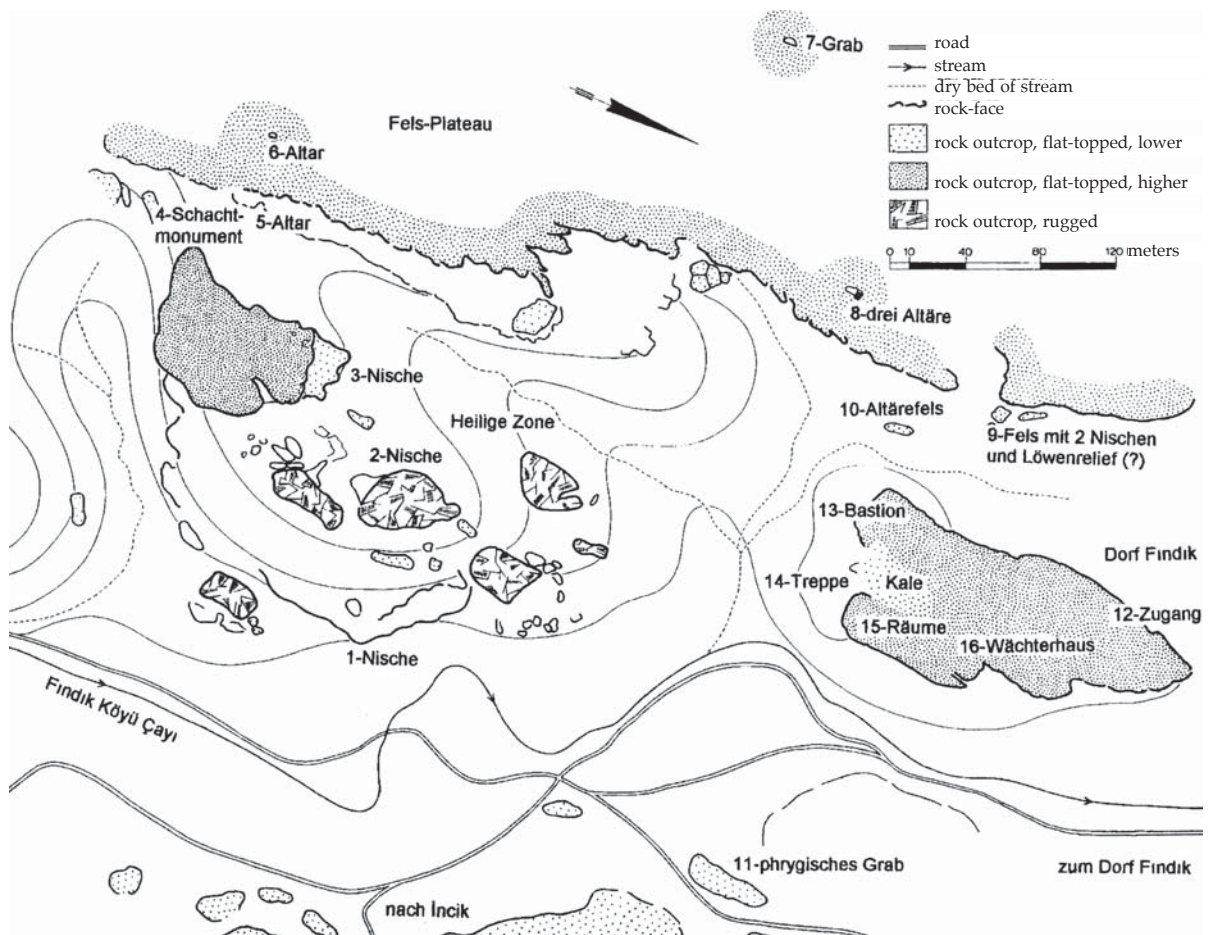


ill. 3. Map of SW part: encircled: Ayazın, Köhnüş and, more to the N, Kümbet and Yazılı Kaya.



- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| A : Midas Monument | F : 3 concealed staircases | P : domestic quarters |
| B : staircase and cave | G : Hyacinth Monument | Q : staircase |
| C : fountain | H : step monument | R : excavation area |
| D : Unfinished monument | M : excavation area | S : small dig |
| E : test dig | N : Animals rock | T : small dig |
| | | U : excavation, Agdistis Sanctuary |

ill. 4. Map of Midas City: Highlands, Pl. 493; as explained by Berndt.



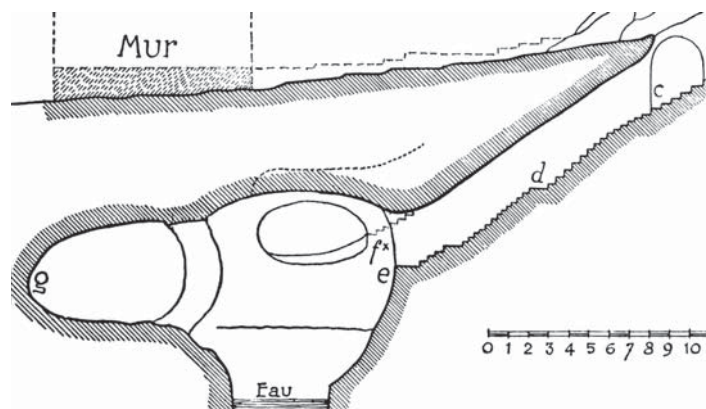
ill. 5a. Findık site (Highlands, Pl. 504); as explained by Berndt.



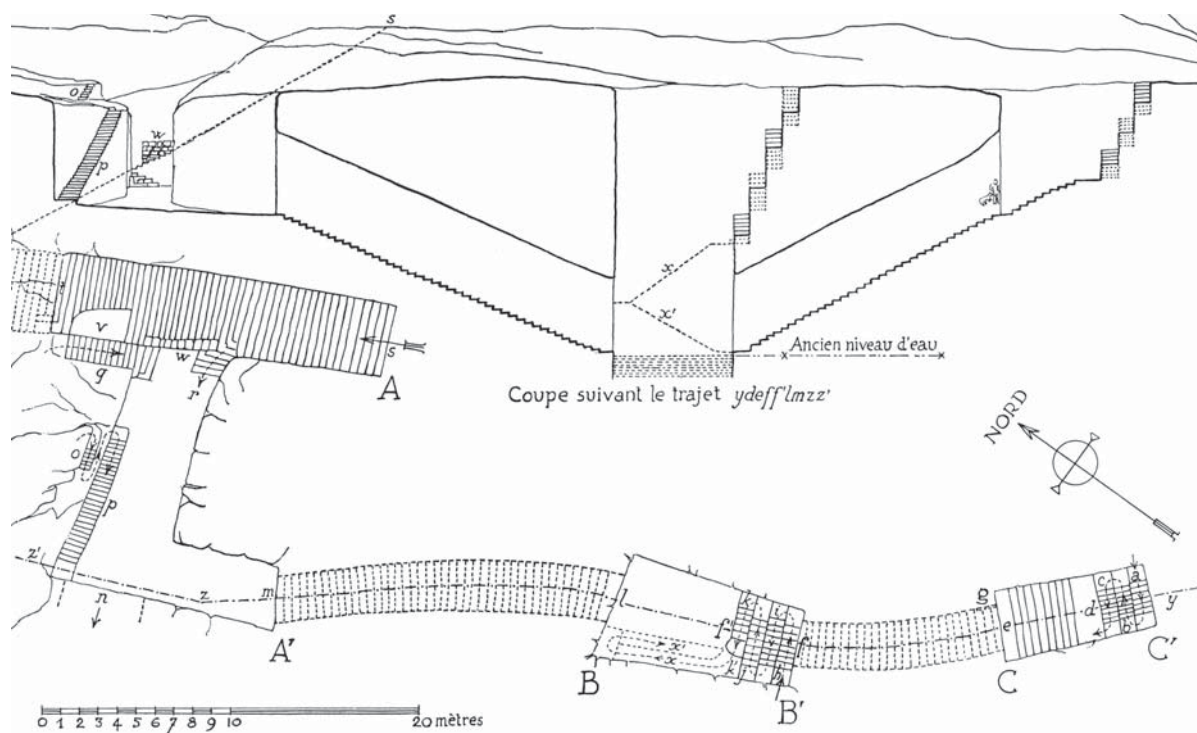
ill. 5b. Findık site. Rock opposite Kale looking south (Highlands, Pl. 217).



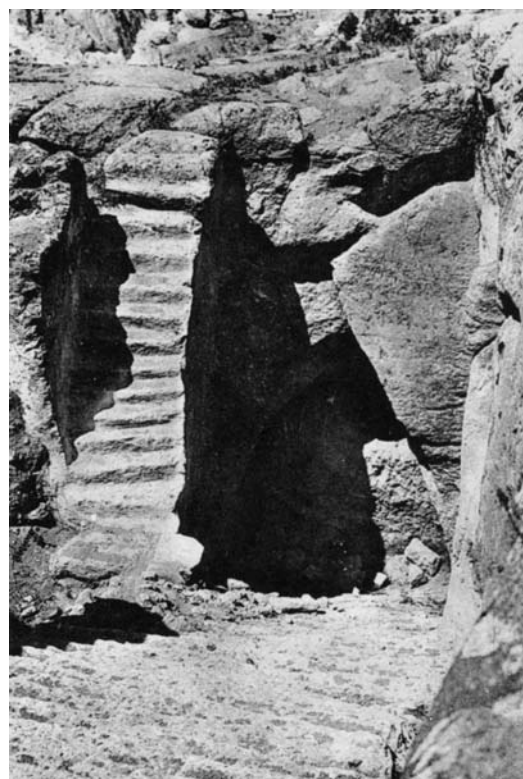
ill. 6. Midas City. Cave of staircase B, the main flight of steps splitting left and right (Phrygie IV, Fig. 18).



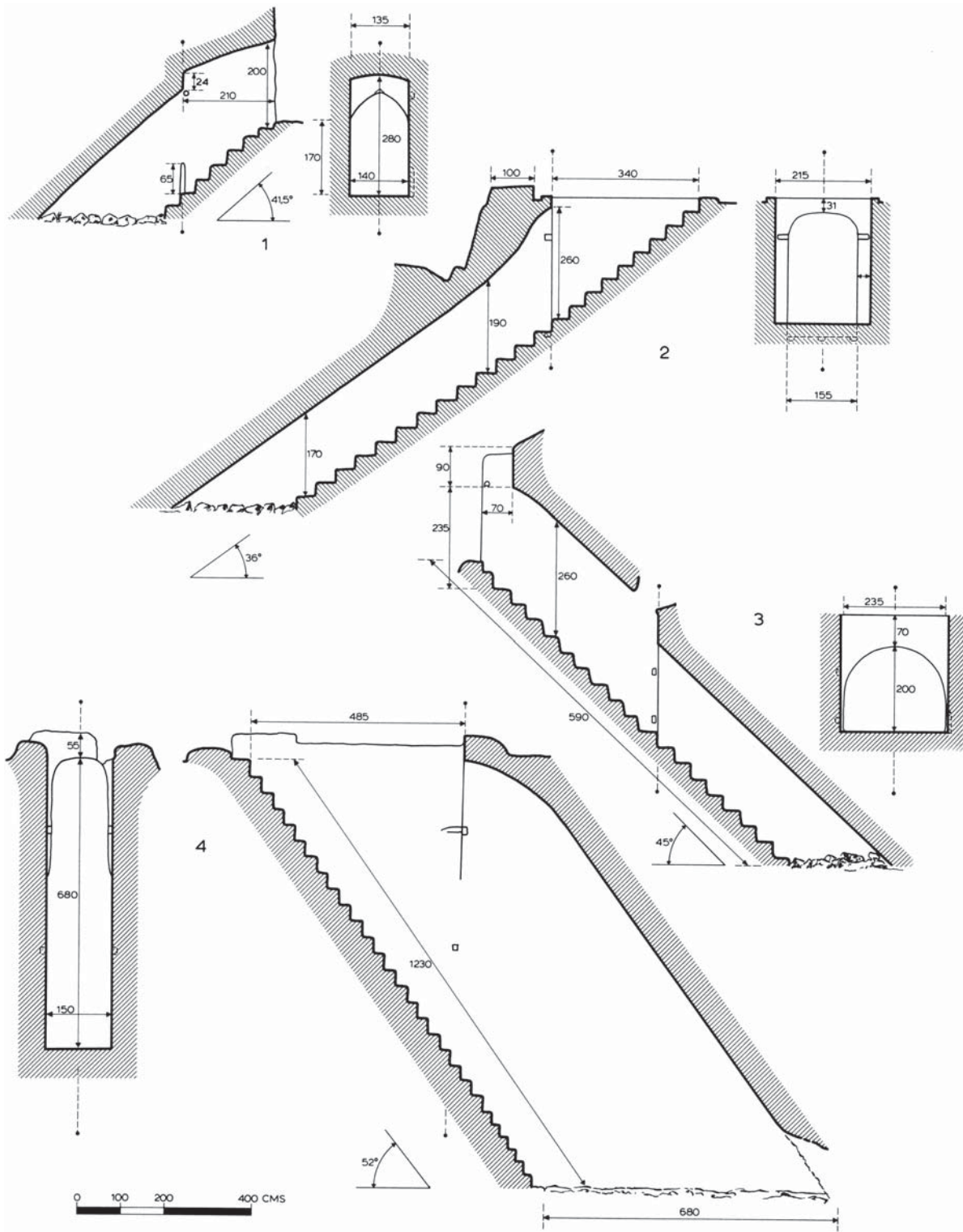
ill. 7. Midas City. Vert. section of grotto Ill. 6 along the line c-e-f-g (Phrygie IV, part of Fig. 17).



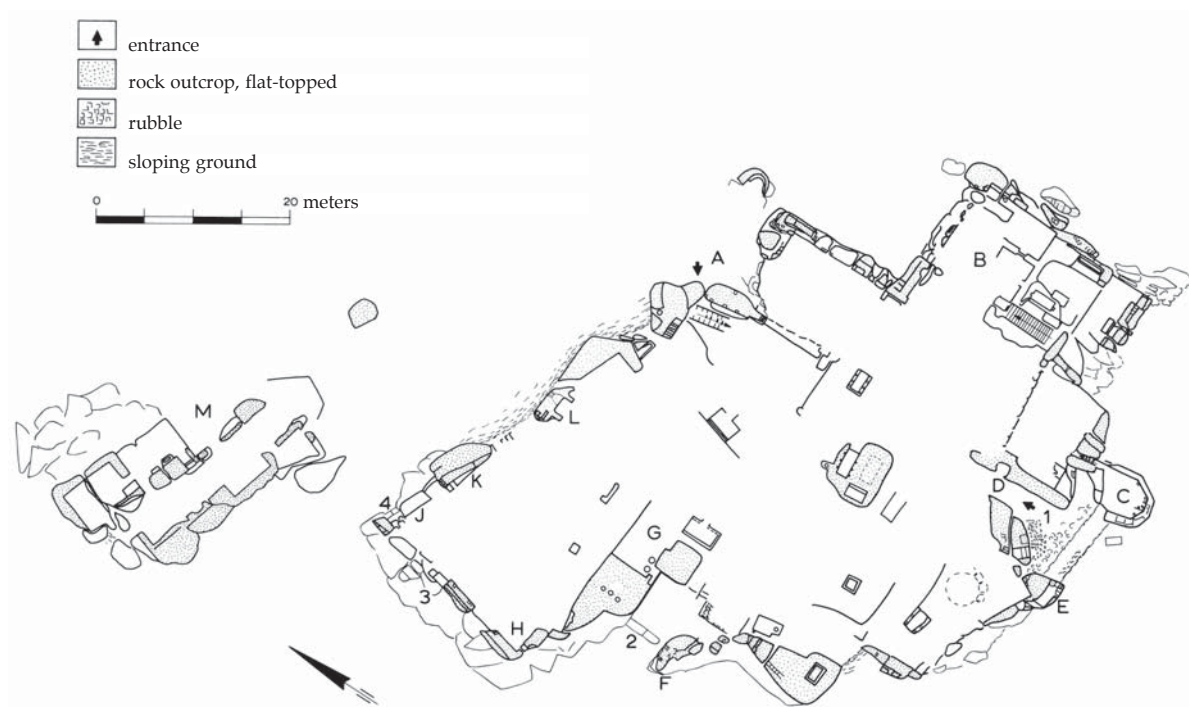
ill. 8a. Midas City. Staircases F, vert. section above, and plan below (Phrygie IV, Fig. 19).



ill. 8b. Details of the Staircases F, left: steps A mounting, right: steps q mounting (Phrygie IV, Fig. 10a and b).



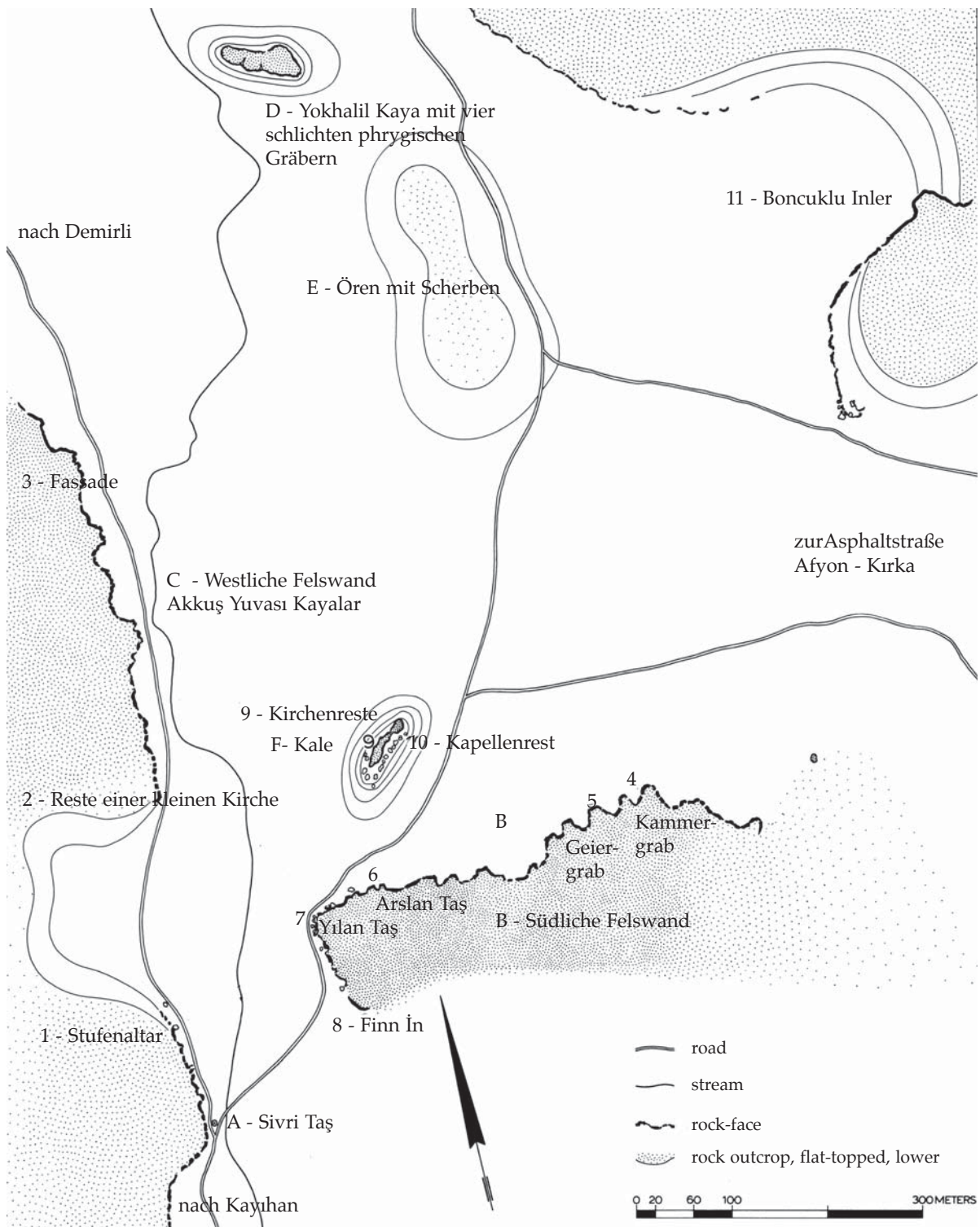
ill. 9. Concealed staircases on the kales of Yapıldak (1), Kümbet (2), Demirli (3) and Pişmiş Kale (4) (Highlands, Pl. 508).



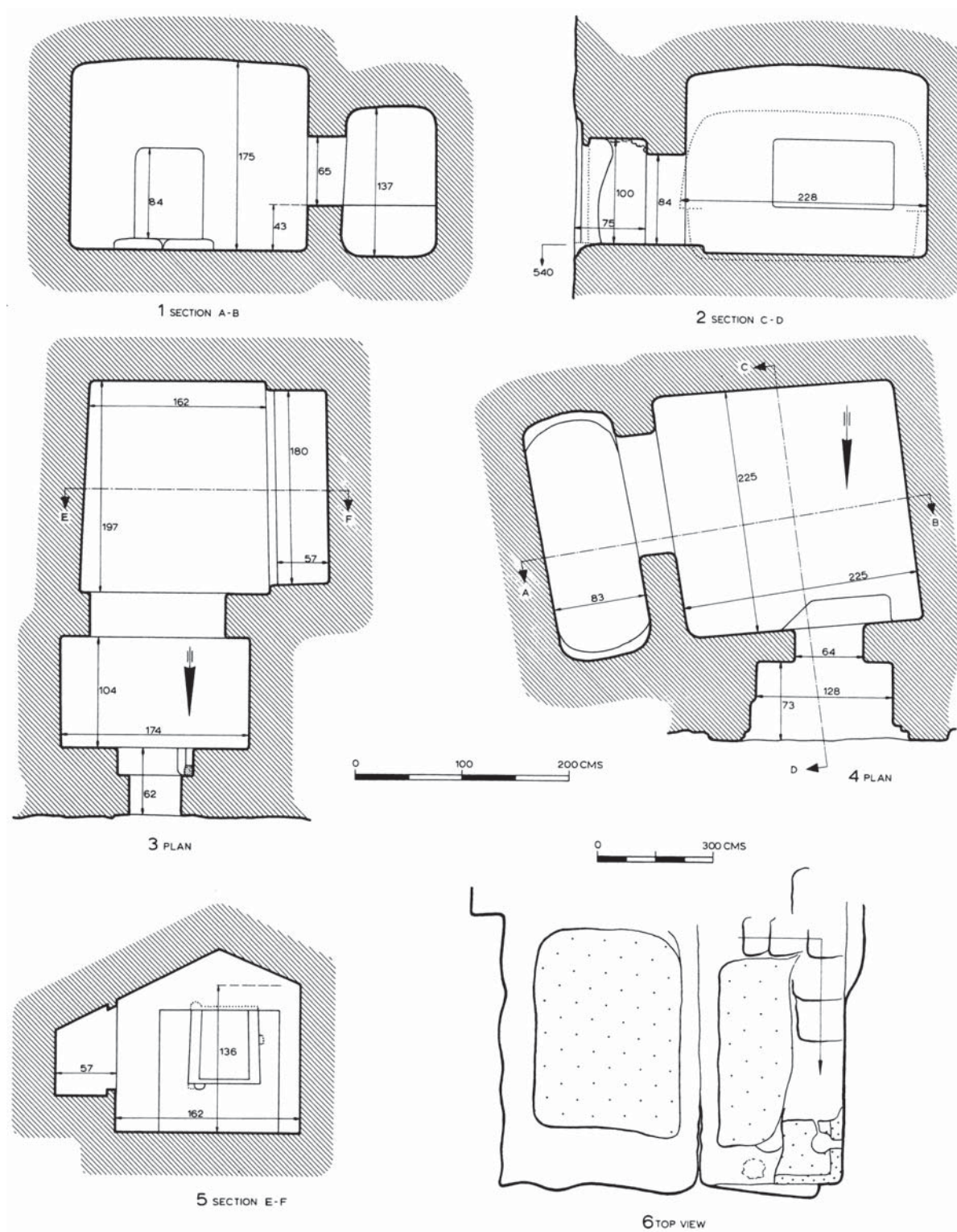
ill. 10a. Pişmiş Kale (Highlands, Pl. 496).



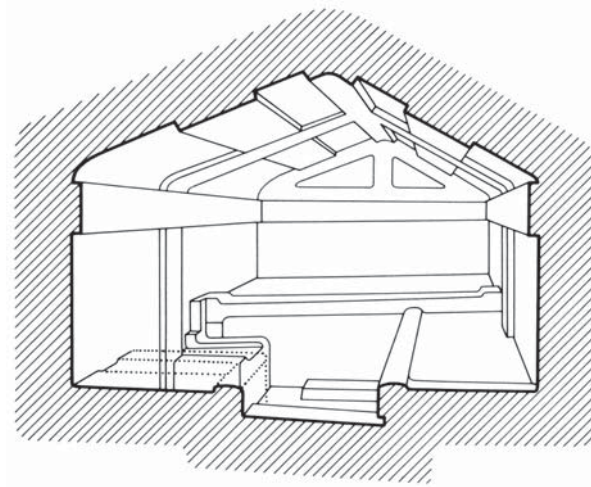
ill. 10b. Pişmiş Kale entrance at A, looking NE (Highlands, Pl. 61).



ill. 11. Köhnüş (Highlands, Pl. 499), as explained by Berndt.



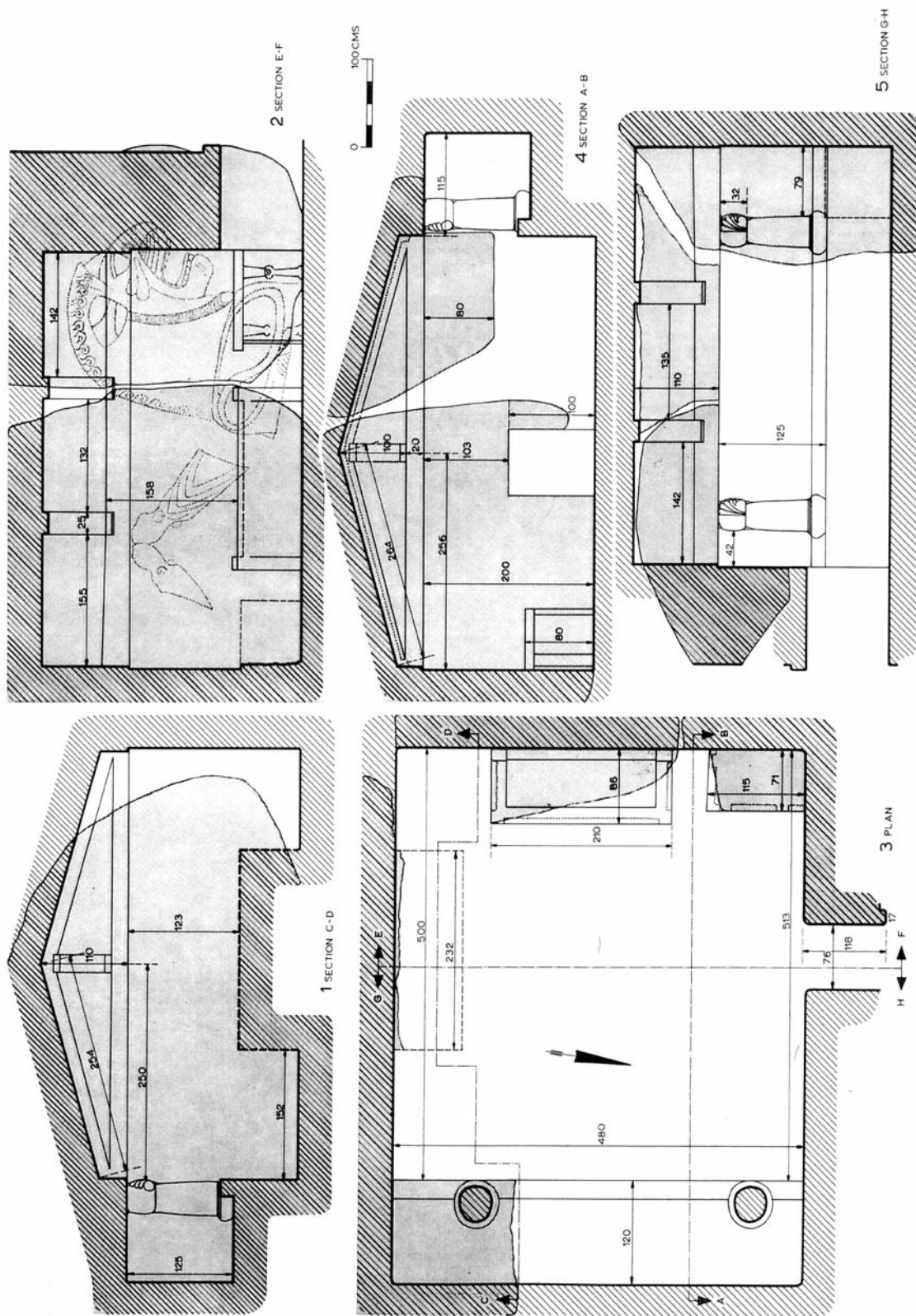
ill. 12a. Arslan Taş: 1-2, 4, 6. 'Vulture tomb': 3, 5 (Highlands, Pl. 534).



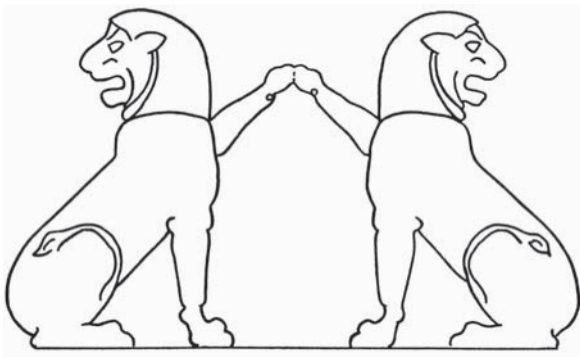
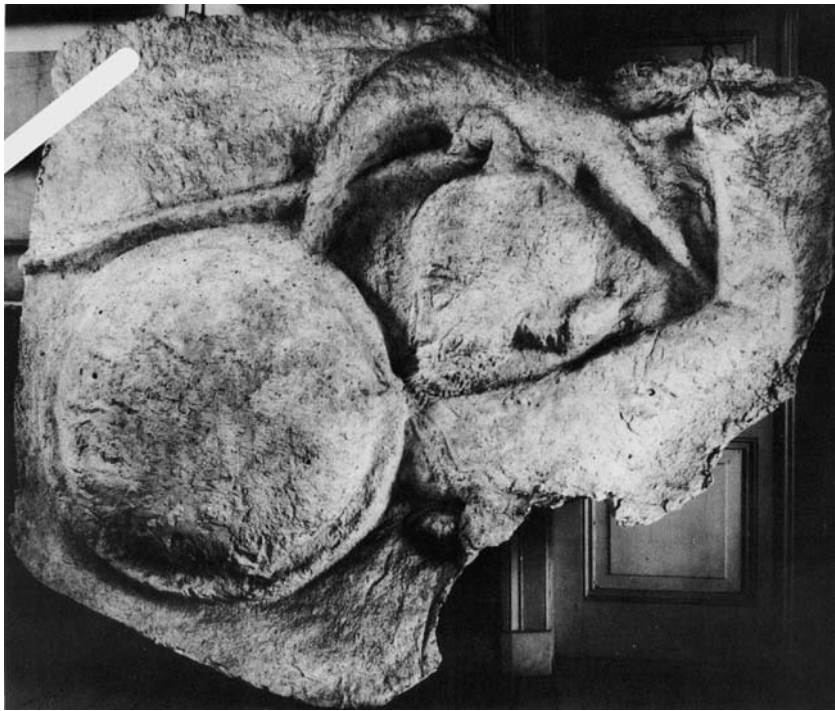
ill. 12b. Köhnüş tomb 17: the 'Cosy' Tomb (Highlands, Pl. 537.1).



ill. 12c. Arslan Taş (Highlands, Pl. 131).

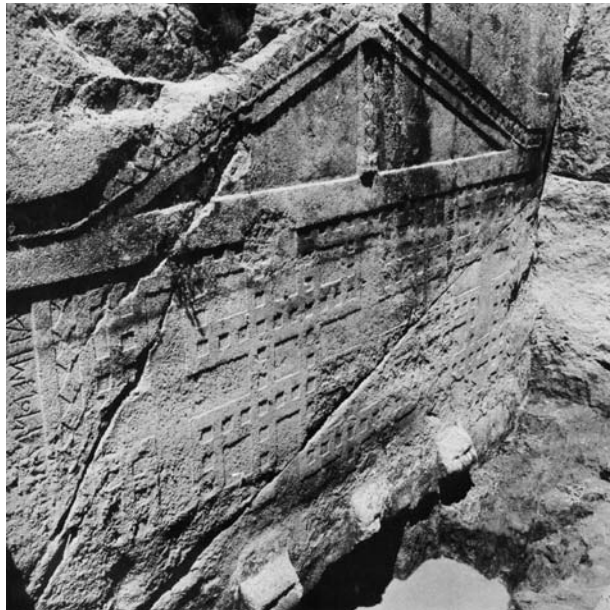
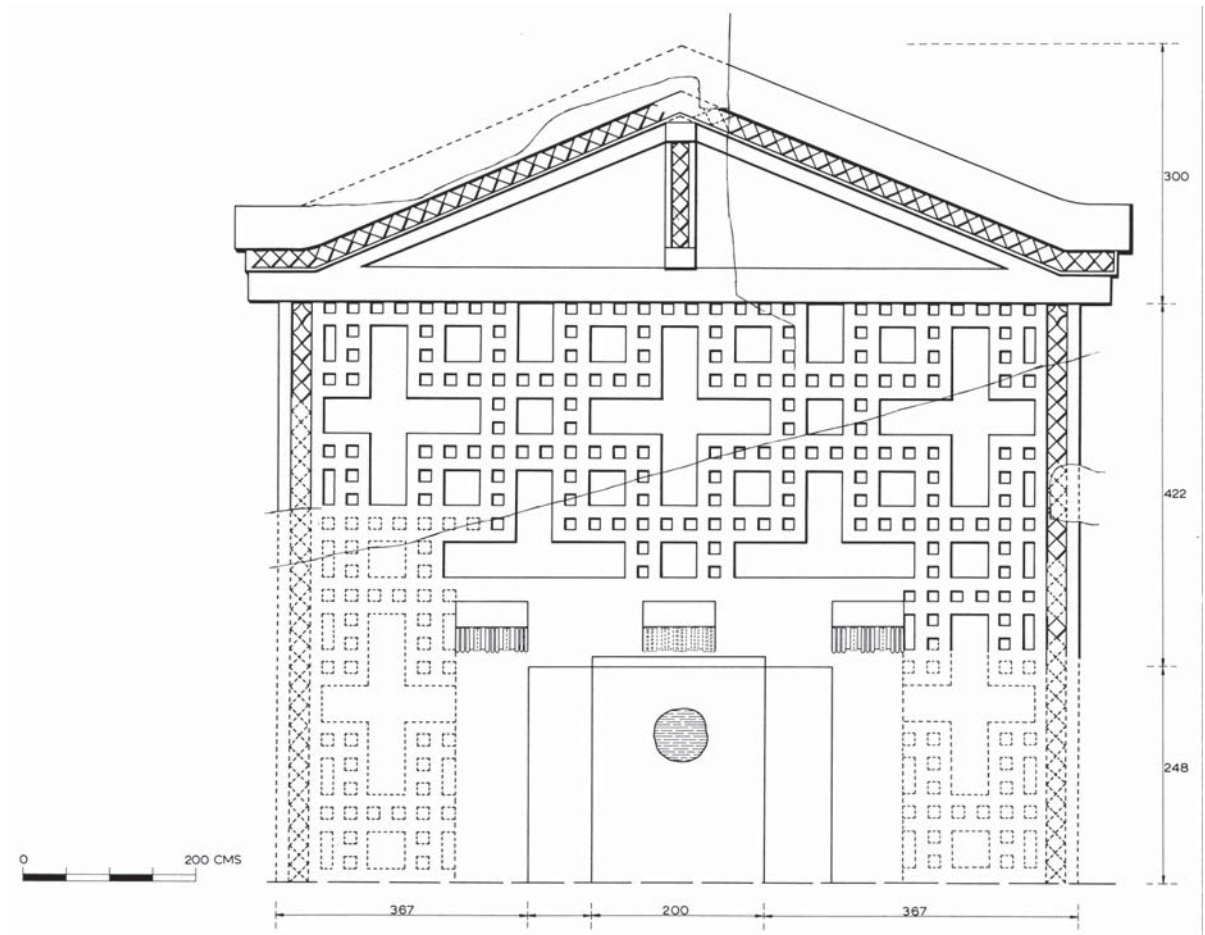


ill. 12d. Broken Lion Tomb (Yılan Taşı) in the Köhmiş (Highlands, Pl. 544).

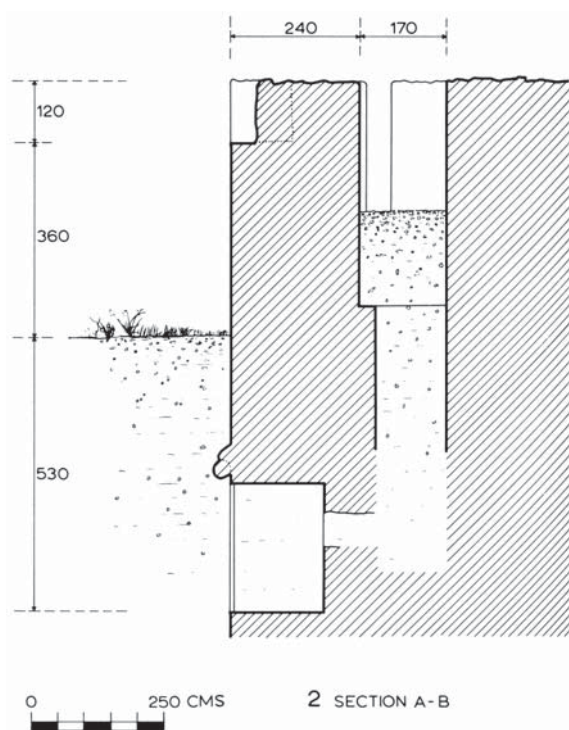
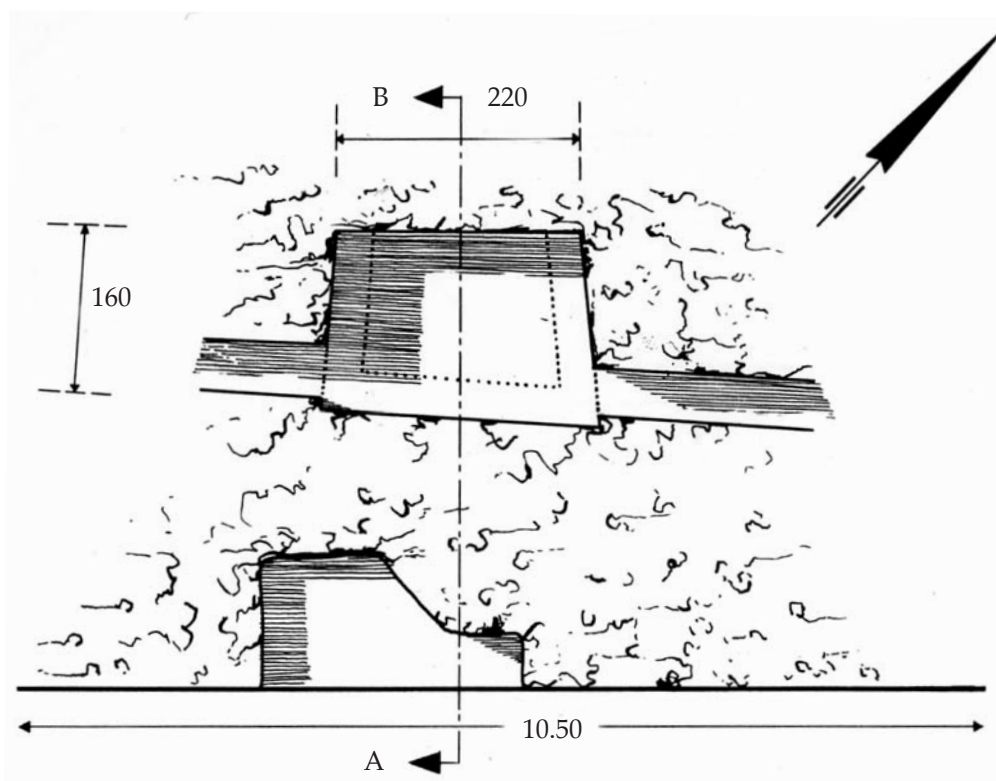


ill. 12e. Casts of the relief above the gate of the Broken Lion Tomb, now in Allard Pierson Museum (Highlands, Pls 154-156).

ill. 12f. Restoration-sketch of the lions on the W. side of the same tomb (Highlands, 132, Fig. 5).



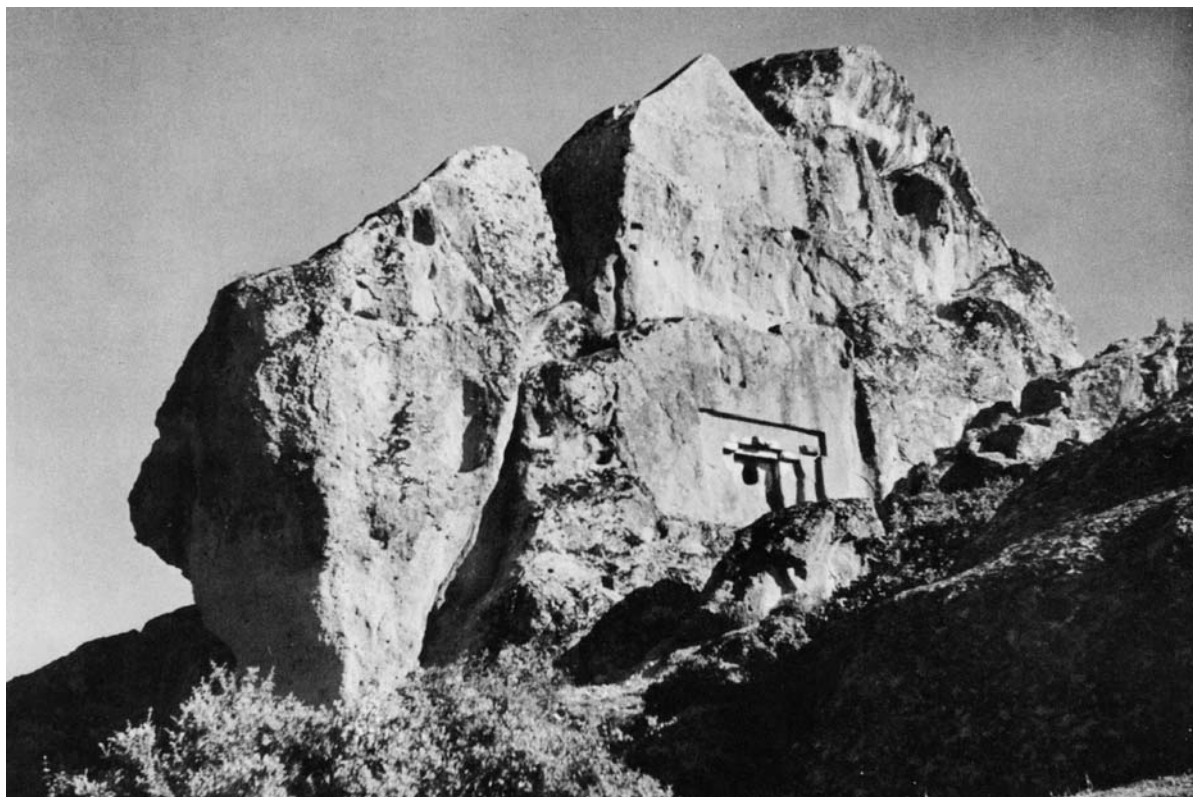
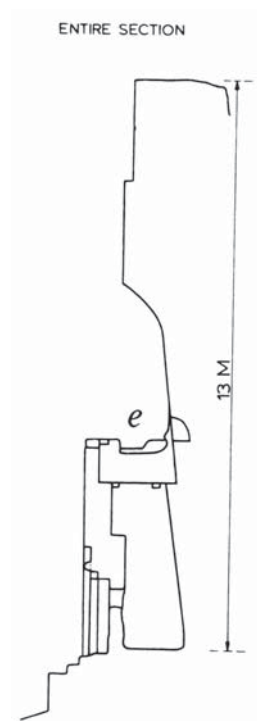
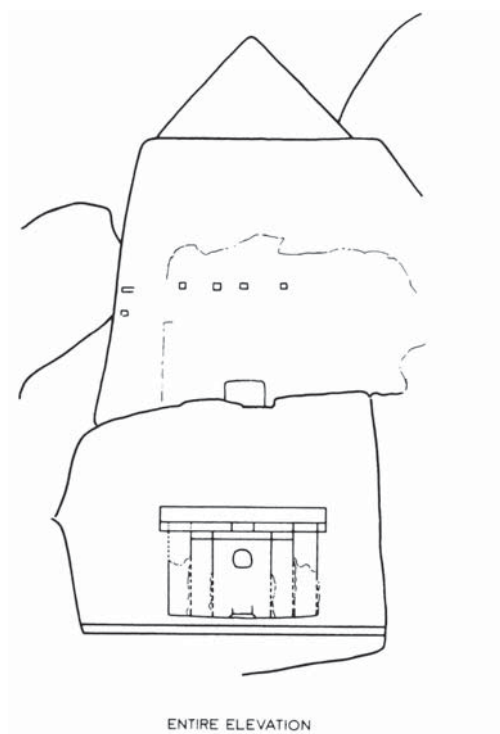
ill. 13a. Mal Taş, as dug out in 1958 (Highlands, Pls 519 and 157).



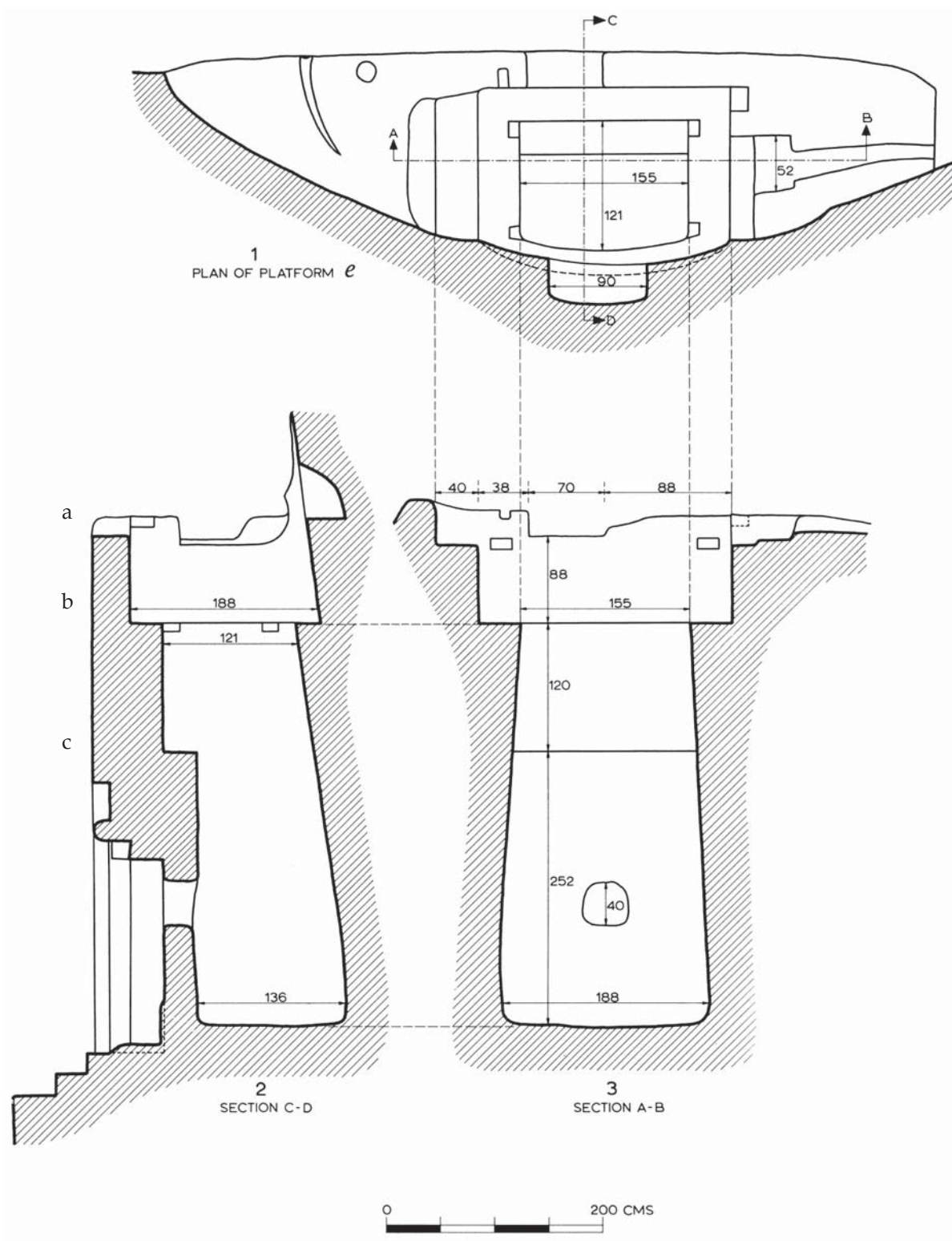
ill. 13b. Shaft of Mal Taş, plan and section B-A (Highlands, Pl. 520).



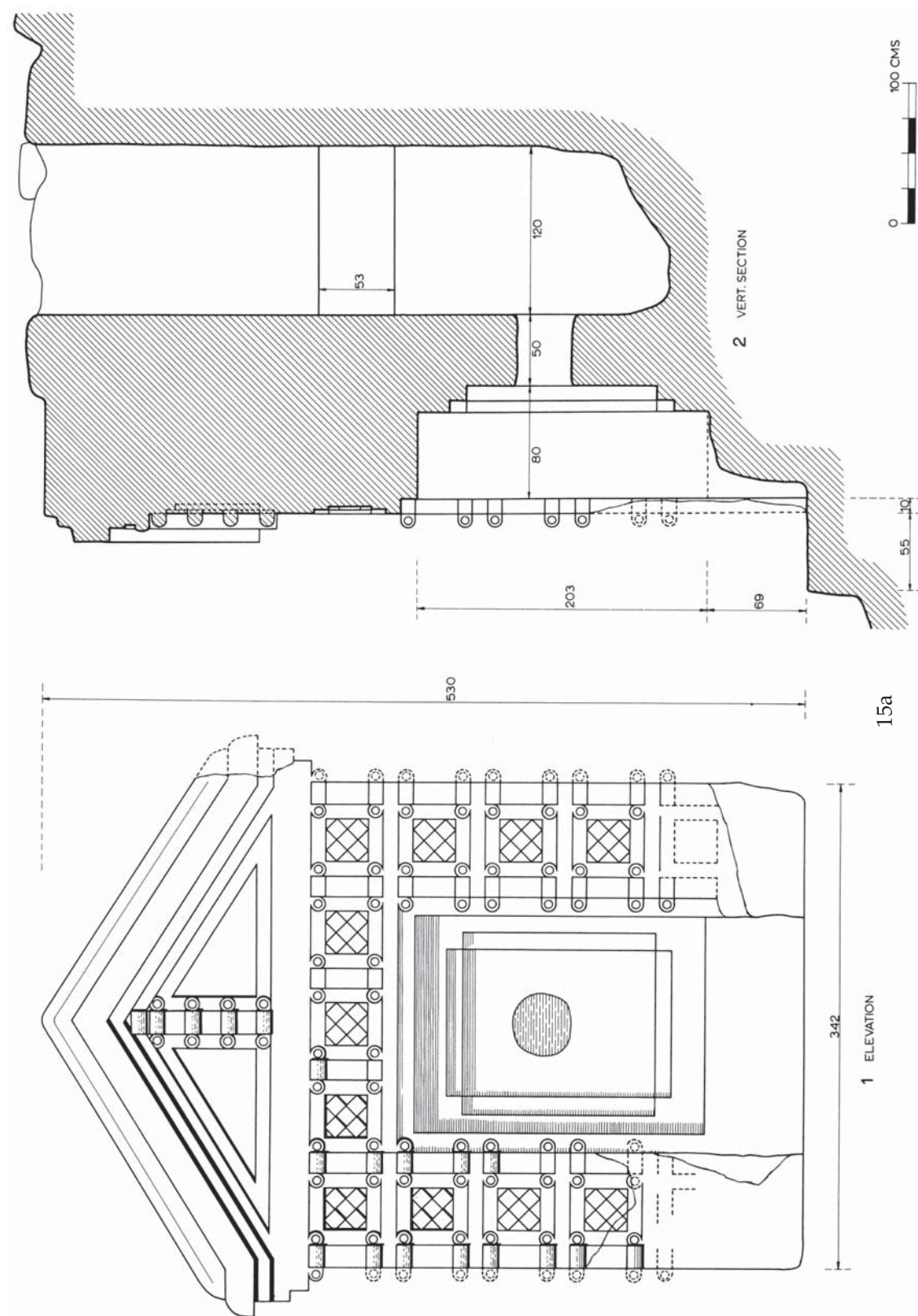
ill. 13c. Author drawing during the dig (1958).

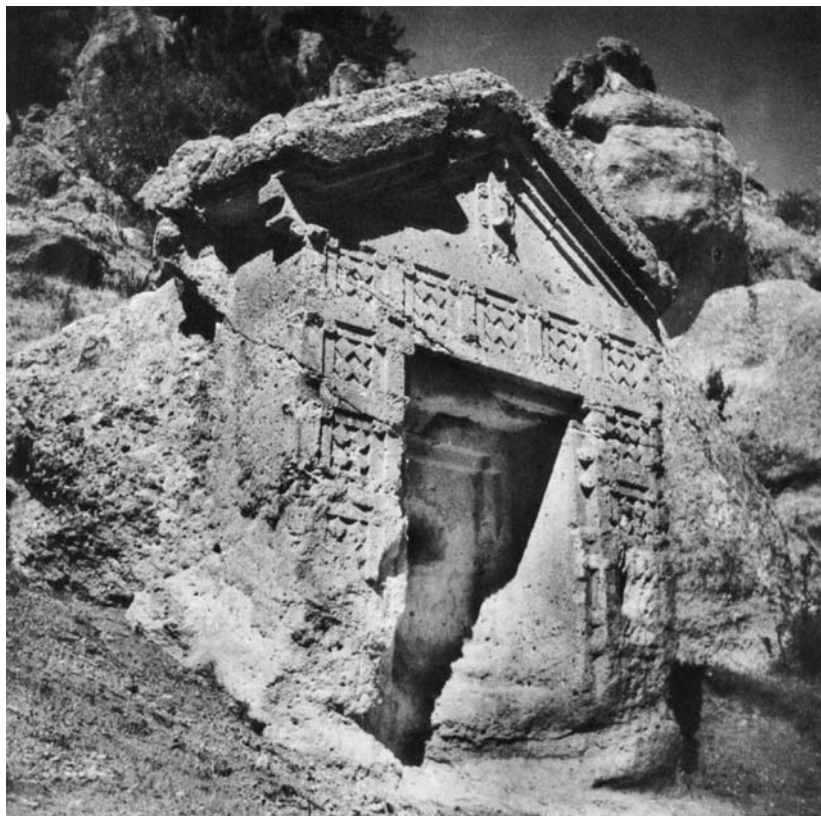
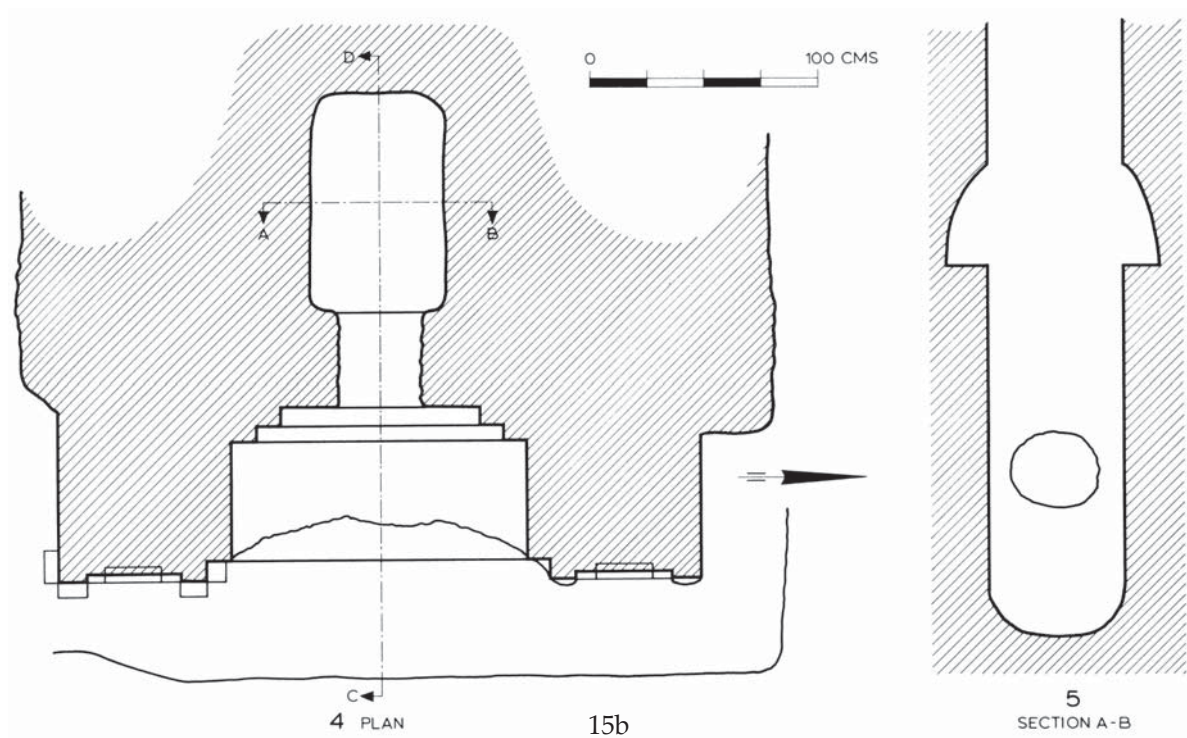


ill. 14a. Delikli Taş, elevation and vert. section (Highlands, Pls 511-512, parts and 209).



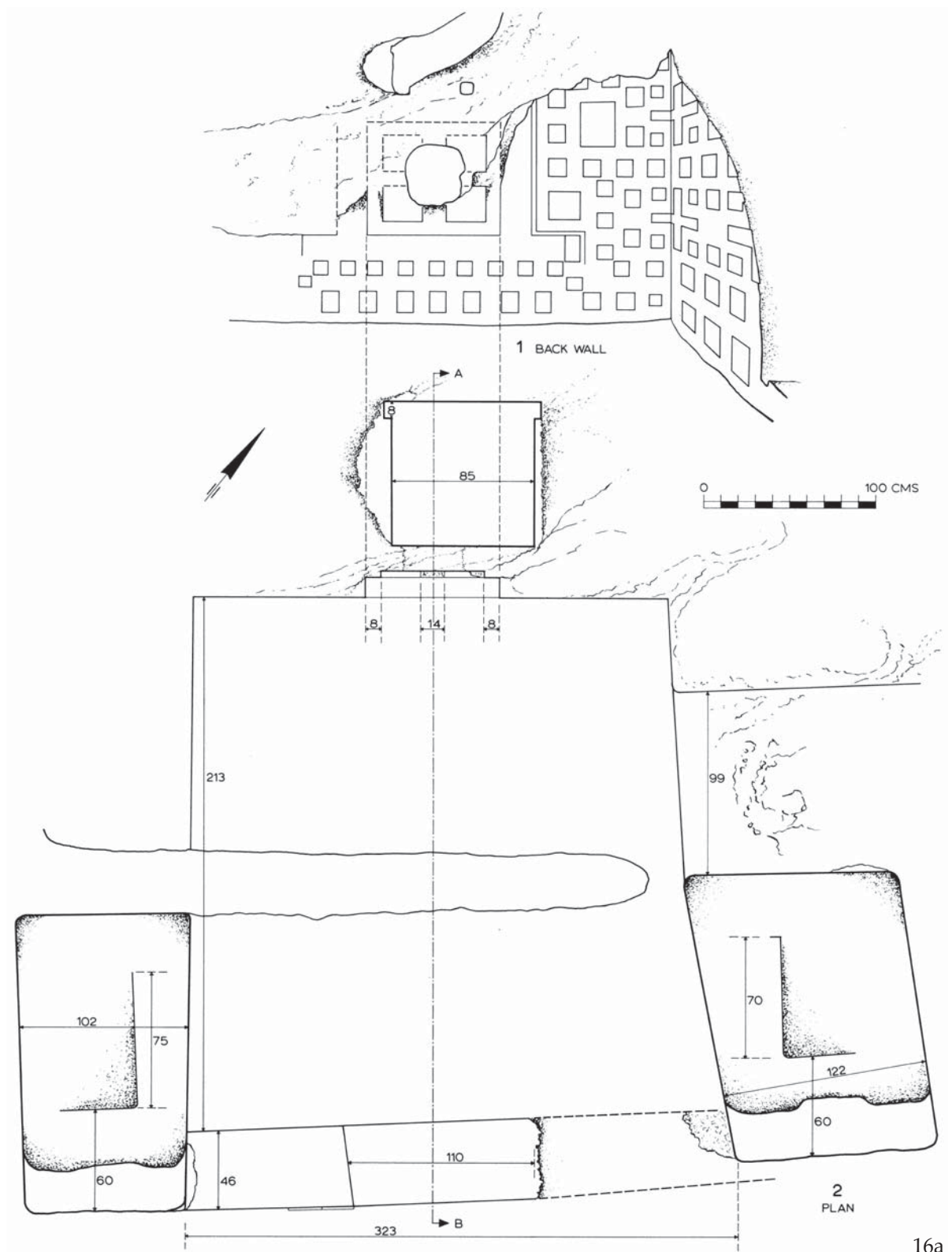
ill. 14b. Shaft of Delikli Taş (Highlands, Pl. 512).



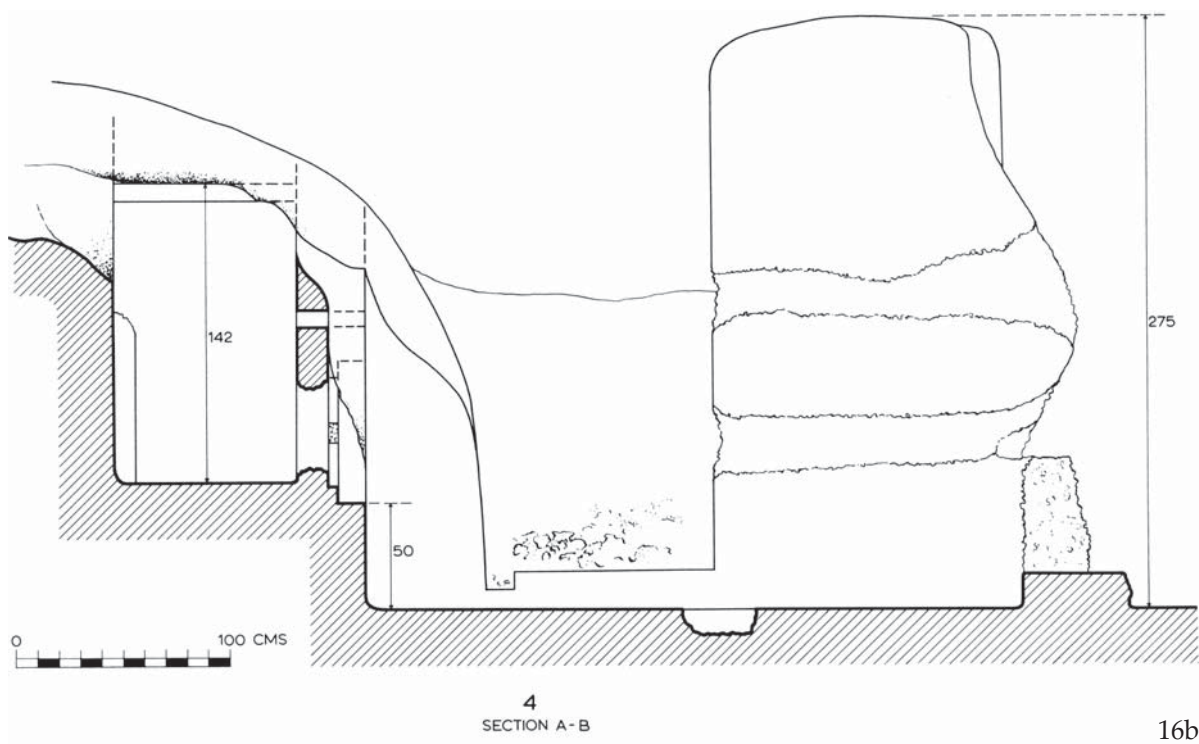


15c

ill. 15 a-c. Bakseyiş (Highlands, Pls 516-517 and 125).



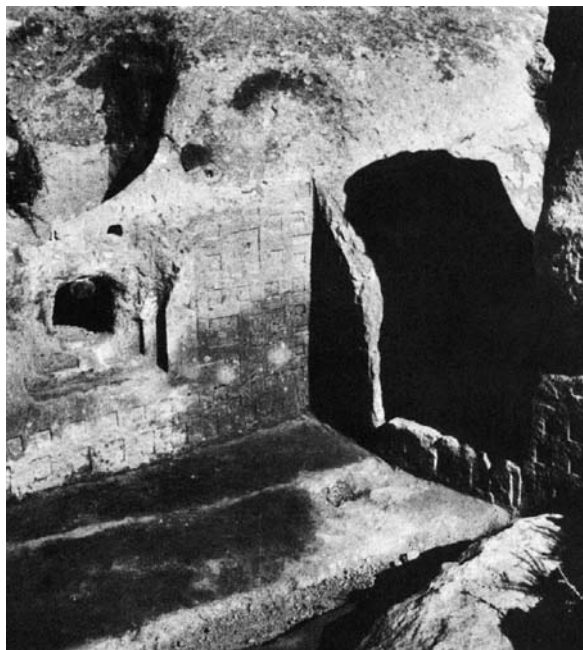
16a



16b

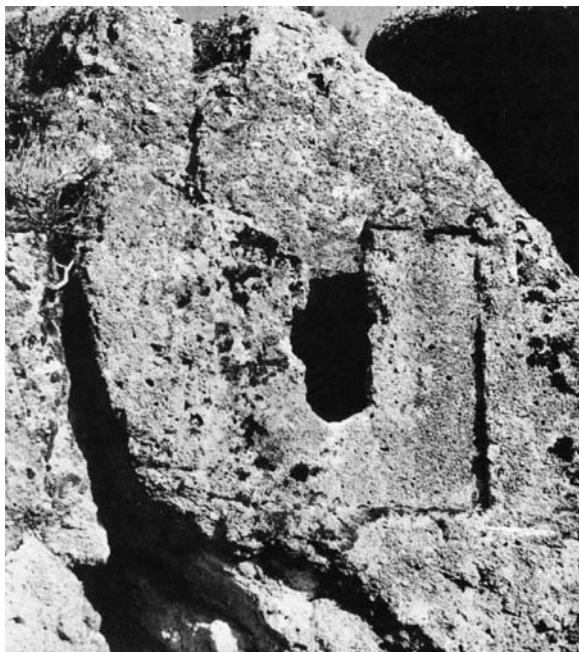
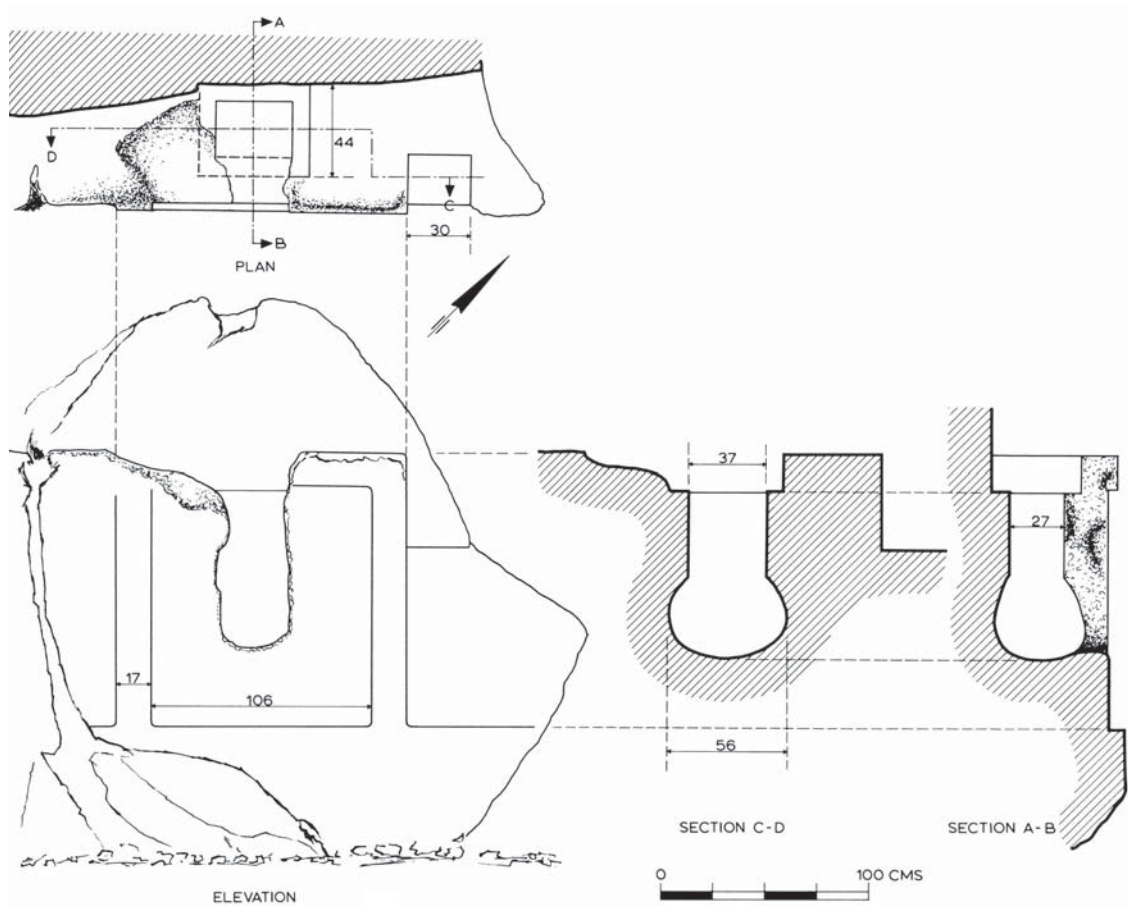


16c

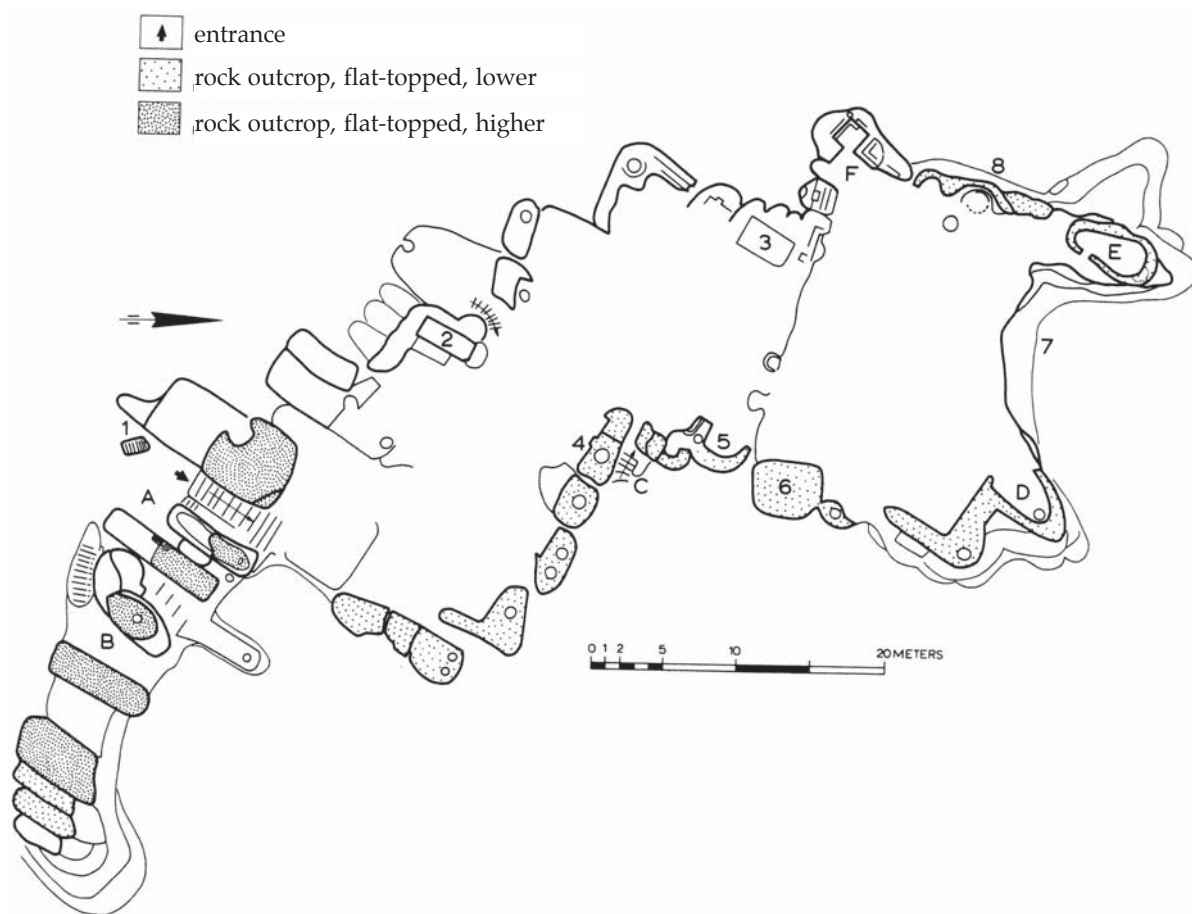


16d

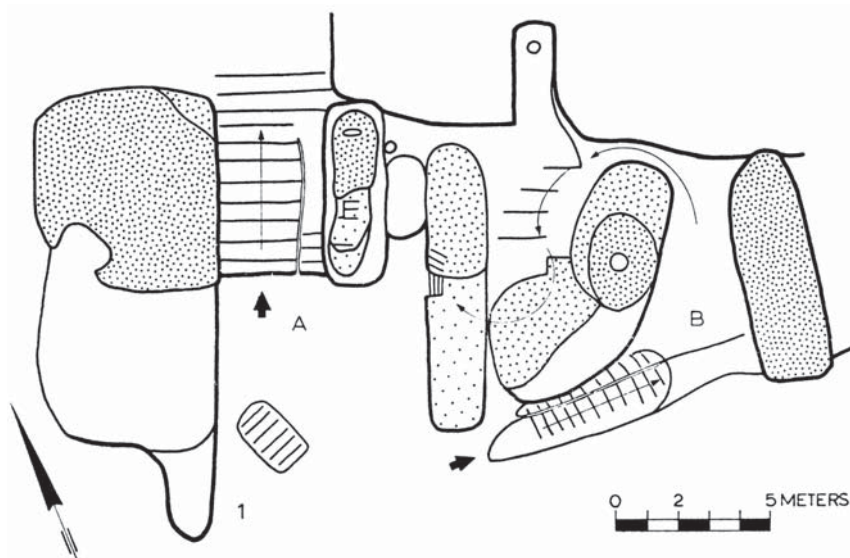
ill. 16 a-d. Değirmen Yeri (Highlands, Pls 520.4-521; 163-164).



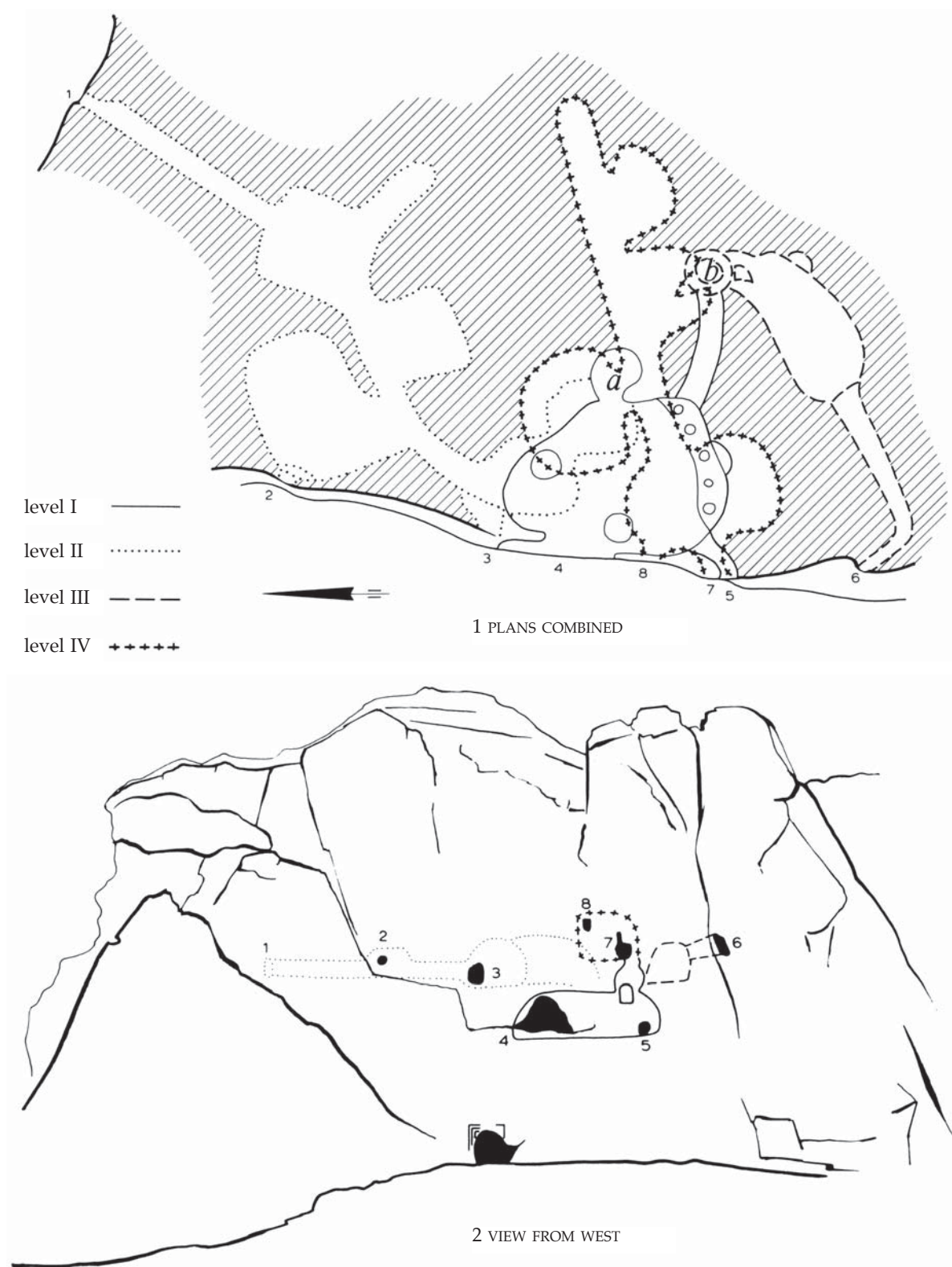
ill. 17. Shaft-monument at Fındık Site (Highlands, Pl. 527.4; 221-222).



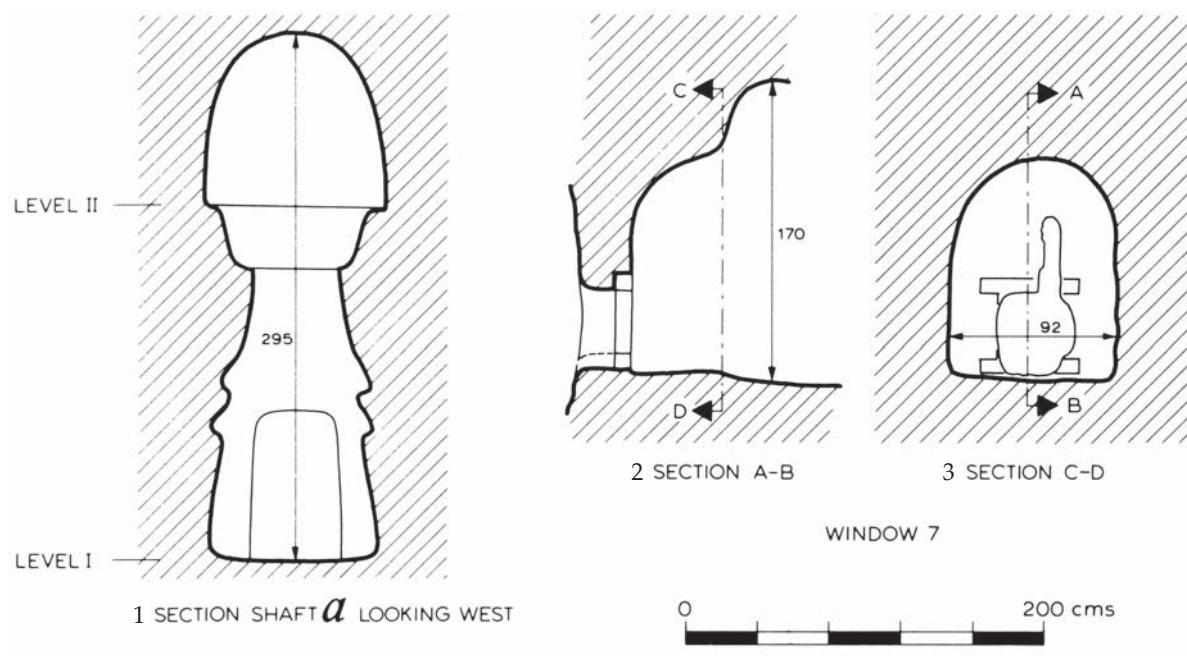
ill. 18a. Kale of Delik Taş (Highlands, Pl. 501.2).



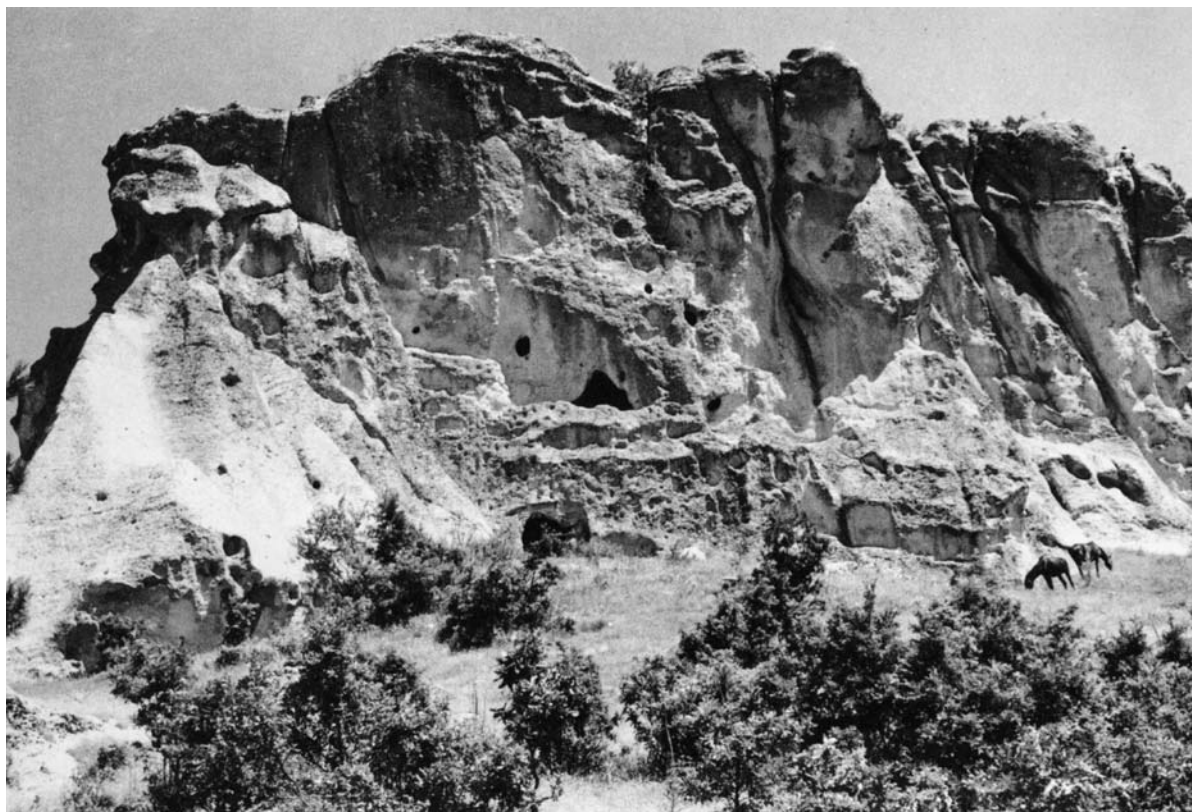
ill. 18b. Entrance gate of Delik Taş (Highlands, 66 Fig. 2).



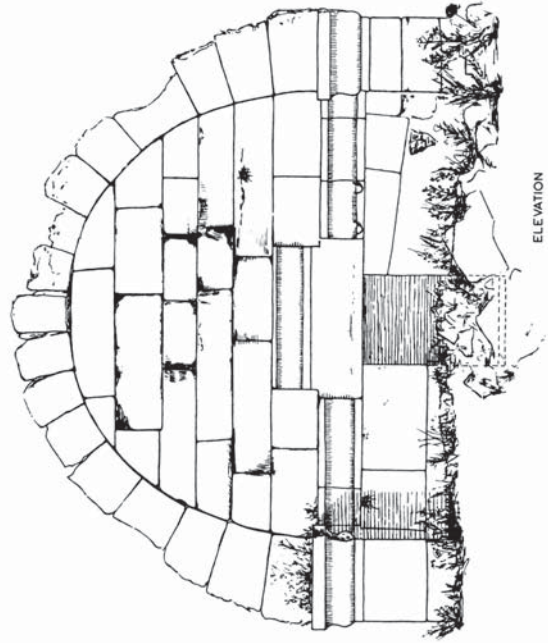
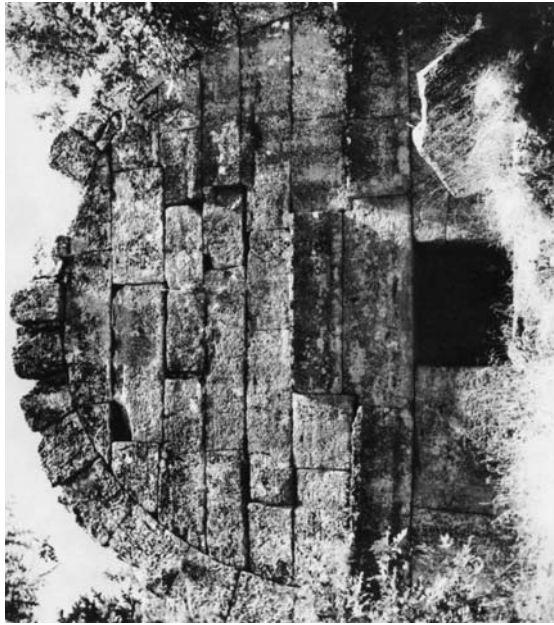
ill. 18c. Byzantine refuge in rock of Delik Taş; at 7 in plan 18a (Highlands, Pl. 570).



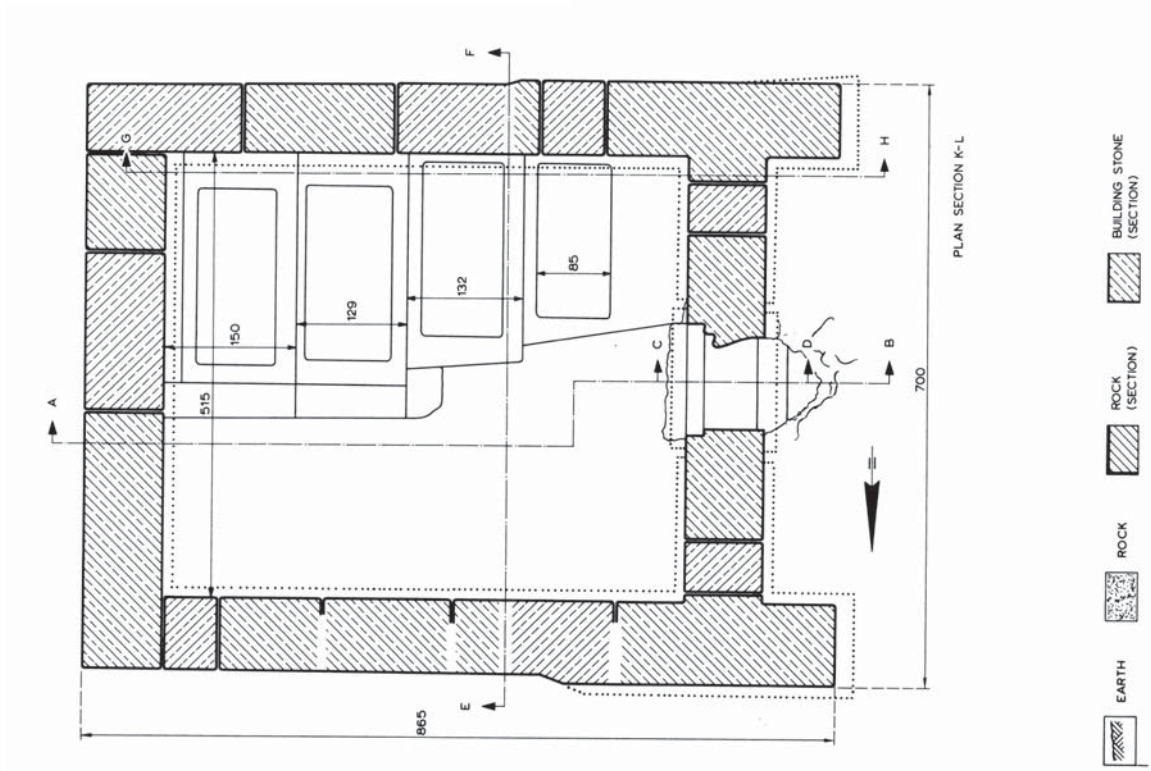
*ill. 18d. Shaft *a* and window Z in ill. 18c (Highlands, Pl. 570).*

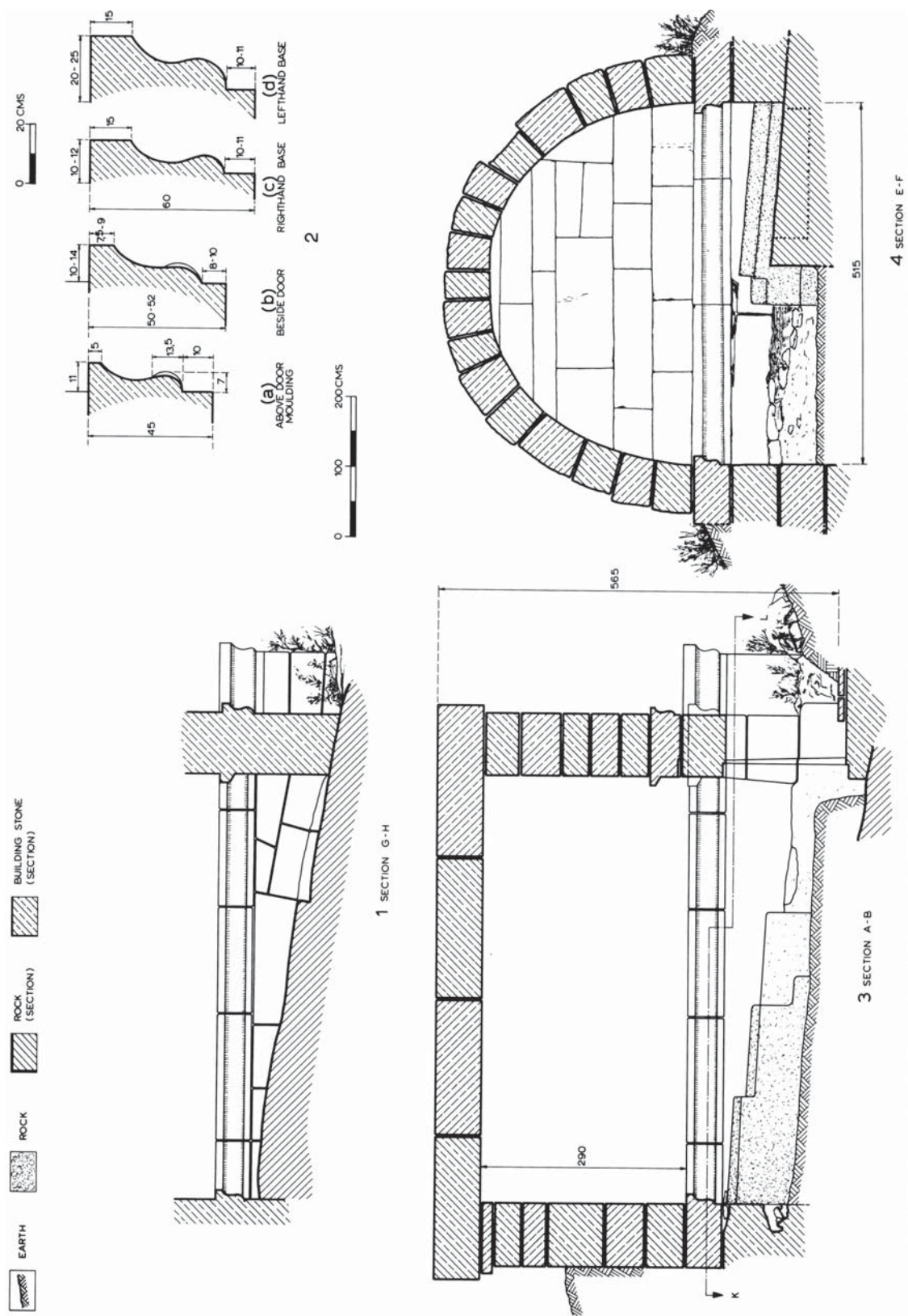


ill. 18e. Byzantine refuge in rock of Delik Taş (Highlands, Pl. 202).

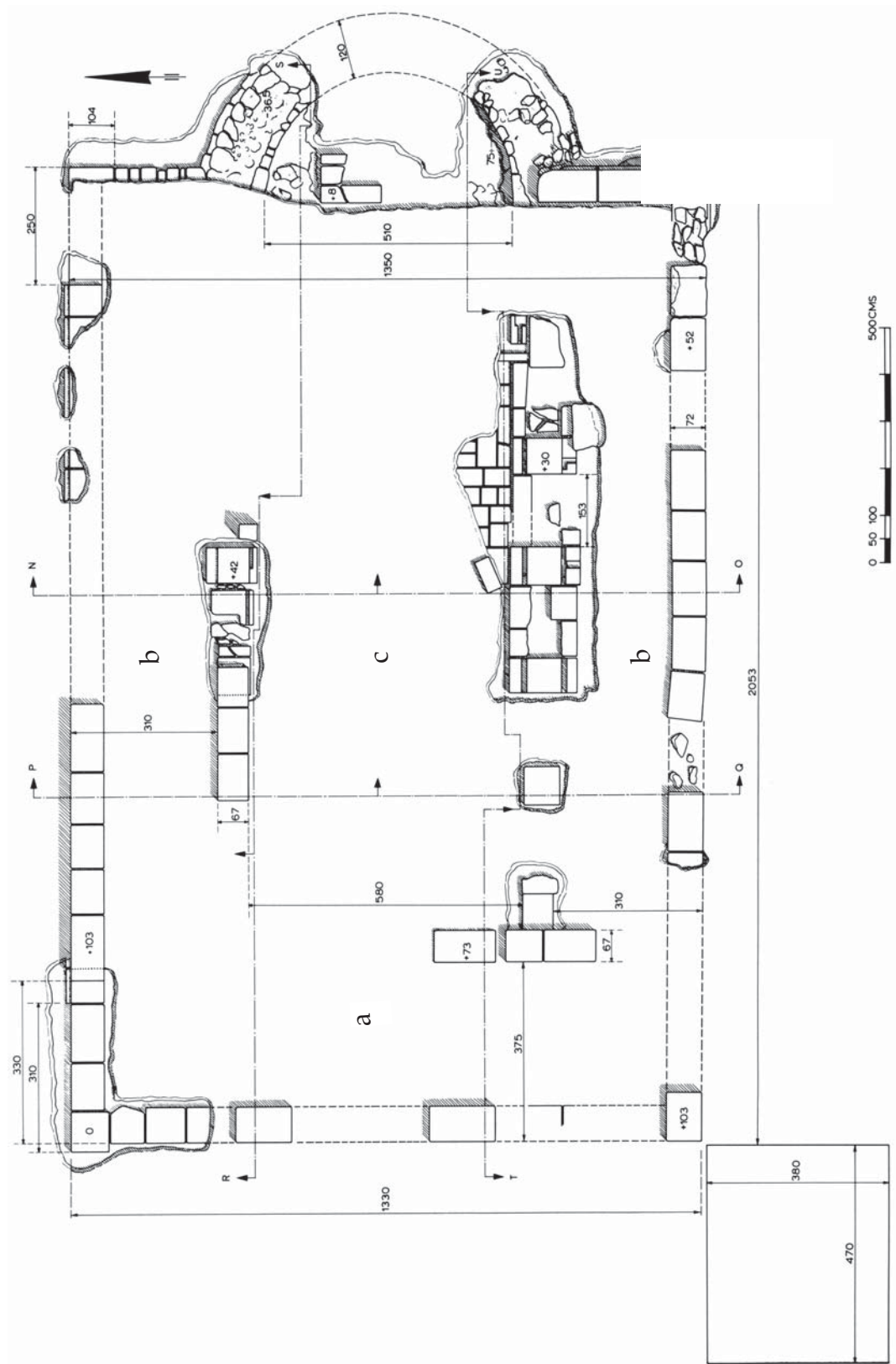


19a





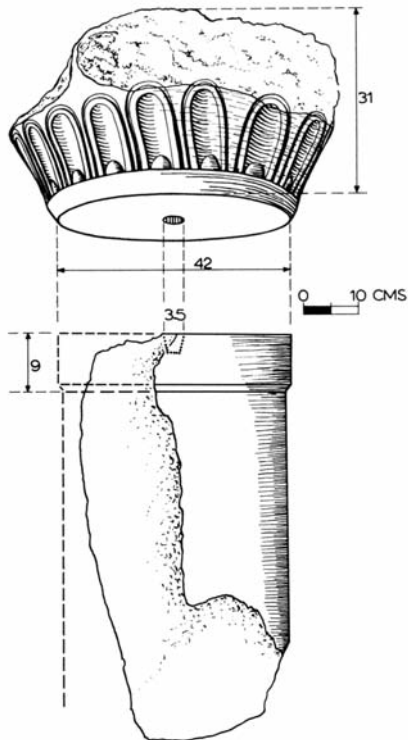
ill. 19a-b. Roman tomb in Avdan Teşvikiye (Highlands, Pls 552-553; 276).



ill. 20a. Remains of building, Kızıl Saray (Highlands, Pl. 565).

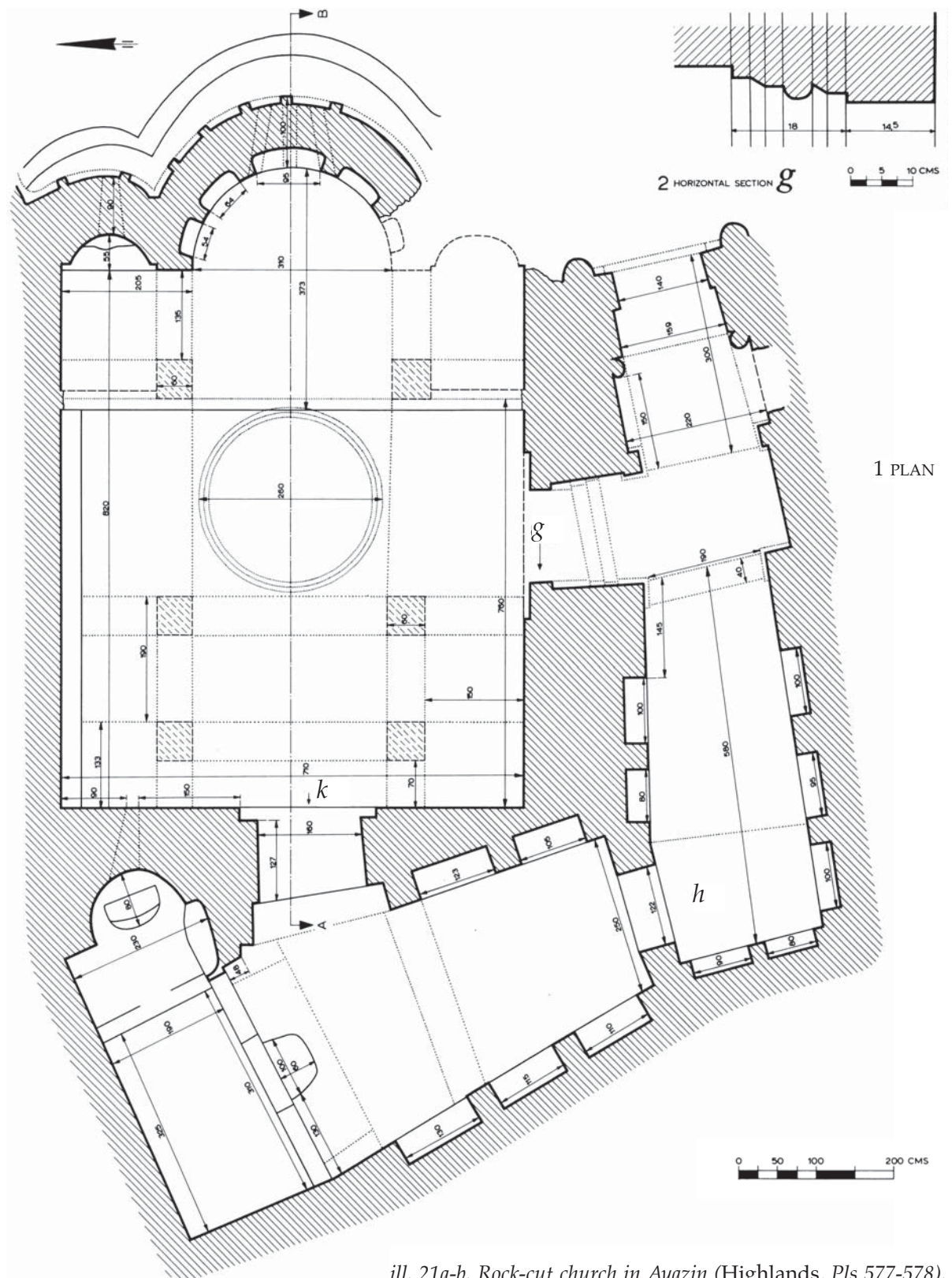


ill. 20b. Kızıl Saray, apsis looking south (Highlands, Pl. 350)

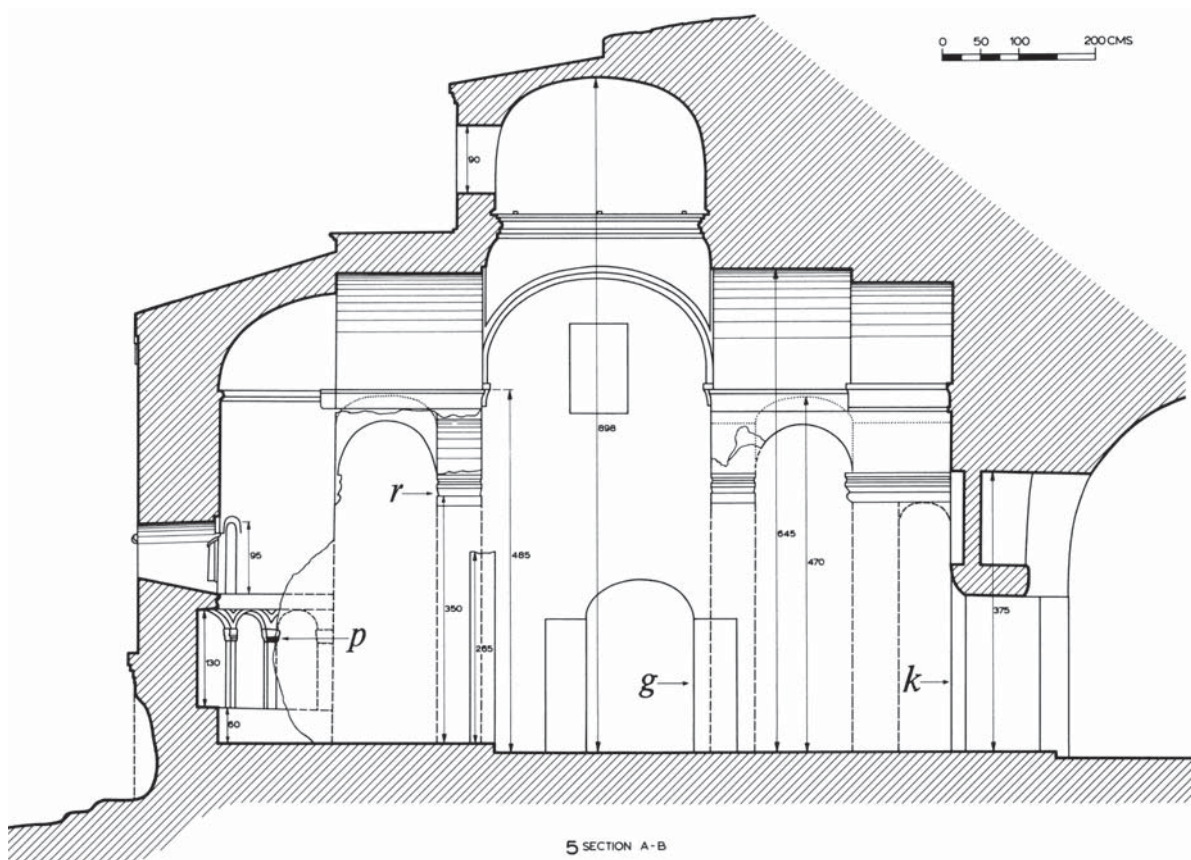


ill. 20c. Byzantine column of Kızıl Saray building (Highlands, Pl. 567.1; 351 and 354).

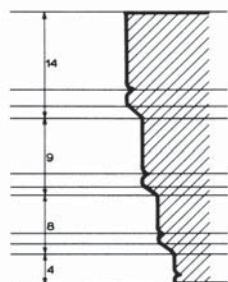




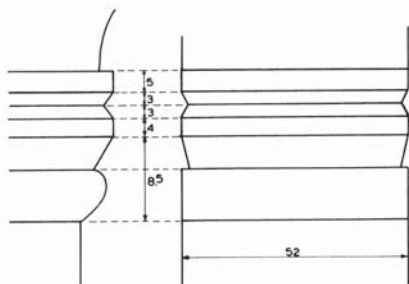
ill. 21a-b. Rock-cut church in Ayazin (Highlands, Pls 577-578).



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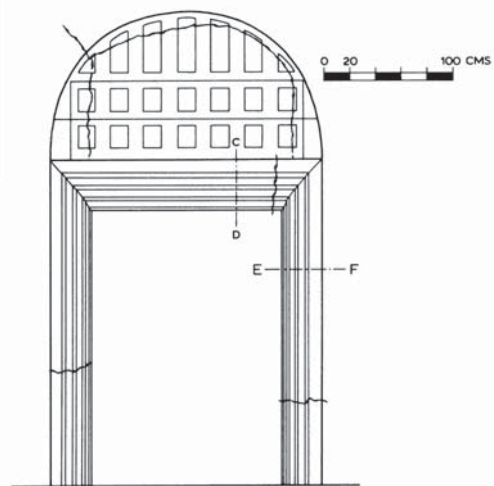


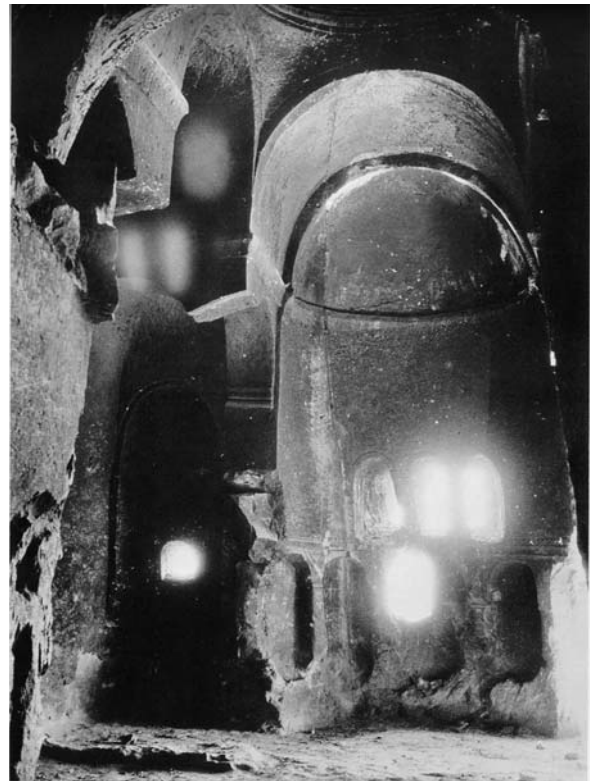
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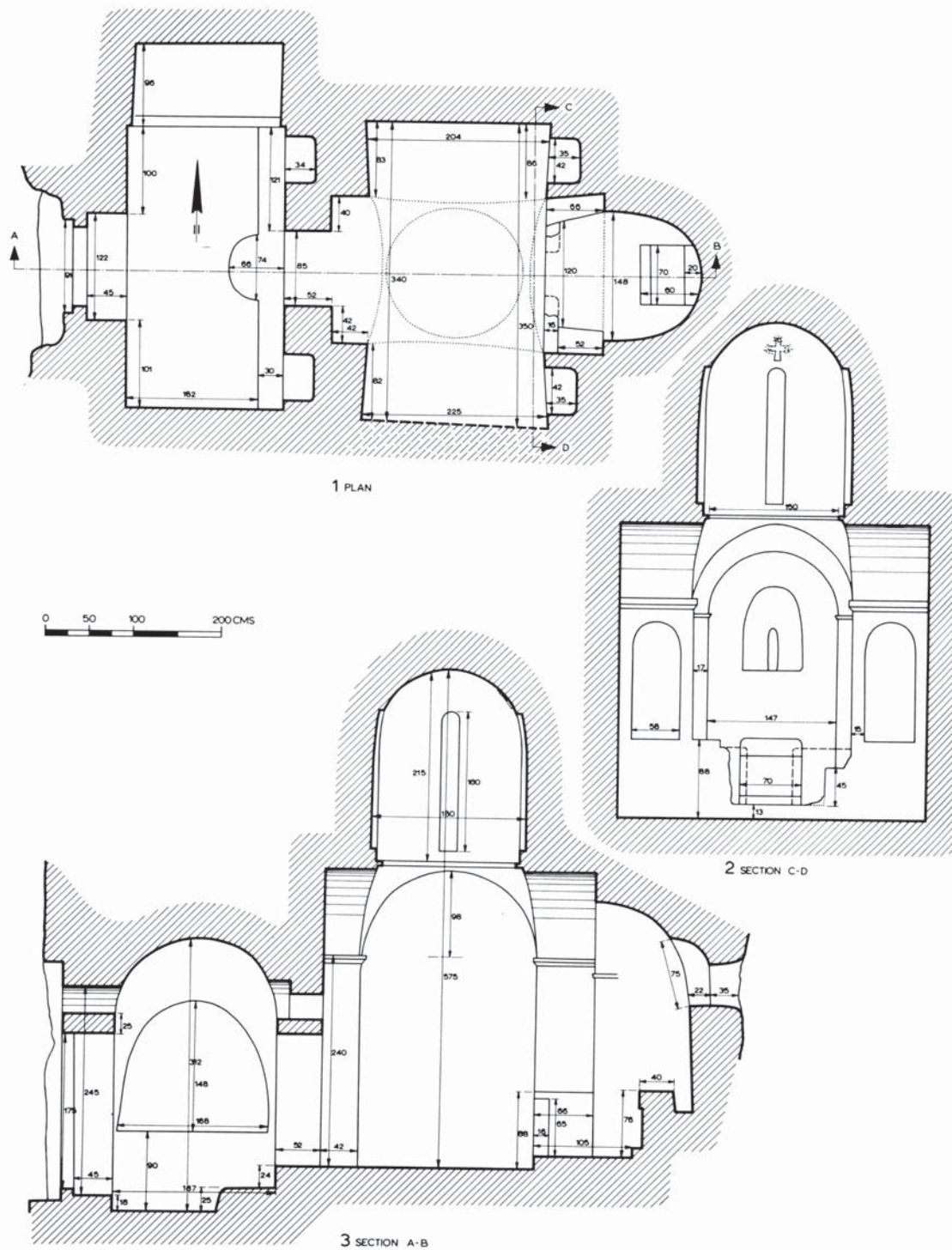
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21b

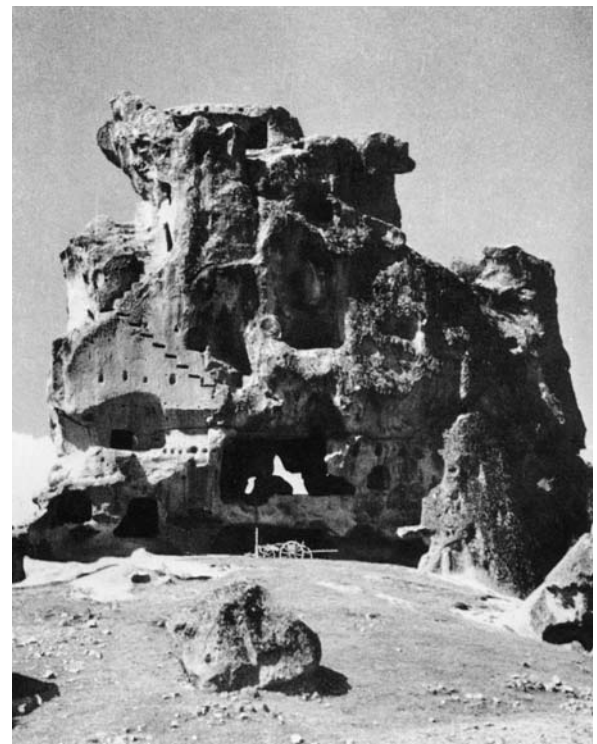
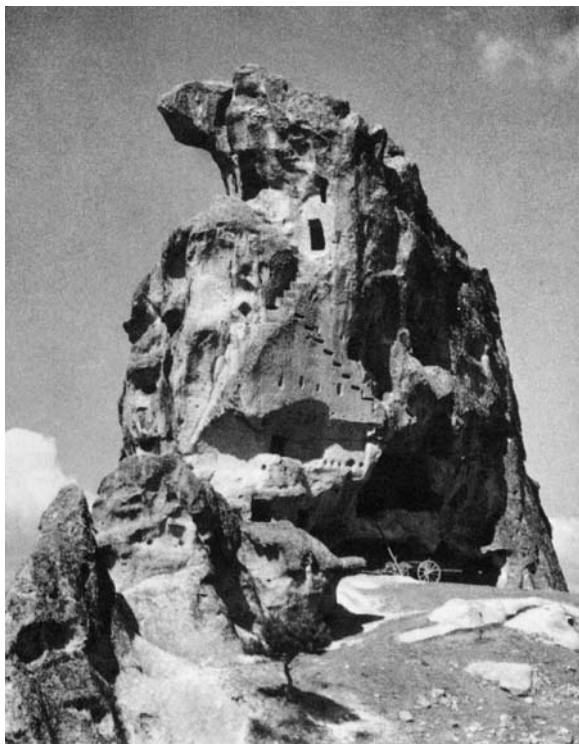
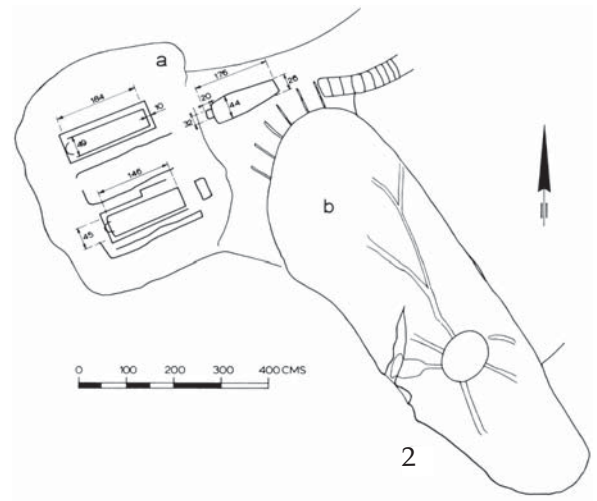




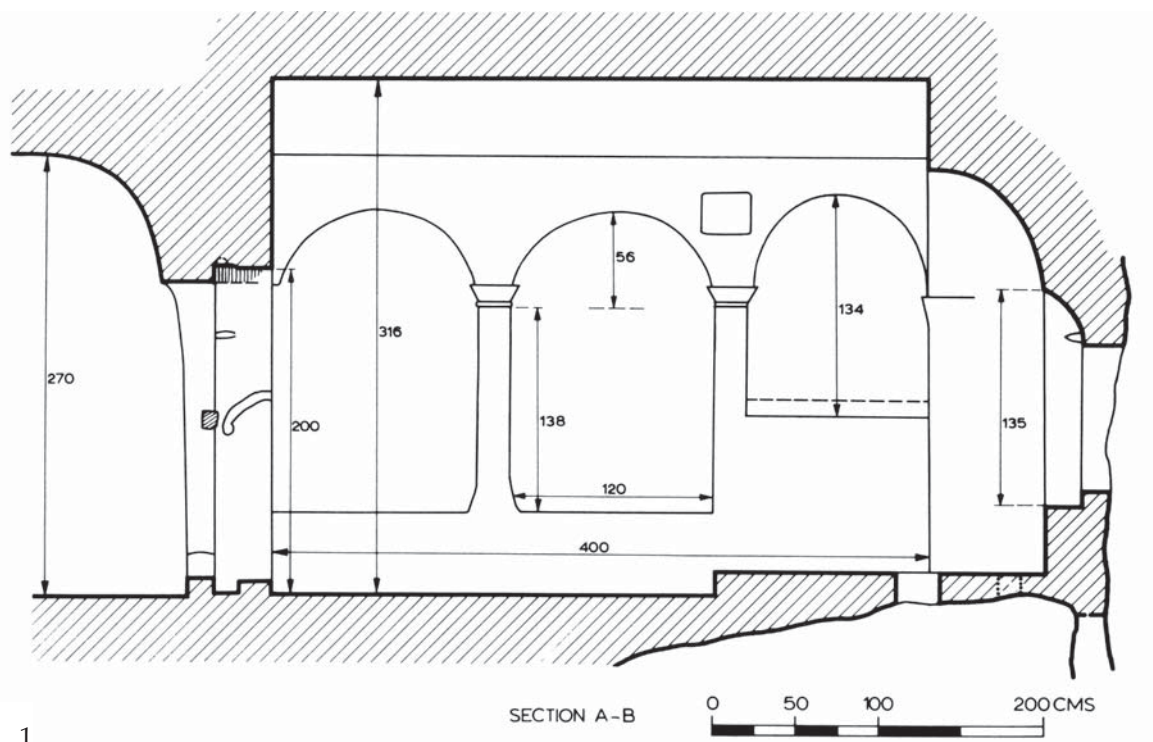
*ill. 21c. Inside and outside of the Rock-cut church Ayazin; dome and vaults.
Above left: looking NE, right: looking NW (Highlands, Pls 426-427; 425).*



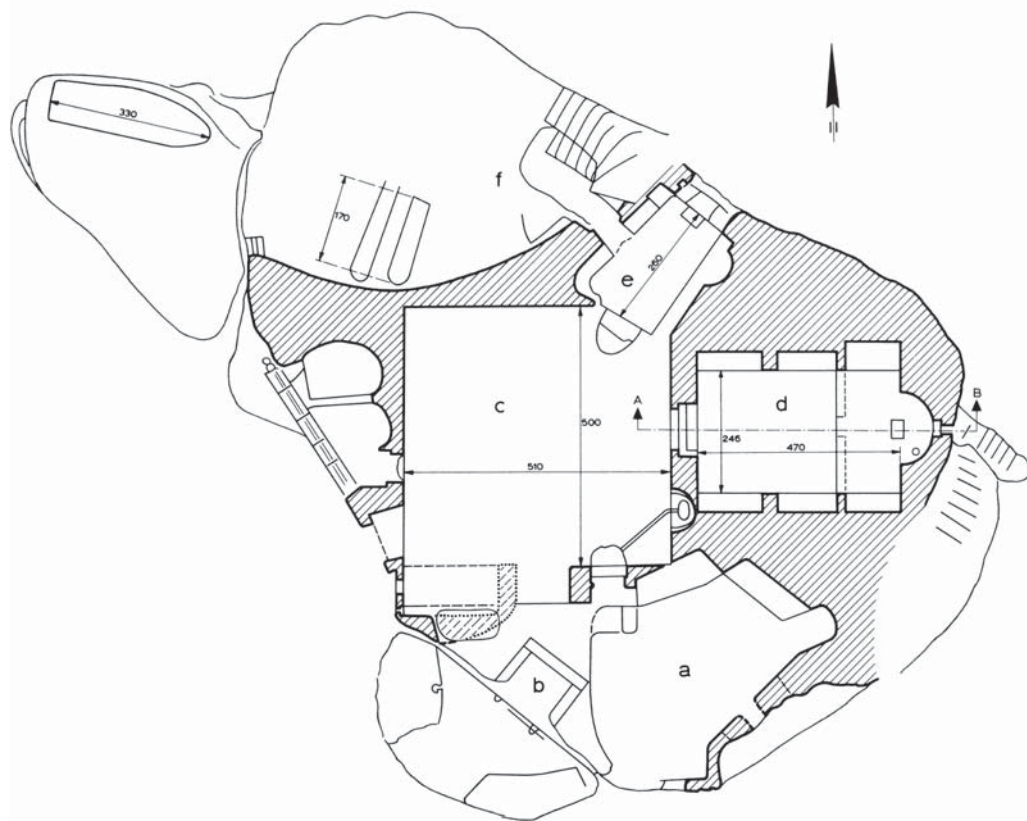
ill. 21d. Rock-cut church at İnli (near Sabuncupınar) (Highlands, Pl. 596).



22a. Doğanlı Kale, Byzantine rock-dwelling, elevation and top (Highlands, Pls 575. 2 and 3; 406 and 407).



1



2

ill. 22b. The same: main floor with chapel (Highlands, Pls 574. 2; 575. 4).



ill. 23. Helios altar, found near the Türkmen Baba (Highlands, Pl. 634, no 124).

Reviews

A. FURTWÄNGLER/I. GAGOSHIDZE/H. LÖHR/N. LUDWIG (eds), *Iberia and Rome. The excavations of the palace at Dedoplis Gora and the Roman influence in the Caucasian Kingdom of Iberia*. Langenweißbach: Verlag Beier & Beran, 2008. 308 pp., 92 pls; 29.3 cm (ZAKS 13). – ISBN 978-3-941171-08-4.

Dedoplis Gora is a settlement mound located beside a tributary of the Kura (Mtkvari) River, in central Georgia. The mound contains cultural deposits that date from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age to the Late Roman and Early Medieval periods. In the 1st century BC, a monumental building complex spanned the hill top, which was destroyed by fire and abandoned in the 1st century AD. Part of this structure was excavated in 1986-1993 under the directorship of Iulon Gagoshidze, and it is the results of these excavations that are presented here, in collaboration with scholars from Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. The site's status as a palace – an elite residence and stronghold – dating from the start of the Roman era in the Caucasus, its sudden abandonment, and the preservation of architecture and artefacts in a discrete destruction layer, makes this a valuable source of information on Caucasian Iberia.

In a lengthy historical introduction, Gagoshidze reviews ancient written sources – the accounts of Plutarch, Appian and Cassius Dio – for Rome's influence in the Caucasus. The Kartlian kingdom, known as Iberia to Greek and Roman authors, is shown as pivotal in the struggles between the expanding Roman and Parthian powers of the 1st century BC. Its geographical position made it a buffer between the nomadic cultures of the steppe to the north and the urbanised centres of the Near East. Pompey's invasion of 65 BC is portrayed as a 'soft' takeover in which Roman hegemony were accepted rather than confronted. The alliance of Iberia and Rome had mutual benefits, especially in relation to shared enemies including Parthia and Armenia, and this geopolitical interplay dominates the historical account. Iberia's ambiguous status as a vassal of Rome is paralleled by weak evidence for a Roman military presence in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. While written descriptions and physical remains of Roman garrisons in Colchis are well known, it is uncertain whether Iberia was subject to Roman military occupation, invited or imposed.

The terms of archaeological interpretation of the complex at Dedoplis Gora are heavily foreshadowed by these historical readings. The narrative occasionally verges on teleological, for example, the whiggish depiction of a Romanisation process between Pompey's invasion and the reign of the Flavians (AD 69-96): 'At this time, a period of transition from Hellenistic to Roman influence began, when Kartlian material culture reflected the adoption of innovations set in motion by the presence of the Romans in the Near East. By the end of this period, this process had already been completed, and the Kartlian kingdom which had managed to benefit from the confrontation between Roman and

Parthia, flourished politically, economically and culturally' (p. 2). However, when the desire to detect cultural influence is put to one side, and the focus is on the social practices that took place in this monumental setting, the material assumes a vitality that text-based appeals to ethnic influences or origins lack.

Introductory chapters by Gagoshidze and Florian S. Knauß range in subject from Roman political history to surveys of Hellenistic and Achaemenid architecture to excavated contexts. There is much crossover and some unnecessary repetition, even down to specifics such as the use of wooden, arrowhead-shaped clamps to join ashlar blocks in the wall construction (discussed on pp. 44, 47, 56 and 59). However, it is the finds reports – typological description and discussion of artefacts, catalogue entries and illustrations (well-rendered in numerous drawings and photographs) – that make up the bulk of this volume. Chapters are divided according to materials and forms – pottery, bone and ivory objects, weapons and other metal implements, jewellery, engraved gems and seal impressions, glass vessels and coins, as well as discussion of the Armazian script, which appears on a small number of pottery and bone objects, and analysis of the plant remains. The reports enrich interpretation of the site's chronology and usage; they highlight local traditions such as long-term continuity of pottery forms and the sophistication of bone carving, metalwork and other forms of cultural production. Of particular note are bone gaming pieces – dice, carved and pierced astragals and *phalangae* and a large number of polished and engraved plates with figural images which are interpreted as sets of fortune-telling and playing cards (p. 92).

Alongside local craft production, the finds demonstrate regional and supra-regional connections. Although little imported pottery was found – only 13 items are identified, of which five are balsamaria or unguentaria (pp. 63-64) – other imports are from sources as distant as Italy and Egypt. Bronze vessels including amphorae, basins and a jug are identified as originating in Campania and are compared with 1st-century AD examples from Pompeii (pp. 155-157). Among thousands of jewellery items are faience beads and amulets from Egypt, which Nana Gogiberidze suggests arrived in the region overland from Syria, with the suggestion that Sinope played an important role in the distribution of such exotica throughout the Black Sea regions (p. 166). The abundance of valuable objects, and the apparent wealth of the site's inhabitants, as well as the site's sudden abandonment and its consequent preservation, is demonstrated by particular groups of material such as a gold necklace from Room 1, found with fragments of a bone box and alongside other precious metal items and gems (p. 186).

The association of artefacts with their archaeological contexts brings this site to life. The remarkably preserved series of rooms and their contents on the mound's northern side are the physical situations in which interpretation of the complex's use is made possible. Though of similar size and constituting only part of the ground

floor of what was at least a two storey structure, the rooms are differentiated by their architecture and the artefacts contained therein. Room 1 is identified as the base of a tower surrounded by thick walls, whose furnishings and fittings suggest a storage area. In one corner of the room, a burned cupboard and its contents, described as 'a storekeeper's utensils', were preserved; sacks of grain in another part of the room support the interpretation, as does the presence of stamped clay bullae, which '...are testimony for a well-developed bureaucracy, as is typical for palace- or temple-economies' (p. 48). In Room 10, a three-stepped fire altar, part of the building's original design, attest a place of Zoroastrian worship, while the artefacts recovered from Room 13, among them iron tools and weapons, suggest military accoutrements and the presence of soldiers.

The site's multiple functions and its identification as a palace are supported by the architecture and artefacts. Its fortified, religious and residential aspects, but above all its elite status, are well argued. Although the designation of spaces as having economic, religious and military functionality does veer towards essentialism, there is real value in the differentiation of the excavated rooms and the possible higher status of the destroyed upper storey. In an engaging passage, Knauf considers the site's fortified aspect, including the effectiveness of the design to withstand military siege and its religious and administrative uses. These functions are perhaps unnecessarily shown as being exclusive: the presence of religious facilities or abundance of precious objects do not, in my opinion, discount a military presence. But the conclusion that the architectural context and the artefacts within it point to a 'high official or local vassal residing in Dedoplist Gora' is convincing (p. 52).

It is an ambitious aim to address the relationship between Rome and Iberia - to trace the influence of Rome in a region which was by no means fully integrated into its political, military, economic and cultural reach. These political formations dominate the historical narrative which contributes to a dualism that repeatedly surfaces in the treatment of material culture, from architectural techniques and styles to the production and exchange of artefacts. However, explaining cultural forms in terms of a globally dominant force's external influence on the insular traditions of a subaltern kingdom does not do justice to the complexity of social relations operating at the local and regional scale. The instinct to link architecture and artefacts with one or another political or ethnic entity more often than not entails qualifications that weaken any archaeological insights.

Framing the terms of investigation and interpretation through cultural influence can lead to a stifling ethnocentrism which lessens the potential for the material to support anthropological rather than culture historical positions. Take the treatment of architectural elements at Dedoplist Mindori, a temple complex dating from the 2nd century BC that lies to the north of Dedoplist Gora and slightly pre-dates the palace. Gagoshidze considers the influence of Achaemenid and Hellenistic models, the latter being emphasised over the former, with the apparently contradictory conclusion that 'while the temples of Dedoplist Mindori are, on the whole, rather

oriental, there is also a purely Hellenistic style in the contemporary Iberian architecture' (p. 32). But in Knauf's discussion of monumental architecture in the Caucasus, it is the Persian influence that is emphasised: 'Because the religion of the ruling class(es) in Iberia was quite obviously influenced by Persia, it can come as no surprise that sacral architecture received its decisive impulses further from Iran' (p. 57).

This book tries to do a number of things. It has variable success in its stated aim of examining Roman influence in Iberia but is exemplary in its presentation of artefactual data; addenda such as a catalogue of Roman-period sites in Iberia and an extensive bibliography have particular value. Having the finds reports set alongside a historical narrative and architectural overview highlights the difficulty of marrying these different forms of information. There appear to be different stories being told - the traditional political history in the words of ancient authors and the archaeological data from the site itself. These do not necessarily match, and there is not an attempt here to theorise this discordance. It is the detailed results of the excavation that can inform new perspectives on the history of Iberia and Rome, and efforts to wrap these data around historical orthodoxies can seem unconvincing.

Primarily a finds report with extended historical and archaeological introduction, the main emphasis is on artefacts; the contexts from which they come are somewhat obscured. It is not a particularly user-friendly report, and few will attempt to read it cover to cover. On the other hand, the volume is an invaluable source of information on a highly significant site. It is laudable that this information has been brought together in a single place, and though the difficulties of combining disparate writings and information in a traditional report format is apparent, it is nonetheless a worthy endeavour that results in a key point of reference for classical archaeology of the Caucasus region.

W. Anderson

NORBERT KRAMER, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus Diokaisareia. Diokaisareia in Kilikien: Ergebnisse des Surveys 2001-2006* Band 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012. VIII+84 S., 11 Pl., 65 Taf., 9 Farbtaf.; 34.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-11022-215-9.

Kramer's *Keramik und Kleinfunde* is the first monograph in the series *Diokaisareia in Kilikien*. It discusses the artefacts, in particular pottery, collected during surface survey between 2001 and 2006 at ancient Diokaisareia in Cilicia Tracheia. While the ancient settlement is partly occupied by modern Uzuncaburç, the site still boasts some impressive remains such as the well-known Hellenistic sanctuary dedicated to Zeus - associated with Olba, the polis located 4 km eastwards - around which the polis of Diokaisareia was founded in the 1st century AD.

This volume consists of six chapters: *Einführung* (I); *Die Durchführung des Surveys* (II); *Die Probleme hinsichtlich der Auswertung* (III); *Die Fundgattungen* (IV); *Die Fundsituation in den Planquadraten* (V) and *Die Entwicklung des Siedlungsplatzes* (VI). With 42 pages, the finds

chapter (IV) takes up about half the text and is most relevant to those interested or working in this part of Turkey. Chapter IV.1-6 discusses the pottery, followed by the glass (IV.7), the marble *crustae* (IV.8), the stone small finds (IV.9) and the coins (IV.10). Chapter VI covers Kramer's interpretation, and in fact Chapters III to VI form the core of the book.

Carrying out and interpreting archaeological survey data, particularly amidst existing occupation, presents specific challenges. Much literature exists regarding the partly well-known issues raised by Kramer (3-4), and the survey methodology was adapted to these conditions. Scores ranging from 1 (very good) to 5 (very poor) reflect the visibility of each grid (4, 47-48), and while this approach is open to discussion, a system of colour coding on each distribution map would have been useful. Also, many 'a'-grids on Plan 2 (54) do not figure in the list of grids (48).

In the finds chapter (IV), Kramer constructs four *Warengruppe* or fabric groups that help to structure the ceramic data and are useful for comparative purposes, though in the area there is little to go by. The pre-Hellenistic pottery comes first, and here the possible link with Tarsos is interesting. As one might expect from a near-coastal Mediterranean site, the majority of the finds belongs to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, above all the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period. Black slip, colour-coated wares and *unguentaria* (including Late Roman examples!) are the more recognisable protagonists to 'dominate' the Hellenistic period. Terra sigillata (IV.3) deviates from the chronological structure, spanning both the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, and, as Red Slip Ware, actually continues into the 7th century AD. Eastern Sigillata A (ESA) prevails (279 fragments, ca 90% of the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman terra sigillata), and Diokaisareia thus firmly belongs to ESA's primary sphere of influence. As elsewhere, Kramer makes a case for distinguishing three subfamilies within the ESA I- and ESA II-phases. Archaeometrically no argument has yet arisen to do so, and whilst Kramer too justly observes macroscopic differences, his hypothesis should be tested through laboratory analyses. Kramer does raise, implicitly, the interesting point of regional manufacture that characterises most if not all categories of Late Hellenistic to Late Roman Red Slip Ware.

With regard to the Late Roman period, rather than African Red Slip Ware, here one would expect either Phocaean or Cypriot Red Slip Ware (and related classes) to dominate. Interestingly enough, African Red Slip Ware is common at coastal Elaiussa Sebaste. Only some 25 km from Diokaisareia, this was surely one of the channels to the wider Mediterranean, yet it remains unmentioned. Also, in light of the recent discussion on Late Roman D it is interesting that some entries of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware seem *typologically* doubtful.

The coarseware (*Grobkeramik*) echoes more general problems; 84 different forms were identified in six *Warenvarianten*. Kramer's decision to group Flaschen and (imported) amphorae is typologically and functionally odd. Also, a more common terminology - for example Kapitän II rather than Peacock & Williams Class 47 or Benghazi MR Amphora 7 - would have made more sense. Moreover, among the imported amphorae more

identifications can be suggested (e.g. nos 382, 385 and 392 look like Late Roman Amphora 1).

Of the non-ceramic finds, IV.7 (glass) and IV.8 (marble *crustae*) are noteworthy. The evidence for local glass manufacture is significant, yet the possibility of glass-working (i.e. processing chunks of glass) is not considered. In light of the seemingly poor record for imported amphorae, the marble and imported red slip tablewares provide a better signal for Mediterranean exchange. Objects of interest in Chapter IV.9 (*Andere Kleinfunde aus Stein*) are the *Rohling* (no 660) and the two stone tools (nos 667 and 668), the earliest finds on the site.

Regarding the spatio-chronological interpretation (Chapter VI), the question arises whether 4000 artefacts, spanning a period of more than two millennia and covering an area of some 700 x 600 m, offer sufficient ground for well-founded conclusions. Particularly for earlier periods it remains problematic to grasp the relative intensity of occupation. One also wishes that a bit more argumentation had been drawn from history, which only really happens for the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period (73-76). Generally a comparison with Elaiussa Sebaste would have made much more sense than one with Anemorian, as the latter was partly tied to different exchange patterns, such as a stronger connection with Cyprus. Also, given the different geopolitical and economic circumstances the dispersion of Eastern Sigillata B and C cannot be compared with that of Phocaean Red Slip Ware. The bibliography shows some serious lacunae, with few references dating to 2006 to 2008. Lacking for instance is Levent Zoroğlu's contribution to the 2005 *Fautores Acta*, and work by Dominique Pieri. The conspicuous absence of work by John Lund, given his extensive work on Cypriot pottery, is particularly regrettable.

Kramer deserves credit for not limiting himself to pottery and his integrated approach within the architectural setting is notable, although with only some 4000 artefacts it is indeed of the utmost importance to extract as much information as possible from the evidence. Nevertheless, this book provides a welcome addition to a body of work on a region that is only slowly emerging in the published record.

Philip Bes

CHRISTOPHER P. DICKENSON, ONNO M. VAN NIJF (eds), *Public Space in the Post-classical City. Proceedings of a one day Colloquium held at Fransum 23rd July 2007*. Leuven: Peeters, 2013. 24 pp., 55 figs; 24 cm (Caeculus 7). -ISBN 978-90-429-2653-0.

The public architecture of archaeologically visible civilizations has long fascinated scholars and laymen. Until the mid-20th century, scholarly attention to monumental architecture resulted in a disproportionate focus on elite behavior. Recently scholars have begun to approach public architecture from a spatial perspective. How does the configuration of space shape the experience of people moving through it? What can public space tell us about the political developments of a city, and who decides how that space is constructed?

Contributors to this volume present aspects of their

Ph.D. research on public space in Italy, Greece and the East from the Hellenistic to the Imperial periods. The title, then, is somewhat misleading. This book does not deal with civilizations or periods outside what we would consider the 'Classical World'; the title only emphasizes the focus on public architecture in periods other than Classical Athens and late Republican Rome.

This volume is not a collection of conflicting theories of what defines public space; rather, it is a collection of case studies that invite us to construct our own hypotheses. The authors seem to agree that public space is a constructed environment which can reflect and reinforce the interests of the elite as well as the commoner.

The question of how strictly we can define a space as 'public' or 'private' is difficult to pin down. This particular issue is highlighted in 'Public Space Beyond the City. The Sanctuaries of Labraunda and the Sinuri in the Chora of Mylasa.' Christina Williamson explores the relationship between Mylasa and two extra-urban sanctuaries during the Hellenistic period. Epigraphic evidence from both sites bears witness to the communicative role of the sanctuaries in recording and displaying important transactions and decrees of Mylasa. Williamson argues that these sanctuaries functioned as public space within the chora. By her reasoning, public spaces are designed to interact with specific communities, and thus a space such as a sanctuary might still be considered public, even if the community that uses it is strictly limited.

Three chapters deal with the agora, the quintessential public space. In 'Kings, Cities and Marketplaces - Negotiating Power through Public Space in the Hellenistic World' Christopher Dickenson examines the agora to address the question of how the Hellenistic kings developed and maintained power in the Greek cities. The prolific construction of stoas during the Hellenistic period demonstrates that the agora was a concern of many Hellenistic kings. These enormously expensive structures appealed to kings because of their high visibility in the urban landscape, and their function as a backdrop for statues. Yet ultimately the stoa was a 'democratic' benefaction because it was not simply imposed upon the cityscape; rather, the cities themselves wished to acquire them.

Further examinations of the agora focus on the Roman periods. In 'Agoras in Asia Minor. Public Space and Romanization in Augustan Times' Ulf Kenzler argues that significant Roman influence in the East can mostly be seen in cities which had the closest ties to Rome and the greatest population of Italian Roman citizens - namely Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Alexandria Troas. Architectural change in the agoras of these cities came about in the Augustan period, reflecting the major political transformation of the empire. Kenzler maintains that Imperial freedmen and people with close ties to Rome were largely responsible for these building programs, and therefore Rome can be seen as the motivating force behind the transformation of these agoras.

This role of Imperial freedmen in the architectural development of eastern cities is also explored in Rubina Raja's study 'Expressing Public Identities in Urban Spaces: The Case of Aphrodisias in Caria'. Aphrodisias had long maintained good relations with Rome but remained a small polis until the late 1st century BCE. The monumentalization of Aphrodisias began with the

construction of a stoa by a freedman of Julius Caesar. Raja and Kenzler agree that the architectural forms of the Roman period structures followed Hellenistic tradition while communicating Roman ideas through orientation and the organization of space. It is difficult to know, however, how much the average visitor to the agora would have recognized evidence of Roman influence.

In 'Cities, Buildings and Benefactors in the Roman East,' Arjan Zuiderhoek shows that public building came about as a result of extensive negotiations between the *demos* and the elite. Furthermore, epigraphic and literary evidence suggest that many buildings were in part publicly funded, although the structures often bore the name of the individual who provided the remainder of the funds.

Only two contributions deal with Rome and its colonies. Archaeological evidence for town planning at Cosa, Fregellae, Alba Fucens and Paestum is the subject of 'New Observations on the Planning of Fora in the Latin Colonies during the Mid-Republic'. Jamie Sewell argues that by the 4th century BCE the Romans planned the area immediately surrounding the forum of each city for future shops, sanctuaries and civic spaces. Plots for large atrium houses were laid out nearby on higher ground. From these observations Sewell offers two important conclusions; first, the Romans did not follow Greek models of town planning, but laid out their colonies in imitation of Rome; and second, the allocation of space for atrium houses in proximity to the forum suggests that as early as the 4th century BCE the Romans recognized the semi-public role of the atrium.

In 'The Influence of Trajan's Innovative Building Programme on the Urban Landscape of Rome' Pamela Doms explores how different aspects of the urban environment of Rome were affected under Trajan, who was the first emperor to change the underlying geographical structure of the city. Doms demonstrates that Trajan's building program had a major impact on Rome's public space, most crucially in making the monumental area between the Campus Martius and the Caelian accessible.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the study of public space in antiquity. It will be an excellent addition to Ph.D. courses in landscape and urban archaeology as well as archaeological theory, and the approaches and theories employed by the authors will undoubtedly inspire many of us in our own work.

Mary Jane Cuyler

MARGARITA GLEBA/HELLE W. HORSNAES (eds), *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2011, pp. i-xiv, 232 pp., b/w figs., 15 colour pls, 25 cm. – ISBN 978-1-84217-991-8.

Il volume, curato da M. Gleba e H. Horsnaes, si inserisce nel solco di linee di ricerca che negli ultimi anni hanno accordato spazio crescente alle culture di margine, intese come espressione del contatto e/o della vera e propria 'convivenza' tra gruppi etnici diversi, detentori di livelli di acculturazione spesso anche fortemente disomogenei. Ciò ha coinciso, almeno in Italia, con un rinnovato impulso allo scavo e alla ricerca nei territori degli antichi distretti della penisola in epoca

preromana, con una mirabile sequenza di nuovi dati, spesso del tutto inaspettati, e l'emergere con crescente chiarezza di fenomeni di 'ibridazione' tanto topografica che culturale.

Il contributo di apertura di K. Lomas (pp. 7-25) tenta di contestualizzare, tra tardo arcaismo e romanizzazione, la classe delle stele funerarie patavine attraverso la disamina parallela delle immagini e delle iscrizioni commemorative venetiche (e poi anche latine) che le accompagnano, in un sistema di segni che accoglie via via elementi felsinei, celtici, 'ellenistici', romani, rimanendo tuttavia sempre sostanzialmente aderente alla realtà sociale epicorica di partenza. Il contributo di M. Gleba (pp. 26-32), da anni ormai impegnata in ricerche attinenti alla sfera del tessile, soprattutto in area italica, è incentrato sulla presenza e diffusione dei diversi tipi di 'conocchie' (per le quali possiamo contare ora anche sul lavoro di L.C. Koch, *Früheisenzeitliches Glas und Glasfunde Mittelitaliens*, Rahden 2011) - forse, secondo l'A., anche a seguito di spostamenti, e dunque di 'contatti', matrimoniali - in prestigiosi corredi femminili di zone anche assai distanti della penisola tra età del Ferro ed epoca orientalizzante. Di tematica in parte analoga appare il contributo di C. Norman (pp. 33-49), che individua convincentemente in alcune rappresentazioni di stele daunie originali scene 'indigene' di tessitura piuttosto che episodi mitici privi di qualsiasi nesso culturale e ideologico con il repertorio decorativo di questi singolari monumenti. Meno persuasivo è invece il tentativo di E.G.D. Robinson (pp. 50-72) di riconoscere nel titolare della Tomba del Tuffatore un italico (forse meridionale: cosa, questa, certamente possibile), sulla base di assonanze tra la forma del vaso dipinto a silhouette nera sulla lastra E della 'cassa' e forme reali di 'kantharocrateri' / trozzelle di area latamente lucana: sappiamo, infatti, anche dal mondo etrusco, come rappresentazioni di questo tipo (cfr., e.g., F. Wiel-Marin in *Pittura parietale, pittura vascolare. Ricerche in corso tra Etruria e Campania*, Napoli 2005, pp. 9-17) possano includere talora libere 'varianti' e non possano in alcun modo essere ritenute strumenti interpretativi vincolanti. Il contributo di J.P. Crielaard e G.-J. Burgers (pp. 73-89) affronta da una molteplicità di punti di vista il problema delle modalità di interazione tra Greci e indigeni nel sito dell'Amastuola (entroterra tarantino) a cavallo tra VIII e VII sec. a.C., nei tre cruciali comparti 'ideologici' abitato/deposito votivo/necropoli. In un'ottica affine si colloca nel complesso anche il contributo di G. Shepherd (pp. 113-129), incentrato sulle modalità di acculturazione e 'ibridazione' tra comunità indigene e greche della Sicilia, anche in ambito culturale. Ancora in Sicilia, e in particolare in quella indigena centro-occidentale, E. Kistler (pp. 130-154) segnala il passaggio tra agglomerati / 'compounds' del tardo Bronzo / inizi Ferro e abitati di carattere proto-urbano, databili nel corso del VI sec. a.C., che fanno proprie tecniche costruttive e organizzazione degli spazi di netta ispirazione greca: a tale radicale trasformazione lo studioso osserva come si accompagnino strutture abitative destinate a famiglie 'mononucleari', anch'esse improntate a una 'rivoluzione' sociale di netta ispirazione ellenica, promanante dalle colonie della costa, senza che però ciò comporti - come in teoria si potrebbe essere tentati di credere sulla base delle sole evidenze archeologiche - un radicale

mutamento del profilo etnico dei siti. Sulla stessa linea, M. Fitzjohn (pp. 155-166) mette sostanzialmente in guardia da automatiche equivalenze tra cambiamenti nelle tipologie edilizie e cambiamenti etnici nell'illustrare le nuove 'rock-cut houses' che si affermano a Leontinoi al passaggio tra VIII e VII sec. a.C. E se non convince del tutto il riconoscimento ad opera di J.H. Petersen (pp. 167-176) di un parallelismo tra la situazione socio/culturale che esprime i documenti orfici sul Mar Nero e quella cui sono riconducibili analoghi documenti dell'Italia meridionale, apprezzabile è il 'survey' delle teorie post-coloniali proposto da S. Handberg e J. Klindberg Jacobsen (pp. 177-196) in rapporto alle diverse tipologie di coabitazione tra Greci e indigeni sia in Magna Grecia che (di nuovo) sul Mar Nero, basata soprattutto sulle evidenze ceramiche.

Al mondo italico meridionale, ma in una fase decisamente recenziore, si riferiscono i contributi di H. Fracchia (pp. 90-98), sul problema, già da lungo tempo discusso (la lett. è ora raccolta in L. Todisco (ed.), *La ceramica a figure rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia*, Roma 2012; per il mondo lucano ricordo, tra gli altri, il piccolo, ma importante contributo di A. Bottini, Dioniso e Apollo: i grandi crateri di Celia, in *Studi in onore di Michele D'Elia: Archeologia, arte, restauro e tutela*, Matera 1996, pp. 46-52, sugli 'utenti' del grande cratere del P. delle Carnee), delle valenze etico-genealogiche del mito greco per le comunità anelleniche della penisola (tomba di IV sec. a.C. di Roccagloriosa con rappresentazione vascolare del mito di Niobe); e di M. Gualtieri (pp. 99-112), su un probabile frammento di kerykeion con iscrizione 'ΔΗ' (*demosion*), ancora da Roccagloriosa, riferito a una fase di strutturazione politica della comunità locale testimoniata anche dall'esistenza di possibili edifici pubblici.

La carrellata di modi di 'comunicazione di identità' si conclude con la presentazione, ad opera di H. Horsnaes (pp. 197-209) di conii monetali tardo-arcaici, con ogni probabilità riferibili a comunità indigene d'Italia meridionale, emessi forse, secondo l'A., per riaffermare l'identità etnica delle tribù medesime nel confronto con il coevo mondo coloniale; e con due contributi relativi ad epoca romana: di E. Isayeva (pp. 210-222), sulla 'mobilità' nel mondo romano-italico tra II e I sec. a.C.; e di G.D. Farney, sul formarsi, nell'alveo dell'impero, della coscienza di una 'unità etnica' della penisola italiana, che resterà tuttavia in qualche misura sempre legata alle antiche eredità cantonali italiche.

Fernando Gilotta

FERNANDO GILOTTA / COLONNA PASSARO con contributi di Leopoldo Aveta, Gabriella Ciaccia, Fulvio De Salvia, Angela Izzo, Ciro Piccioli, Antonio Scognamiglio, *La necropoli del Migliaro a Cales. Materiali di età arcaica*, Monumenti Etruschi 11 (ed. by the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici). Pisa/Roma: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2012. 340 pp, 135 pls., 3 maps in black and white; 31.5 cm, hardback copy - ISBN 978-88-6227-488-3 (also available as E-book: ISSN 978-88-6227-489-0).

This book concerns the publication of the pre-Roman

burial ground of Migliara situated in the ancient Campanian site of Cales, important town of the Ausoni which was conquered by the Romans in 335 BC to then become a Latin colony. The burial ground, so far containing about 100 graves, covers the period from the late 7th until the 4th centuries BC. It was excavated between 1995 and 1997 after clandestine digging disturbed many graves. Together with the nearby burial ground of Pezzaseca/Roccioloni, also heavily disturbed by illegal activities, the graves in both areas confirm the presence in Cales of a sedentary community already from the late 7th century BC. This corresponds with early settlement remains discovered by the late W. Johannowsky during the sixties of the last century, some of which are even dated to the late 8th century. These early remains of occupation so far have largely remained in the shadows of the late Republican and Roman history of the town, which is well known especially through the artistic production of black-glossed relief ceramics and terracotta objects.

The book under review is part of a larger publication project which aims to put an end to this rather limited image of Cales by means of the systematic publication of the archaic remains, even if disturbed, which will address the largely unknown pre-Roman period of the settlement. It is for this reason, too, that documentation of materials from excavations carried out in 2005-2007 in the archaic sanctuary of Monte Grande, the oldest sacred area so far known in the area of Cales, has been inserted as an appendix to this volume.

Regretfully, not all the excavated graves are published. Of the almost 100 documented graves, only 43 are discussed. These regard the earliest tombs from the late 7th and 6th centuries, mostly consisting of irregularly shaped trench graves which were used exclusively for inhumation. The other graves, dating to the later period of use of the burial ground, e.g. the late classical period, and consisting predominantly of graves a *cassa di tufo*, will be published at a later moment. This artificial division should have been avoided especially since the publication deals with a burial ground where much valuable information is already missing due to clandestine activities and rather limited research possibilities during the emergency excavations.

The book is organized into five chapters. In the first chapter the reader is introduced to the site by means of a short history of the research which already started in the beginning of the 19th century as an antiquities collectors' enterprise, as is witnessed by the many objects from Cales found in museum collections outside Italy. There follows a review of the archaeological remains of the settlement, the sanctuaries, and the cemeteries (pp. 13-21); Appendix 1 (pp. 23-25) introduces the reader into the Sanctuary of Monte Grande.

The second chapter offers a short presentation on the excavation of the Necropolis of Migliara (pp. 27-31) followed by a typology of ceramic shapes found in the graves, each of which provided with a short description and a reference to the distribution of the shape in the burial ground. This classification of the material is divided into four ceramic classes (*impasto grezzo*, *impasto bruno*, *impasto rosso* and *bucchero*) and two classes of bronze objects consisting of *fibulae* and bracelets (pp. 31-41). Each shape is indicated by an

Arabic number followed by a capitalized letter when referring to a specific shape-type. Possible variants of the types are indicated by a sub number behind the letter. Nearly all shapes discussed in this chapter are drawn, with many illustrated in black and white photos.

The core of the publication is formed by a catalogue of tombs (pp. 43-158), presented with information from the excavation diary (in italics) and/or from the photographs and drawings made during these excavations in the mid nineties. The generally short descriptions give the location of the grave, the date of excavation, the type of fossa and its approximate measurements, the orientation of the grave and its state of preservation. This information is followed by a presentation of the individual objects in the tomb assemblage which follows the sequence of the main classes of material presented earlier and is extended with other finds for which as for yet no typology has been set up. An extensive comment discusses the grave items, their shape, size, material, production, parallels, provenance and chronology, all of which is set in the wider context of central Italic sites and regions. The text contains many references offering the reader a solid background to the excavated material. All graves are illustrated with drawings (scale 1:30), as are the individual grave assemblages. Black and white photographs, though very small and not always of a good quality, supplement the text.

The chapter *Considerazioni conclusive* (pp. 159-183) summarizes the observations regarding the burial outfits, examining possible patterns in the distribution of the grave objects as reflected in recurring pieces either individually or as part of functional sets of pottery. The main classes of pottery are again taken as point of departure thereby focussing on the use and significance of specific vases. To give an example, the possible function and significance of the large coarse-ware olla which is present in all grave assemblages is amply discussed and placed in the context of the burial practises of the *Fossakultur* of ancient Campania but also in a wider context outside this area. At the same time the shapes' association with other objects in the different assemblages is addressed, often coming to the conclusion that many tombs contain banquet sets. Similar observations are made in respect to recurring shapes in the other ceramic classes such as the amphorae in *impasto bruno*, the oinochoe in *impasto rosso*, and different shapes in *bucchero*. In addition to the ceramics, the bronze vessels and the iron weaponry are discussed as well as the jewellery present in almost every burial. On the basis of these observations a chronological sequence of the burials is proposed, distinguishing a gradual change in burial rite from the simple fossa graves from the late 7th and first half of the 6th century into fossa graves covered by roof tiles and graves covered by tufa blocks dating to the second half of the 6th century, in their turn succeeded by graves of the type a *cassa di tufo*, the first of which seem to occur in the period between the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century. A similar development of tomb types is observed in the neighbouring centres of the Campanian *Fossakultur*. The authors note that, in the course of the 6th century, the number of objects in the burial assemblage seem to gradually dwindle.

The volume ends with a chapter placing the necropolis of Migliara in the wider context of cultural connections, ways of communication, and commercial exchange in pre-Roman central Italy. In fact this section constitutes a scholarly synthesis of the observations presented earlier in the comments on the material of the individual graves but which are here placed in a much wider panorama providing the reader with a broad insight into the archaic world of indigenous central Italy. The text is of great value because of the many references in the footnotes which offer a coherent and almost encyclopaedic overview of the archaeological research carried out in the internal regions of pre-Roman central Italy during the last three decades.

Overall the publication can be regarded as a valuable contribution to the pre-Roman archaeology of ancient Campania. Less positive though is my opinion on the production of the book. It is a forbiddingly expensive publication, the buying of which can only be afforded by few libraries. Its size is far too big resulting in a lot of white space in the lay-out. Moreover, the general plans of tables I and II, of which the latter is extremely important because of the locations of the archaeological sites, are nearly illegible. The use of colours in these maps, or in any case a clear numbering, would have been very helpful, as it also would have been for the plan of the necropolis in order to illustrate the different tomb types and their chronological distribution.

Marijke Gnade

STEFAN ZIMMER (ed.), *Kelten am Rhein. Akten des dreizehnten Internationalen Keltologiekongresses, 23. bis 27. Juli 2007 in Bonn*. Vol. 1 *Ethnizität und Romanisierung*. Vol. 2 *Sprachen und Literaturen*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2009. Vol 1: VIII+286 pp., figs, pls; Vol. 2: X+332 pp., figs; 30 cm (Bonner Jahrbücher Beiheft 58). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4102-8.

The books under review are proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Celtic Studies held at Bonn, Germany, in 2007, and form a busy collection of nearly 60 papers written in English, German and French, and divided between two volumes devoted to archaeology and philology, respectively. Organized every four years, the weeklong Celtic Congresses represent the best of international conferences for Celtic studies, archaeology, languages, and literature. The present volumes include papers addressing the general theme of the 2007 Congress - 'Celts on the Rhine' - though both volumes differ as much in layout as in subject matter.

In the first volume, titled *Ethnicity and Romanization*, 24 contributors discuss a range of archaeological topics that vary considerably in method and scope, from essays exploring theoretical issues to those being essentially preliminary excavation reports. The contributions have tacitly been divided into five subject areas, roughly equivalent to material expressions of identity and ethnicity; settlements and their structures; buildings; coinage; and flora and fauna.

This review focuses on essays engaging the two highly disputed terms in the volume's title. The term

'ethnicity' is critically examined by the two opening and most stimulating essays by Brather and Fernández-Götz, who emphasize the subjective and situational nature of ethnic identity. Specifically, both researchers address the nonexistence of bounded entities, such as 'Germans', 'Celts', and 'Romans', considering the continuous shifts in ethnic affiliation operating within such macro groupings (Brather), and ultimately propose to turn scholarly attention away from these macro-concepts to smaller communities (Fernández-Götz). Other outstanding contributions engage issues raised by both Brather and Fernández-Götz, such as Roymans' and Wendling's essays on rural communities of the respectively Lower and Upper Rhine, or Wells's essay on people living beyond the Roman frontiers.

By contrast, the other term in the volume's title, 'Romanization,' has not been critically evaluated and is addressed only at face value by few contributors, despite the current prevalence of theoretical literature, in which this concept has been repeatedly criticized (cf. works of R. Hingley, *Globalizing Roman culture: unity, diversity and empire*, London 2005; G. Schörner (ed.), *Romanisierung-Romanisation: theoretische Modelle und praktische Fallbeispiele*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1427, Oxford 2005). To this end, of real interest and value are essays depicting the Romans facilitating variety of the transformative processes in particular tribal entities instead of being a monolithic driving force of change. A notable example comes from Dolenz and Strobel, who study the rise of the Celtic settlement at Magdalensberg, Austria, while another by Kaczynski examines regionality in the development of coinage in Treveran territory. The final section on flora and fauna, consisting of five essays by Kooistra, Schamuhn and Zerl, Stobbe, Rösch et al., and Deschler-Erb, is a real gem of the first volume, especially for its coherent analysis of the change, continuity, and development of land use in Celtic- and Germanic-speaking regions as a result of Roman occupation.

The second volume devoted to philology, titled *Languages and Literature*, contains 35 essays organized alphabetically by author surname, which stands in odd contrast to the first volume. This structure makes it impossible for the reader to tease out common themes and points of debate, though interested readers will no doubt find several essays of great value here.

One of most stimulating essays of the second volume - and perhaps the one closest to spirit of Brather and Fernández-Götz's contributions - is by Collis, who provides a sublime defence of the highly debated approach called 'new Celticism'. He proposes that we consider Ancient Celts as an ethnic strain embedded within a variety of different cultural entities, organizations and structures rather than a timeless, linguistic fact. Collis's significant suggestion has not, however, been further engaged with and left unevaluated.

Volume two covers an array of topics, ranging from an analysis of Medieval Irish and Welsh texts to Celtic morphology and lexicography as well as to problems in Gaelic language education. Various essays may interest archaeologists, such as that by Mac Eoin, who traces the language spoken in Ireland before Irish Gaelic, as well as Stifter's, who investigates occurrences of chariots in prehistoric and early medieval Ireland by con-

sulting medieval Irish literature. Both scholars' engagement with archaeological data clearly shows the necessity for collaboration between philologists and archaeologists to solve these and similar issues. This necessity is further exemplified by essays by Schumacher and Stüber, who both trace the evidence of language contact; the former focusses on contact between Germanic- and Celtic-speaking peoples, the latter on contact between speakers of Latin and Gaulish. These two essays are clear examples of how the investigation into language development can illuminate ancient social networks and intercultural linguistic borrowing, an aspect that should not be ignored by archaeologists studying connectivity and contact.

The timespan and geographical spread of the contributions in both volumes are rather hazy; they do not only focus on areas near the Rhine, as the Congress title suggests, and chronologically extend from the Neolithic into the modern era. This diffusion burdens readers with the task of identifying threads, though the spread is common in proceedings of congress of such magnitude. A more significant inconsistency is the language quality of some contributions, which by comparison suggest that the second volume has been more judiciously and consistently edited than the first one.

That aside, both volumes are well presented and richly illustrated and manage to cover a lot of territory in both archaeology and philology. Furthermore, the proceedings altogether present the current state of thought in both disciplines, though some contributions somewhat miss the mark regarding internal dialogue and the in-depth probing of critical issues raised by the incisive opening essays. Even if the volumes will be outdated as new theories and discoveries arise, for now, however, they offer a compelling collection of insights into diverse subjects ranging from medieval linguistics, Celtic urbanization and religion, modern philology, folklore, Irish journalism, and various modes of identity, to name a few.

Tatiana Ioleva

MAX KUNZE/KATHRIN SCHADE/ELKE MÄHLITZ-GALLER (eds), *Vom Nil aus um die Alte Welt. Rekonstruktionen ägyptischer, minoischer und griechischer Schiffe*. Ruppolding/Mainz: Franz Philipp Rutzen and Harrassowitz, 2013. 96 pp., black and white and color ill.; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-3-447-06956-4.

This catalogue presents an exhibition at the Winckelmann-Museum, Stendal (27 April-22 September 2013), with objects loaned by private owners and museums in Germany. Entries for objects displayed were written by Michael Bormann, Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer, Michael Haase, Frank Hildebrandt, Elke Mähltitz-Galler, Axel Rügler and Veit Stürmer.

The exhibition is based on modern small-scale models by Michael Bormann that reconstruct specific types of ancient (Bronze-Age to 5th-century BC) ships or boats, an excellent means of understanding the construction of Egyptian vessels and of visualizing realistic aspects of historical voyages or battles.

Text and catalogue are arranged according to his-

torical phenomena and archaeological finds of sailing vessels: the fleet of Sahure (5th Dynasty), Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt (15th century), cargo ships depicted in New Kingdom Theban tombs, Egyptian funerary ships including the Cheops ship (note comments on its current situation, pp. 47-50), boats of the Nile festivals including the mythical Neshmet barque; Minoan seafaring and trade in the Aegean, reconstructions of Minoan ships with reference to the Thera frescoes and Uluburun shipwreck, and a short section on early Greek seafaring in the eastern Mediterranean, illustrated from vases and reliefs and the construction of the pentekonter and trireme. The stunning Minoan model (pp. 64-68 no 4.1) combines practicality with the fantastic ornamentation of the Thera frescoes. Quite a few vases and reliefs are copies or plaster casts of famous originals. Sponsored by the Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, the book ends with an essay on research into ancient ships before and after the contributions of Winckelmann who of course had already identified many major topics: this is lavishly illustrated with antiquarian drawings, Roman art, coins and seal-stones.

It is useful to have images of Old Kingdom reliefs, Theban painted tombs, etc. although many are darkly reproduced, shaded in gray or yellow that make details difficult to see. Particularly interesting are partial models that show the assembly techniques of ancient ships, in which planks and other members had to be fastened or continually tightened with ropes: Egyptian and Greek (and many other) vessels required constant maintenance, and several Greek- and Roman-era wrecks, like the early Hellenistic Kyrenia merchantman, preserve evidence of careful repairs and cautious loading that kept them sailing for many decades. (Although not treated here, the actual-scale or seaworthy, reduced-scale replicas of the Kyrenia and the 'trireme' *Olympias* should be studied for Greek background: see J.S. Morrison/J.F. Coates/N.B. Rankin, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, Cambridge 2000; several Kyrenia replicas have been sailed and documented on the internet.)

The catalogue includes a small number of objects intended to illustrate ancient cultures, cargoes or ship-board life, ranging from vases and figurines to Nautilus shells. This judicious use of objects from nearby collections enlivens a gallery display, but these particular items were not found on ancient wrecks, and in some cases they actually represent cultures not covered by the exhibition. This can be a bit misleading in the book: for instance, an Etrusco-Corinthian alabastron in 6th-century 'Running-Dog Style' is illustrated with reference to Corinthian Greek commerce and colonies (p. 83 no. 5.9): see V. Bellelli, *Dal Museo di Tarquinia: decoratori etruschi di Running Dogs*, in M. Cristofani (ed.), *Miscellanea etrusco-italica II*, Rome 1997, 7-54.

A basic bibliography would make the book more useful to students, although if one combs the essay-references, one will find all the basics such as the oeuvre of Lionel Casson. For a thorough *catalogue raisonné* of images, including some modern ship models, see Lucien Basch, *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique*, Athens 1987.

For the incredible Uluburun Canaanite ship and its royal cargo, see also Çemal Pulak, *The Uluburun Ship-*

wreck, in S. Swiny/R. Hohlfelder/H.W. Swiny (eds) *Res Maritimae. Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*, Atlanta 1997, 233-262; and idem, The Cargo of the Uluburun Ship and Evidence for Trade with the Aegean and Beyond, in L. Bonfante/V. Karageorghis (eds), *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity 1500-450 B.C.*, Nicosia 2001, 13-60.

Recent research in shipbuilding may be found in the proceedings of the International Symposia on Boat and Ship Archaeology; the last was in Amsterdam in 2012 (not yet in print); previous proceedings include: *Boats, Ships and Shipyards* (9th Symposium, Venice 2000, published by Oxbow 2003), and *Connected by the Sea* (Roskilde, 2003, published by Oxbow 2006). The 14th Symposium will be in Gdansk in 2015 (see www.isbsa.org).

For thought-provoking background to the LBA exchange and gift circuits, presaging Classical-era Levantine and Greek commercial traffic, see L. Foxhall, Cargoes of the heart's desire: the character of trade in the archaic Mediterranean world, in N. Fisher/H. van Wees (eds), *Archaic Greece: New approaches and new evidence*, London 1998, 295-309.

While essays on ship construction and famous voyages include bibliographic notes, the references for catalogued objects are minimal, nearly limited to German publications. More could be deduced from some of the items, such as an Orientalizing Boeotian black figure *kantharos* (p. 83 no 5.7): much is made of the Phoenician inspiration for its painted sphinxes, but the vessel shape could be traced to Etruscan *bucchero* forebears, adding another dimension to the Greek sea-trade it illustrates. This vase's history sounds intriguing: now in Berlin's Humboldt-University, it came from Georg Karo's Athenian collection; a visit to Leningrad/St. Petersburg seems to have left it damaged.

Exhibition and book offer a concise and handsome visual background for early long-distance trade and transport in the Eastern Mediterranean. The model-building described and illustrated should be a good starting point for studies of the well known Classical-era trade and naval combat much of which descended from Late Bronze Age models.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

CLAUDIO GIARDINO (ed.), *Archeometallurgia: Dalla Conoscenza alla Fruizione*. Atti del Workshop, 22-25 maggio 2006 Cavallino (LE), Convento dei Domenicani. Bari: Edipuglia, 2011. 405 pp., figs; 30 cm (BACT: Beni Archeologici-Conoscenza e Tecnologie Quaderno 8) – ISBN 978-88-7228-649-4.

While much has been published on the production of metal art and artifacts (for instance, C.C. Mattusch, A. Brauer and S.E. Knudsen (eds), *From the parts to the whole: Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress*, Supplement JRA 39, Portsmouth 2000; A.J. Nijboer, *From household production to workshops: archaeological evidence for economic transformations, pre-monetary exchange and urbanisation in central Italy from 800 to 400 BC*, Groningen 1998), this volume deals with the processes of obtaining and refining the raw materials, and supplies new data on ancient Italian metallurgy. There is much

here for specialists, but any archaeologist would do well to contemplate the basic procedures of ancient production and circulation of metals. These edited proceedings of a conference sponsored by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche and the Università del Salento are dedicated to the late Alberto Palmieri, a leader in Italian archaeometallurgical research (see his article on a metal-rich Anatolian 'royal' burial [c. 3000 BC] at Arslantepe, pp. 31-42). The conference was planned to promote collaboration between researchers in the Humanities and the Sciences, following a conference on *Charcoals from the Past: Cultural and Palaeoenvironmental Implications* (G. Fiorentino/D. Magri (eds), Oxford 2008).

The 38 articles by 58 authors range from surveys by experts to specialized presentations of excavation sites and ethnographic parallels, and from prehistory through the medieval and modern periods. Giardino's preface (15-22) outlines the categories: pre- and proto-historic archaeological evidence, Greek, Roman and medieval metallurgy, exploitation of metal-bearing deposits, modern techniques for identifying and preserving evidence of past metallurgy as well as planning for archaeological parks and museums, and also experimental approaches and ethnographic studies, including myth (Ethiopia and Nepal, 377-391).

A picture is beginning to emerge of the early acquisition and practice of various types of metallurgy in Italy. Pre- and protohistoric evidence has been greatly expanded by recent archaeological finds and analyses, here described for Iberia (which had impressive contacts with the central Mediterranean - see F. Lo Schiavo in J.M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World*, London 2013, 197-215); Sardinia, not represented in this conference, but already covered in other publications, is referred to by Lo Schiavo. Apulia (especially Lecce) is well represented, from the late Neolithic (25-29) onward; Late Bronze Age hoards and sites like Roca Vecchia (57-68; 69-77) show significant liaisons with northern Italy and the Mycenaean Aegean in tools (hammers, sickle-shaped knives) and technical processes (note the find of a *tuyère*), implying an intensive circulation of skilled artisans, not just tools and molds (which are made in local stone).

Other areas include metalworking sites and hoards found in Portugal (89-101; 103-110); Early Bronze Age Pantelleria; and the Apennine region of Sannio Pentro, a 2nd-millennium conduit for metal exchange as well as transhumance (83-88), and - tantalizingly close to Ischia/Pithekoussai - Vivara, where copper slags illustrate a refining site which cast 'black copper' (retaining iron and sulphides) into oxhide ingots for shipment to the Aegean (111-119).

The circulation of silver in the Levant and Greece (121-132) illustrates a lengthy tradition of pre-monetary standards of exchange, with Phoenicians disseminating silver as early as the 11th century BC (⅔ of Levantine hoards was Anatolian or Aegean in origin, ⅓ Iberian or Sardinian). In Greece instead, Orientalizing elites dominated metal exchange, preventing pre-monetary use of silver. Another article discusses Celtic arms, especially shields and swords in iron, which were of little use but preferred as offerings for symbolic reasons (133-147).

Greek and Roman traces from the rare process of casting vessels (4th-3rd century BC) are known at Lecce

(151- 160); as are Roman blacksmithing, bronze- and iron-working and zinc processing in the home-workshops of Mediolanum - by-products were used for coloring glass vases (161-168). From the cities of Vesuvius Roman silverware and bronze vessels show use of lathes for finishing and probably for raising (169-180; 181-191). Iron processing in Roman southern Italy, especially forging and recycling rather than industrial-level new production, is surveyed through 29 sites from Pompeii to Metaponto (193-213). Roman iron technology is also illustrated through a 1st-century BC smelting and forging site excavated near Barcelona (215-219). The use of metal clamps and tie-rods in Roman concrete architecture is well illustrated (221-228).

Finds documented for Republican Roman and medieval iron production on Elba (229-241) begin c. 450 +/- 100 BC, but evidence for earlier, Etruscan exploitation of the iron mines is scarce, although the identification of Elban ore (hematite) in the Pithekoussan industrial quarter leaves no doubt that ancient literary sources (Diodorus 5.13) were correct (see p. 230). Unfortunately, this article by A. Corretti and M. Firmati is almost the only contribution that deals with the important field of Etruscan metallurgy and mining (see now a survey by C. Giardino in Turfa cit., 721-737; also M. Milletti on Corsica, *ibidem* 244-258). Archaeological parks in the Colline Metallifere of Livorno and Grosseto illustrate some Etruscan archaeology (L. Dallai, 355-361), and a film on bronze-making has been made for the Palermo museum (363-368).

Medieval metallurgy is discussed for the Salento (Otranto) where abandoned villages furnish comparanda for ancient situations (243-250). Archaeological finds and proxy evidence for ancient mining are covered for northern Italy (copper, 253-266), Calabria (267-269, the Salento (271-279) where bauxite was mined for its iron content; Eneolithic Liguria is identified as the earliest region for mining in western Europe, using Feuersatz technique (burning cliffs for copper, 281-287), and mines for a wide variety of metals are cited for southern Etruria (289-292).

A section on analytical techniques for analysis and conservation (295-343) is highly technical, and discusses XRF, lead isotope analysis, various methods of spectroscopy and more. Art historians should check L. Tricarico's article on graphic documentation of metal finds (315-320), and heed D. Catello's warning that conservators must be well versed in the art of the relevant period (333-343; see also illustrations of traditional Nepalese lost-wax casting, 383-392). Ancient 'direct' methods of iron production contrast markedly with medieval and modern processes (295-301). Late Antique pyrotechnology has left rich archaeobotanical evidence at Lecce where oak and olive wood were burned, and smelting was seasonal, in autumn (321-331; 371-376).

One special feature may be missed by those consulting bound library copies: the paperback cover is a full-color painting by Paolo Azzella of ancient metalworkers tending furnaces like those found at Populonia. At the end (395-405) is a dictionary of Italian and English terms by Giardino.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

CRISTOFORO GROTTA, *Zeus Meilichios a Selinunte*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2010. 331 pp.; 26 figs; 36 pls; 24 cm (Historica 9). – ISBN 978-88-7689-247-9; ISSN 1971-7644.

Scholars who rescue lost information like excavation notebooks should be encouraged - likewise the publishers willing to make archives accessible to readers across the globe before excavation sites deteriorate further. Integrating material excavated in 1915-1922 with the published evidence from all later excavations, Grotta painstakingly presents the basic data, then conservatively assesses the evidence for and character of the Greek (and Magna Graecian) cult of *Zeus Meilichios*. The extra-urban site at Selinus, discovered in 1874 near the western necropolis, is usually associated with its neighbor, the shrine of Demeter *Malophoros* in *contrada Gággera*. Confident that the full documentation, assembled here for the first time, supports his premise, Grotta, while noting the permeability of their supposed boundaries, presents *Zeus Meilichios* not as a satellite but as a distinct, stand-alone cult.

His fresh appraisal is critical of past trends in interpretation; he discusses the excavation history of both the *Malophoros* sanctuary (1-6 and chap. 2) and the 'sacred area of *Zeus Meilichios*' (chap. 3) with its adjoining precinct of stelai excavated by Vincenzo Tusa in 1969 (chap. 4). Discussion of the notebooks of 1915-1922 follows (chap. 5; Appendix 1, transcribed documents, is separate, 233-277). Epigraphic evidence from Selinus appears in chapter 6 (16 inscribed stelai, *cippi* or stone blocks).

The Greek cult existed by the later 7th century, according to an Athenian event recorded by Thucydides (1.126); it presumably accompanied Megarian colonists to Sicily in the same period. The epithet *Meilichios*, 'easily entreated' or 'accessible', suits a patron of purification rituals, as attested by literary sources (see 148-149 notes 73-76) and by the 'lex sacra of Selinunte'. This 5th-century BC lead plaque, returned to Italy by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1992, bears ritual prescriptions for purification after a homicide or similar offense (188-202 with text; pl. 36). If more than a hundred stelai (inscribed 6th-5th century B.C.) all represent homicides, Megarian Selinus seems exceptionally violent! Grotta's thorough reporting allows us to compare dating proposals - usually the earliest commentators gave earlier dates So the famous 'Meilichios of the Kleulidai' stele (101-103) ranges from the end of the 7th to the 5th century, with Grotta labeling it 'first quarter of the 6th century'. (For finds other than inscriptions, one must refer to the original excavation reports.)

Appendix II (279-291) catalogues other Greek epigraphic documents regarding *Zeus Meilichios*, from 5th-4th-century Attic sacred calendars to Boeotian and Thessalian votive plaques of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC; images include snakes and the enthroned Zeus. The cult also is attested, mostly in the Hellenistic period, in the Aegean islands, Crete, Asia Minor (Knidos, Ephesus, Lydia, Pergamon), Cyprus, Cyrene and Italy (Croton, Pompeii, Regalbuto and Alesia, 3rd-2nd century, in addition to Selinus). A possible Roman-era image of enthroned *Zeus Meilichios* has been identified on coins of

Marcus Aurelius and Hadrian, in one case with a snake, similar to the images on Attic and related stelai (figs 18-19, pl. 33) - see C. Flament/P. Marchetti, *Le monnayage argien d'époque romaine (d'Hadrien à Gallien)*, Athens 2011, 67 fig. 25.

Two points: the sanctuary proper (*recinto*) may have been an Archaic foundation, but the extant structures show 4th-century traits. With its *tempietto*, portico and wells in a walled precinct, it is distinct in character from the '*campo di stele*' uphill to the west, where over 100 stelai stood above little clusters of offerings and burnt animal sacrifices. These sound like the family 'plots' cited in the rituals of the *lex sacra*, for instance, col. A lines 9 and 17; three stelai show burning from the rituals. Asserting its independence from the Demeter cult, Grotta (221-232) raises doubts concerning the Punic character of post-406 activity. While the *Malophoros* temple was altered, turned into a sort of cave (see D. White, *AJA* 71, 1967, 335-351), and some authors have surmised a thorough change in the character of the *Meilichios* precinct, even comparing the stelai field to a *tophet*, Grotta emphasizes the lack of proof. Even the term *tophet* is a modern construct, and the Selinus sanctuary has no evidence of infant sacrifice/burial, known only in colonial Sardinia, Mozia and North Africa. The stela field held a stone altar with three upright slabs (pl. 10.a), very similar to a 'three-betyl' altar found at Punic Solunto (V. Tusa in *Mozia II*, Rome 1966, 143-153, pl. 95.2). The two areas differ in character and chronology: the recinto held the later, sculpted stelai with one or two heads (male and female), although none were found planted in the ground like the coarser stelai of the *campo*, and none were marked by sacrificial offerings. The only inscribed stelai were in the *campo*, and all were Greek, citing *Zeus Meilichios* and/or the name(s) of individuals or familial groupings.

In the *recinto* were found several *defixiones*, like those excavated in the *Malophoros* precinct (first half of 5th century): they are straightforward curse tablets naming various targets, male and female. Grotta's argument that these should not be closely linked with *Meilichios* is bolstered by finds of 18 curse tablets in the Acrocorinth Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Roman occupation, 1st century AD) where they apparently were deliberately deposited. *Defixiones* also are associated with Demeter cults or groves at Knidos, Mytilene, Morgantina and probably Rhodes and Isthmia (see R. Stroud in *Corinth* 18.3, Princeton 1997, 281-287). Since *Meilichios* is a purifier, it seems likely that the *defixiones* came from the *Malophoros* and ended up in fill next-door. The epigraphic evidence that seems so rich remains rather haphazard: we still have no consensus on the identity of *Meilichios*' female companion, variously equated by scholars with Persephone, Aphrodite, Hekate, or even Tanit. Punic worshippers certainly did visit *Meilichios*, as shown by the altar/betyl and perhaps by a miniature stela acquired by the Getty and inscribed with the name 'Abdmlk' (pl. 17a).

Most typos are understandable; in the Bibliography K is out of order, preceding I-J; in the Italian translation of the famous *lex sacra*, p. 192, line 17, '*coma*' should be '*come*'. Images of finds leave much to be desired - some inscriptions are photographed, none have facsimiles.

Grotta has assiduously synthesized masses of schol-

arship (and warned us of cases of fantasy) on this site, rectifying as much information as possible by reference to the original sources, making this volume an indispensable reference.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

EMANUELE GRECO (ed.), *Il santuario delle divinità orientali e i suoi predecessori (Sibari - Casa Bianca): scavi 2007, 2009-2012*. Rome: SAIA/G. Bretschneider, 2012. 366 pp., figs; 32 cm (Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni in Oriente 89 [serie III, 11 - vol. II] 2011.) - ISBN 978-960-9559-01-0; ISSN 0067-0081.

Seventeen authors report here on the continuing excavation of *quartiere* Casa Bianca at the site of Sybaris-Thurii-Copia, specifically the area adjacent to the so-called East Gate (Porta Marina), including a Roman-era Isis sanctuary apparently overlying an Archaic cult. Additional campaigns by an invited team from the Greek Archaeological Ephoria (M. Petropoulos in Greek, 259-286, with Italian summary p. 286) are included; an appendix by M. Rocco (343-366) presents excavations of the Roman hemicycle at nearby Parco del Cavallo. The famous high water table restricted deep soundings, but a surprising variety of finds resulted, including evidence of the glory days of archaic Sybaris. The construction history of the site is synthesized by P. Vitti (pp. 23-82; see chronological table p. 180); finds are analyzed by sector, material and chronological period (pp. 113-230; plant remains and coins, chaps. 4-5). The Isis cult is discussed in chap. 6, along with finds deemed relevant by S. Luppino (pp. 247-258; see lamp, 10 fig. 13). P. Vitti and O. Voza (pp. 286-304) present conservation of the site.

The romantic fate of Sybaris overshadows most modern approaches to this site. In limited *sondages*, tantalizing traces appeared of the final days before the destruction (ca 510 BC), and of the Athenian 4th-century and Hellenistic settlement of Thurii, overlain with the structures of *Copia*, the *colonia latina* founded in 192 BC. The sanctuary, presumably inspired by Ptolemaic cults, was a Julio-Claudian establishment; its waning began with a massive earthquake in the later 2nd century AD. The temple was cleared and some activity continued, in reduced circumstances, as attested by a fragmentary inscription of a proconsul of the early 3rd century AD (A. Zumbo, 181-184). Imperial-era tiled tombs (*alla cappuccina*) then cropped up, followed by the final occupation, a Late Antique settlement of thatched huts within the ruins (5th-6th century AD).

The earliest *in-situ* feature appeared near the Circular Tower, a burial of the end of the 6th-beginning of the 5th century BC (20-21; 277-278 fig. 267), so far an isolated find although additional bones in the area may indicate a city necropolis rather than post-conquest squatters' activity. Trenches in *plateia* B yielded traces of Archaic occupation, including, 4 m below sea level, burnt beams that must derive from the destruction of Sybaris. An archaic Gorgon antefix (22 fig. 22; M. Pisani, 147-151) indicates a sacred building, perhaps, according to the excavators, a *thesauros*, since it is small in

scale. In a late 5th-century stratum (representing Thurii) was an ostrakon inscribed 'Charōn Agathōnos' (22 fig. 21; 225 fig. 226) perhaps generated during the historical events of 413 BC.

The 4th-century circuit wall of Thurii is attested near the Circular Tower. Just outside the gate, a votive deposit of terracotta plaques, figurines and miniature vases and a 4th-century Π-shaped altar came to light (site plan p. 260 fig. 254). The foundation of Latin Copia caused this whole area to be covered in a thick layer of sand.

Beneath the Julio-Claudian shrine, a paved Late Republican sanctuary (1st century BC) had an *eschara* with burnt offerings and bases for votives (S. Marino, 160-164). Under the *eschara* (2.3 m) an altar in stone blocks attests a shrine of the later 3rd century BC. The burnt offerings and kindling of these levels (154-164) almost seem to foreshadow the Isis cult. As analyzed by D. Novellis (231-242), there were burnt chicken bones and hundreds of samples of plant foods (nuts, figs, grapes, acorns, cereals, perhaps focacce) with pine and oak used for fuel. The altar of the 3rd century BC retained microstrata representing stages in rituals, with a layer of hazelnuts, figs and wheat followed by an offering of barley, almonds and cereals, then a third layer with grapes. The Julio-Claudian rituals (which included pine-nuts and fragrant flowers like roses) appear similar to the finds of non-bloody sacrifices of plant-foods identified in the Pompeian Isaeum (for additional background see W.F. Jashemski/F.G. Meyer/M. Ricciardi, *Plants in W.F. Jashemski/F.G. Meyer (eds), The Natural History of Pompeii*, Cambridge 2002, 80-180).

The 'Sanctuary of the Eastern Gods' encompassed a large courtyard building (Building F) with wings of identical small rooms, perhaps to accommodate pilgrims, and a temple on a high podium surrounded by a decorative portico (M.P. Vitti, 23-82). Fragments attest fine stone ornamentation (capitals with snakes wearing Egyptian crowns, A. D'Alessio, 83-112, 100 figs. 102-107). Another walled enclosure held a *tempietto* erected in a second phase of construction (Building N) and bearing an inscription (137-145) of the municipal *praefecti*. The sanctuary is compared to the Serapeum of Alexandria, with a well, south-oriented temple and room for large groups of worshippers. The first phase would have been contemporary with the Isis sanctuary of Pompeii. Near the portico were platforms for votives to be displayed; one had a tiled roof to protect offerings.

The shrine is identified by an inscribed dedication to Isis by C. Marcius Silvanus (257 fig. 253, end 1st-beginning 2nd century AD). A violent dismantling occurred in the 4th century AD, perhaps in response to the Edict of Theodosius. This destruction left behind the front portion of a fine bronze bull statuette (11 fig. 14; 251 fig. 254), a Greek original (c. 400 BC), butting like the emblem on coins of Thurii; ancient repairs may have resulted from his discovery and redisplay by Roman colonists (for this 2004 find, measuring only 30 cm high, see E. Greco/S. Luppino et al., *SAIA* 82.2, 2004: 835-837). S. Luppino suggests the bull could have been identified as 'Apis' to fit the Egyptian cult (although in Egypt the Apis bull was depicted with peaceable demeanor - cf. M. Chauveau, *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra*, Ithaca/London, 2000, 121 fig. 33).

The picture of this site has changed greatly over the

past 20 years, and we may hope for more early material to emerge in future, as well as clarification of the urban plan and other sanctuaries. If the interpretation of soundings is correct, the area had been an Archaic cult site of Sybaris, its location and character recognized and venerated by Roman colonists.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA (ed.), *The Etruscan World*. London/New York: Routledge, 2013. 1167 pp., b/w ill.; 25 cm. – ISBN: 978-0-415-67308-2.

The intention of Jean MacIntosh Turfa (henceforth: JMT), editor of this abundantly illustrated, bible-sized book, is not to replace recent English-language handbooks on Etruscan culture but to present as a supplement the latest discoveries, including the results of some excavations, and in-depth studies. According to her 'it is time to give the Etruscans their due.' She hopes that in this way the Etruscan world will interest more archaeologists, classicists, (art) historians and other scholars and students. Therefore, the book which covers most aspects of Etruscan culture, is, apart from jargon words like *facies*, also accessible for a large audience and is not burdened with archaeological theories. Around sixty scholars, not only famous emeriti but also promising young scholars, mostly Italians and Americans, deal with prehistory, history, landscape, urbanism, society, health, warfare, seafaring, technology, science, economy, religion and myth, artifacts and reception studies. Their *curricula vitarum* are included. The chapters vary in length, from 6 to 50 pages, and are all written in English. The translations from other languages are fine. With few exceptions all chapters have short punctual endnotes and long, up-to-date date bibliographies with few printing errors. A little irritating is the mass of author names + years between brackets (see e.g. pp. 885-893) in the main texts. Probably the authors did not read each other's articles in view of different opinions. There are, however, cross references in each chapter. The index is good but not exhaustive (see e.g. *bucchero*). Since it is impossible to criticize sixty-three chapters I present the shortest possible summary, now and then with a tiny comment.

Part I deals with the environment, background, and the study of Etruscan culture. Ingela M.B. Wiman casts light upon the geology, climate, vegetation history and flocks of Etruria proper. In my opinion images of landscapes on mirrors which have Greek antecedents should not be included in ecological studies, which is here the case. Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni recalls Massimo Pallottino's concept of the ethnic formation of the Etruscans. In 'Etruscan origins and the ancient authors' Dominique Briquel summarizes the contents of his voluminous monographs on the Tyrrhenians, Pelasgians and Lydians, concluding, like Pallottino, that there was not one (external) origin of the Etruscans but a very gradual ethnic formation. Geof Kron fleshes out the demography of Etruria, stating among other things that recent DNA-research does not prove that there was a migration from Anatolia (see below) and that people's good health was caused by a relative social equality (see, however, pp. 447-456 and 744). Part II presents the historical devel-

opment of Etruria. In the chapter on the Villanovan culture, Gilda Bartoloni holds that the genesis of the synoikistic, pre-urban settlements on plateaus around 900 BC marks the beginning of Etruscan history. The Proto-villanovan culture, however, is left out of discussion. In 'Orientalizing Etruria' Maurizio Sannibale deals with the period between ca 730 and 580 BC, with attention to the goldsmith's art. The urbanization in Southern Etruria, from ca 950 to 550 BC, is dealt with by Robert Leighton. Vincent Jolivet pays attention to 'Romanization' of Etruria (396-90 BC). His dating of the *Arringatore* is incorrect (p. 168, cf. p. 1014). It should be ca 200 instead of 100 BC. Marjatta Nielsen comments upon the latest family tombs in Perugia, Chiusi and Volterra, particularly the Tomba Inghirami. Part III deals with the Etruscans and their neighbors. Fulvia Lo Schiavo introduces the western Mediterranean before the Etruscans, especially Sardinia before the arrival of the Phoenicians, and the import of copper oxide ingots from Cyprus. In the next chapter the same author and Matteo Milletti analyze the Nuragic heritage in Etruria. Sardinian artifacts were placed until ca 600 BC both in sacred deposits, maybe as foundation gifts, and tombs, probably as status objects. Rubens D'Oriano and Antonio Sanciu explain the next period, Phoenician and Punic Sardinia and the Etruscans. Matteo Milletti deals with Etruria and Corsica. Maria Anna De Lucia Brolli and Jacopo Tabolli are concerned with the Faliscans, an Italic people in Etruria. On p. 265 the temple at Celle is mistakenly compared with the temple at Argos, due to a fantasy of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Giuseppe Sassatelli and Elisabetta Govi present the latest news on 'Etruria on the Po and the Adriatic.' Mariassunta Cuozzo does the same with Etruscans in Campania. Jean Gran Aymerich offers an excellent essay on Etruria marittima, Massalia and Gaul, Carthage and Iberia. Etruscans did not colonize outside Italy. They rather used special structures, comparable with 12th century AD Arabic *fonduk* (p. 336; 401). In Part IV 'Etruscan society and economy,' Hilary Wills Becker tries to reconstruct political systems and law and the issue of federation, using mainly epigraphic evidence. Jean Gran Aymerich with JMT offers a splendid treatise on 'Etruscan goods in the Mediterranean and beyond.' Larissa Bonfante writes about her favorite theme: mothers and children. Enrico Benelli deals with slavery and manumission using epigraphic evidence. The Etruscan word for slave is unknown. The enclitic pronoun *-sa* of personal names may mean '(slave) of x.' Luciano Agostiniani presents the Etruscan language. Its structure is almost clear, the meanings of most words, however, are still unknown. The genetic relation between Etruscan and Lemnian is unclear (see below). Daniele Maras' chapter is about numbers and reckoning. Part V is dedicated to religion in Etruria. Erika Simon lists some examples of the reception of Greek myth in Etruscan culture. In my view this is not always religious (see reviewer, Iconography, Etruscan, in the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*). Ingrid Krauskopf analyzes the nature of gods and demons. Nancy T. de Grummond deals with haruspicy and augury (for *augurium* see p. 550). In my view there is scarcely any hard evidence of original Etruscan augury. The bird, real or not, in Arnza's hand in a wall-painting of the François at Vulci (p. 541, fig. 26.3; p. 1112) is not a woodpecker

(*picus*) as many think (p. 1112) but a swallow. In addition, the so-called *auguraculum* on the arx of Marzabotto/Kainua (ca 500 BC) was not used for bird watching but, in the context of city planning, used by a *haruspex* to draw a diagonal line from northwest to the winter-solstice (see L.B. van der Meer, *Etrusco ritu. Case studies in ritual behaviour*, Louvain/Walpole, MA 2011, 86-96). Ingrid Edlund-Berry reflects on the gods and the places. In her view a temple would not be oriented according to the place of a gods in one of the 16 Etruscan sky regions but rather adapted to the environment (p. 559). See, however, N.L.C. Stevens, *AJA* 113 (2009) 153-164. The division of the sky is illustrated thrice (pp. 485, 515, 689), but all with a disputable orientation. Simona Rafanelli tackles the extremely complicated archaeological evidence for Etruscan religious rituals (rather cultic acts) in sacred places. It seems that the remains of a particular sacrificial animal cannot be linked to one particular god. In my view, scenes of Greek origin, e.g. on a Caeretan *hydria* (p. 573) and an Etruscan mirror (p. 578), should not be included as documents of evidence. Unfortunately sources of ancient texts are not quoted. Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni gives a very short survey of sacred areas on the Civita plateau of Tarquinia and of those near its harbour place, Gravisca, summarizing excavations of decades directed respectively by Maria Bonghi Jovino and Mario Torelli. Maria Paola Baglione deals in a similar way with the two adjacent sanctuaries at Pyrgi (near Caere), unfortunately without a map of the complicated southern one. Simonetta Stopponi tells the very latest about her Campo della Fiera excavations near Orvieto which would be the *Fanum Voltumnae*, Etruria's federal political and religious center between 434 and 389 BC. Stephan Steingraber tells how Etruscans worshipped 'with the dead.' He emphasizes that the Banditaccia necropolis of Cerveteri should be published using all possible science methods. Tom B. Rasmussen tries to solve the question whether the imagery of tomb objects had funerary relevance. It seems hardly the case. Part VI is about special aspects of Etruscan culture. Armando Cherici presents the science of the Etruscans, among other things the religious *disciplina etrusca*. Ingrid Edlund-Berry explains the architectural heritage of Etruria, especially Vitruvius and the Tuscan temple and atrium. Claudio Bizzarri writes about Etruscan town planning and related structures, in fact mainly about Orvieto and its network of tunnels. The next chapter contains Claudio Giardino's important science-based paper on Villanovan and Etruscan mining and metallurgy. David George's essay is about technology, ideology, warfare and the Etruscans before the Roman conquest. Ross H. Cowan presents the art of Etruscan and Italic armourers: cuirasses and helmets. Stefano Bruni presents a precious paper on seafaring, shipbuilding, harbors, and the issue of piracy. Adriana Emiliozzi publishes for the first time in English her expertise in so-called princely chariots and carts. Margarita Gleba summarizes her unique knowledge of Etruscan textiles. Lisa C. Pieraccini informs us about food and drink in the Etruscan world. Annette Rathje focuses on the banquet through Etruscan history. Jean-Paul Thuillier summarizes his voluminous book on Etruscan spectacles, theater and sport. Fredrik Tobin gives his view on music and musical instruments in Etruria. JMT with Marshall

J. Becker introduces us in an exemplary interdisciplinary way into health and medicine. Part VII offers special branches in art. Giovannangelo Camporeale's punctual essay is about foreign artists in Etruria. Nancy Winter confronts us with terracotta roofs, Françoise Gaultier with jewelry, Ulf R. Hansson with engraved gems, Laura Ambrosini with Etruscan painted pottery, a topic which deserves a new book, Richard Daniel De Puma with the meanings (rather models and functions) of *bucchero*, Helen Nagy with Etruscan terracotta figurines (from Veii and Cerveteri), Alexandra Carpino with (intended) portraiture, Helen Nagy with landscape and illusionism in Etruscan wall paintings, Margherita Gilda Scarpellini with the bronze votive tradition in Etruria, Richard Daniel De Puma with mirrors in art and society, Matthias Recke with anatomical votives in German collections, and Adrian P. Harrison with animals in the Etruscan household and environment (work in progress). Part VIII gives examples of the post-antique reception of Etruscan culture. Ingrid Rowland tells a fascinating story about the Dominican friar Annius of Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni, 1432-1502), the first who studied Etruscan antiquities and inscriptions, in a fanciful way linking these with the Bible and Hebrew. Francesco De Angelis focuses on the reception as experienced by Thomas Dempster and Filippo Buonarroti. Marie-Laurence Haack summarizes approaches to Etruscan culture after 1498. Apart from her reception study, she holds that recent DNA-analyses do show that the Etruscans are related to Anatolia (p. 1143). Recent linguistic research of C. de Simone and H. Eichner (the latter in *Journal of Language Relationship* 7 (2012) 9-32; 10 (2013) 1-42), however, may show that Etruscans migrated to Lemnos and not vice versa though the archaeological evidence on Lemnos is still missing. See also V. Bellelli (ed.), *Le origini degli Etruschi*, Rome 2012. To sum up, fascinating are the problem centered chapters with conclusions, especially about contacts with neighbors in the Mediterranean, economy, technology and health, more descriptive are the artifact studies. If Routledge is going to reprint or publish the book as a less expensive paperback for university students, I suggest some corrections: *callis* > *calles* (p. 19), *Vipenas* > *vipinas* (p. 23), *ethnoi* > *ethnè* (p. 79), *Urnenfelder* > *Urnenfelder* (p. 80), *therapontoi* > *therapontes* (p. 162), *serra* > *sera* (p. 167), offspring (*husiur*) > sons; dedicatory > building inscription (p. 181), *mechl* > *mech* (Latin *res*), *marunch* > *marunuch* (pp. 359, 1158), *thval methlum* > *methlumes* (p. 361; it means: 'of the city here'), *terasias* > *teriasas* (p. 503), to *certis diis*: delete: to (p. 572), *chiati*: 'related to *chia*' > 'in (the place) of *chia*' (p. 599), *phillobolia* > *phullobolia* (pp. 622, 1161), *cocciopisto* > *cocciopesto* (p. 648), *pago* > *pagus* (p. 709), Dio Hal. > Dion. Hal. or DH (p. 813), *mine mulwanece* *vipiennas* = I have been given...by V. > me gave ..V. (p. 985), *Relievi* > *Rilievi* (p. 849), *flamines* > *haruspices* (p. 905), *dolii* > *dolia* (p. 949), that would... > who would ... (p. 957), *puru-benas* > *puruhenas* (p. 1056), *arac* > *arakos*, *capu* > *capys* (p. 1112). Apart from overlooking this kind of errors JMT did an amazing editing job, thus worldwide promoting Etruscology. The book is, after 13 years, a welcome supplement to M. Torelli (ed.), *The Etruscans*, Milan 2000. It should be in all university libraries. As Google Book it is partly available online.

L.B. van der Meer

VINCENZO BELLELLI/MARCO MAZZI, *Extispicio. Una "scienza" divinatoria tra Mesopotamia ed Etruria*. Rome: Scienze e Lettere 2013. 94 pp., 26 figs; 21 cm. – ISBN 978-88-6687-031-9.

In this very readable pocketbook the archaeologist V. Bellelli and the veterinarian M. Mazzi tackle the problem of the origins of Etruscan extispicy, more precisely liver consultation, which Cicero defines as *ars haruspicina*, part of the *disciplina etrusca* (Etruscan science), in his *De divinatione*. Bellelli first summarizes the theories of the presumed eastern origin and gives short syntheses of our actual knowledge of liver divination in Mesopotamia and Anatolia, Greece, the Italic world and Rome, and Etruria. Then he presents a partly new approach. He proposes that liver consultation originated independently as an endogenous practice in the Bronze Age pastoral societies of Mesopotamia and Etruria. For Etruria this was already suggested by F. Roncalli in view of the animal dress and old-fashioned *fibula* of *haruspices* which is shown by the famous Pavatarchies mirror and bronze statuettes from the 4th century BC. Bellelli suggests that in the earliest period herdsman consulted the anatomical and pathological state of a sheep's liver in order to know if the environment would be healthy for the herd or not. Later on their expertise would have become a 'science', *bārûtu* in Akkadian, of priests who studied the relationship between the liver and gods, in other words between micro- and macro-kosmos. In Etruria this would have happened in the proto-urban phase (pp. 67-68). Mazzi sustains Bellelli's first hypothesis by underlining the fundamental importance of the health of sheep for ancient societies (cf. Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 1.4.9). Sheep were and are threatened by the *fasciola hepatica* and the *dicrocoelium dendriticum* (see also J. MacIntosh Turfa and S. Getty, *BABESCH* 84, 2009, 41-52). Bellelli and Mazzi discuss the options that Etruscan liver consultation was influenced by Near Eastern practice: 1) at the end of the Bronze Age due to possible migrations from east to west, in connection with the problem of Etruscan origins, and 2) as W. Burkert suggests, in the Orientalizing period. Bellelli tentatively concludes: 'an embryonic know-how of Near East divination practice may have been introduced by immigrants into Etruria in an imprecise period of the remote past' (p. 72; cf. Bellelli in V. Bellelli (ed.), *Le origini degli Etruschi*, Roma 2012, p. 24). Recent studies suggest that the Etruscan *lituus*, *lekanomanteia* (see *Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion* (BABESCH Suppl. 16), Leuven 2010, 117-153), and the presumed archetype of the *Brontoscopic Calendar* may have their origin in the east (see my review of J. MacIntosh Turfa' homonymous book in this volume, pp. 248-249). Bellelli and Mazzi are, like J. Nougayrol and others, convinced of Babylonian influences in the Hellenistic period since the terracotta liver of Falerii Veteres (ca 300 BC) and the Bronze Liver of Piacenza (ca 100 BC) show two incised lines in the anatomical *lobus sinister* which would correspond to the *manzāzu* (presence) and *padānu* (path), lines which are visible on terracotta liver models in the Near East since the 18th century BC. The latter comparison, however, is not convincing because a normal sheep's liver may show these grooves which are caused by the impression of entrails. In addi-

tion, the Etruscan and Greek *modi consultandi* differ completely from the Mesopotamian one. Greeks and Etruscans first checked the presence or absence of the anatomical *processus pyramidalis (lobus caudatus)*, which was called 'head', *kephalè* in Greek and *caput* in Latin. This *processus*, however, was called *ubānu* ('finger') in Mesopotamia. It did not have a similar cardinal meaning as the 'head'. Moreover, the directions of reading signs differ in both regions. According to Bellelli it was clockwise in Mesopotamia (p. 20); however, it was anticlockwise in Mesopotamia as appears from countless liver omen reports and clockwise in Etruria as can be deduced by the sequence of gods on the Bronze Liver's margin in comparison with the list of gods in the sixteen regions of the Etruscan heaven by Martianus Capella (see N.L.C. Stevens, *AJA* 113, 2009, 153-164). The oldest images of hepatoscopy on Athenian vases date from ca 530 BC. No Greek writer mentions liver consulting before the 5th century BC. So the question is whether Etruscans borrowed the core of the expertise, checking the 'head', from Greece or vice versa. There are only two tiny indications which plead for the first option. Homer mentions a *thuoskoos* (*Il.* 24.221; *Od.* 21.145, 221, 318, 321), a priest who, in theory, may have studied livers. The Etruscan word for *haruspex*, *netšvis / netsvis*, may have the same root as Greek *nēdus*, plural *nēduia* (entrails), a word of uncertain, possibly pre-Greek origin. Both indications, however, are very weak since *thuoskooi* probably studied the smoke of sacrificed animals. One might hypothesize that Athenians borrowed the core of Etruscan practice since the vases mentioned above were mainly exported to Etruria. It may be clear, however, that, as for borrowing, hard evidence is missing. It cannot be shown where and when Greeks and Etruscans would have learned or adopted (elements of) Mesopotamian or Anatolian (Hittite) liver divination (see for a more optimistic view M.R. Bachvarova, *SMEA* 54, 2012, 143-164). In addition, there are no images of Etruscan *haruspices* before the 6th century BC. As for the pastoral origin of liver divination in Mesopotamia, the inscriptions on the liver models rather refer to a urban than a rural landscape (see now J.-J. Glassner, *La fabrique des présages en Mésopotamie: la sémiologie des devins*, in *La Raison des signes. Présages, rites, destin dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*, Leiden/Boston 2012, 29-53). Though more criticism, especially on details, is possible, the booklet is useful as the review of all theories and the bibliography are up-to-date. The non-glossy black and white figures are reasonable, except for figs. 19a and b which are both incorrect.

L.B. van der Meer

WOLFRAM HOEPFNER, *Halikarnassos und das Maussoleion. Die modernste Stadtanlage und der als Weltwunder gefeierte Grabtempel des karischen Königs Maussolos*. Darmstadt/Mainz: Philip von Zabern 2013. 144 pp., 77 figs, 23.5 cm. – ISBN: 978-3-8053-4609-2.

In this attractive square book W. Hoepfner presents in an entertaining way a description and history of the old city Halikarnassos (modern Bodrum) and its *chora*, the

new city created by the satrap Maussolos (377-352 BC) and its hinterland, the research, sources and problems of the Maussoleion, one of the seven world wonders, a new reconstruction of it and 'hermeneutic' aspects, among others the influence of the Maussoleion on later tomb architecture. The appendix contains ancient literary sources with translations, endnotes, and abbreviations. The book is abundantly illustrated with excellent colour photos. Hoepfner's research is based on a detailed map of commander T. Spratt (1847), satellite images, old and recent archaeological surveys and discoveries in Halikarnassos, Caria and some islands nearby (Symi, Rhodos). The Carians lived in the inner land, in high settlements. So-called compounds, circular buildings with an open space and three back rooms, were stables for goat and sheep. The oldest tombs, *tumuli* with a roof in the form of a stair pyramid, date from the 8th century BC. They functioned as land markers. Doric Greeks lived in Zephyrion, the Greek name of Halikarnassos. Carians lived on the mountains slopes, Greeks at the lowest level, near the harbour. From *Sylloge* 3.45 it may be deduced that they lived peacefully together (*pace* Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 2.8.12). As for the shape of the new city Maussolos who originally came from Mylasa was inspired by the city of the tyrant Dionysios of Syracuse (405-367 BC). The core of the city got a 'Hippodamic' layout. The city wall encircled the new town, the citadel and the *Altstadt* with the Aphrodite temple and Salmakis well. Vitruvius, who did not visit the city, compares it with the curvature of a theatre using no points of orientation except for the words left and right. Hoepfner proves that the description was made from a ship as did Vitruvius in his description of Alexandria. On the left, to the west, was the *basileia*, on the right, to the east, the *Altstadt*. The Maussoleion, a creation of the architects Satyros and Pytheos who published a book on it (lost), was built along the main east west road in a rectangular space (*temenos*) of the agora which borders the great harbour. Only its building pit, the closed underground tomb and architectural remains are preserved as a square open air museum. The secret harbour was to the west of the *basileia*. Reconstructions of the Maussoleion were made by R. Pullan, F. Krischen, and K. Jeppesen. Krischen discovered that a local, East Ionian foot measure of 34.9 cm was used. Hoepfner shows that the old measures of the building given by Pliny (*NH* 36.30-32) are incorrect. The scribes of the manuscripts wrote the letter l instead of the number i, therefore *cccxl* has to be read as *cccxi* feet because the perimeter of the building pit matches with 311, not with 340 feet. Hoepfner's new reconstruction (fig. 39) is based on the new measures and, as for the substructure (*crepis* and *sockle*) on the comparison with a twin building, a tomb in the center of Mylasa which was probably destined for Maussolos' father. The temple-like hall on the substructure with 36 columns contained statues of Maussolos and Artemisia, and many statues of Skopas, Bryaxis, Leochares and Timotheos. Two friezes, above and below, of the four sculptors decorated this *pteron* on all sides. The stair pyramid roof was crowned by a marble four-horse chariot. Maussolos stood beside it, the owner on it. On the eaves of the roof stood the statues of twelve Olympic gods and lions as tomb guardians. Interestingly the underground

tomb was decorated with a marble frieze showing chariot riders like those in painted friezes inside Macedonian tombs some decades later. The fragmentary statue of a Persian horse rider (fig. 67), probably part of a hunting frieze, may have belonged to an altar (not found) in the *temenos* of the Maussoleion. The theme is later present on the Alexander sarcophagus and in Macedonian wall paintings. In the Preface Hoefner writes that Maussolos made a tomb temple in order to be worshiped as city founder, heros and deity. The hero-worship, however, can only be deduced from the inter-urban position of the Maussoleion. In addition, Pliny only states that Maussolos' wife Artemisia made the tomb 'for the little king of Caria'. The rendering of Greek inscriptions (e.g.: p. 54: τῶ instead of τῷ) and Latin texts (e.g.: p. 134: *praestand* instead of *praestant*) is not impeccable; there are other typos (p. 27: e.g. *Salmaktiter* instead of *Salmakiter*). Since Hoefner pays much attention to monuments which are still visible in the city and Caria, the book is not only useful for archaeologists but also for cultural tourists. Bodrum should show now a model of Hoefner's new reconstruction of the Maussoleion in the open air museum.

L.B. van der Meer

DANIELA LOCATELLI, LUIGI MALNATI, DANIELE F. MARAS (eds), *Storie della prima Parma. Etruschi, Galli, Romani. Le origini della città alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche* (Catalogo della mostra: Parma, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 12.01-13.12.2013). Rome: «L'ERMA» di Bretschneider 2013. XI + 106 pp., ill., 30 cm. – ISBN 978-88-8265-775-8.

This tasteful exhibition catalogue written by the editors and many other experts is more a *catalogue raisonné* than a conventional one. It presents the Etruscan, Celtic and Republican Roman material and cultural history of Parma. It is abundantly illustrated with colour photos, maps and reconstruction drawings. They are not numbered but frame the main text. The catalogue shows the results of many recent, usually partial rescue excavations or soundings. In the Iron Age many very small villages of rectangular, elliptical and apsidal huts were scattered all around what now is modern Parma in west Aemilia, in a frontier area near the Celtic region. They date from the end of the 7th century until ca 500 BC. Thereafter the process of urban clustering began. Inscriptions and graffiti and the presence of imported and local *bucchero* show the presence of Etruscans. The settlement's inhabitants were farmers. Their diet consisted of meat (predominantly of pigs), milk, cheese and eggs. For consumption and drinking usually vessels of impasto and Etruscan-Po valley grey ware were used. They were fired in several types of kilns which were found at San Pancrazio and Baganzola. Grain was stored in round underground silos. Stamped 'loaves' of ferrous copper point to financial and commercial activities. Women produced textiles. As for religion, most interesting is the deposition of one horse and two bovines, all complete, in a precinct in Via Saragat near a natural channel which was probably the border of a settlement. It is related to the foundation of the village

rather than to a ritual in honour of the deceased. Another deposit, at Pedrignano, contained *bucchero* of exceptional quality. Some unique forms may have been influenced by the eastern Halstatt culture. Tomb contents gradually show the growing import of artifacts from Celtic and Adriatic regions. The cremated remains were placed in *dolia* of *impasto*, a rite which was typical for Aemilia. Only personal belongings, no banquet or symposium vases were found inside. The absence of the latter is also characteristic for Ligurian, Golasecca and Venetic tombs. The richest graves belonged to women. The typical biconical urns, known from Etruscan Bologna, are absent. Tumuli for rich merchants, perhaps influenced by the Halstatt culture too, appear around 500 BC. Some were property markers. In the 3rd century BC Parma was conquered by the Boii. Some cult places and houses were found in the city. Celtic *ollae* and cups are the most characteristic vases. The Romans conquered Cispadana in 223 BC. In 183 BC Parma and Modena were founded as Roman *coloniae*. From before the beginning of the Civil Wars are remains of, probably, the city wall, the Capitolium (near S. Pietro), houses (under Palazzo Sanvitale), some with mosaics in *cocciopesto* and *opus signinum*, furnaces, votive deposits, a deposit of coins (from the Second Punic War until AD 193), small lead plaques for the labeling of dyed (inscribed as: *colossinum*, *topassus*, *corticeus*) and undyed textiles (as: *purus*), and votive bronzes. The sanctuary under the Cassa di Risparmio in Piazza Garibaldi dated to the 2nd century BC was built upon a Celtic predecessor. The many remains of bovines, caprines and a dog may refer to the foundation rite. An open air sanctuary in the eastern periphery (in Viale Tanara) was used from ca 250 to 150 BC, probably by Italici under the protection of the Roman armies. It was most likely dedicated to Ceres and Proserpina. The built votive pit yielded terracotta statues, coins, a bronze miniature axe and seeds of strawberries, nuts, and grapes. Of the many necropoleis few can be dated to the Republican period. The catalogue also pays attention to restoration techniques and the presentation of the exhibition. The almost flawless bibliography is up to date. All in all, this very informative book gives an excellent scientific picture of Pre-Imperial Parma. It is not only useful for archaeologists but also for a broad public.

L.B. van der Meer

JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA, *Divining the Etruscan World. The Brontoscopic Calendar and Religious Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012. xiii + 408 pp., 24 figs, 25 cm. – ISBN 978-1-107-00907-3.

Between AD 511 and 551 Johannes Laurentius Lydus wrote the treatise *Peri diosemeiōn* (On Omens) in Constantinople. Its chapters 27-38 contain a Brontoscopic Calendar (*ephemeris brontoskopia*) which is 'arranged to the lunar month according to Figulus the Roman, based on the writings of Tages in a word-for-word translation'. The calendar counts 12 months, each containing 30 days, starting with June. Each day has the same *protasis*: *ei* or *ean brontesei*: 'if (in any way) it should thunder', followed by a predictive *apodosis*: good and/or bad events on the day itself, or 'the same thing as on the preced-

ing day', or 'the same' in later seasons. The format, the number of 30 days, and the 360 'if-then' formulas look Mesopotamian but the content of the *apodoseis* does not refer to the Near East. Interesting Mesopotamian parallels are some omen reports (p. 337) and the *Iqqur ipuš* omen compilation (pp. 253; 335-336, e.g.: 'If in Nisan (March) (the god) Adad hurls his rumbling (thunders), then...'). The attribution to Tages, the mythical, ephemeral boy-prophet at Tarquinia, suggests that Nigidius Figulus, a friend of Cicero, translated an Etruscan thunder calendar into Latin. Both calendars, however, are lost.

So far most scholars date the supposed Etruscan archetype to the last centuries BC. Now Jean Turfa proposes a very early date, primarily based on archaeological data. The lost Etruscan calendar, even the *etrusca disciplina* (p. 170), might already have been written at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 7th century BC, in the early phase of the Orientalizing period when trade and other contacts between Phoenicians, Greeks and Etruscans, e.g. at Pithekoussai, were intense. The monumental complex of Pian di Civita at Tarquinia is an excellent example of the 'import' of an eastern cultural package like building techniques and ideological symbols. The Hallstatt Minimum or Disaster, which took place between ca 800/760 and 400 BC, explains the very frequent electric storms in Italy and e.g. the rising level of the Bolsena Lake in the 8th century BC. The mentioning of unlabeled cities, kings, tyrants, revolts, (power among) women, slaves, the rich, not yet over-exploited nature point to the Etruscan pre-Republican period. 'Just one migrant prophet, e.g. from the Neo-Assyrian, Sargonid period (721-681 BC), might have taught Etruscans types of eastern divination' (p. 123).

Turfa has carefully documented her theory, in a very readable and prudent way, also with question marks and 'if..., then...' phrases. In section I (Backgrounds) she deals with the problem of the text transmission, Etruscan religion and the study of thunder and lightning by *haruspices*. Section II contains Lydus' text and Turfa's translation. Section III presents the thematic analysis of Lydus', in other words the presumed archaic, Etruscan calendar, with special attention to nature, health, disease, and society (particularly women and slaves). Section IV is about the sources and successors of the calendar, especially the late *brontoskopia* which date from the 1st century AD onwards and are based on late, Hellenistic ones. Three Appendices contain relevant original ancient texts, all in translation. A timeline, glossary, excellent bibliography, and index conclude the book.

In favour of Turfa's theory is the fact that the calendar does not mention olives and oil (p. 140). Two Etruscan inscriptions mentioning the lexeme *eleivana* (from Greek **eleiFa*) are dated to around 630 BC, a possible *terminus ante quem* for the origin (or oldest part) of the calendar. They suggest that the culture of olive trees was introduced from the Greek world, maybe around that date. In addition, the calendar mentions wine only twice. Not Greek and Roman is further the attention paid to the power of women. However, at the same time objections to Turfa's theory are possible. She presumes that Etruscan society around 700 BC (or even earlier) was literate. This seems unlikely. In the first half century after the adoption of the West-Greek alphabet around

700 BC Etruscan inscriptions, apart from *abcedaria*, are extremely short, e.g. *(mī) larθia* ('(I) (am) of Larth'). This shows a slow experiment in writing.

As far as we know not all Etruscan months had thirty days.

Two Etruscan ritual calendars of much later date, the *Tabula Capuana* (TC, ca 480 BC) and the *Liber linteus Zagrabiensis* (LL, ca 225-150 BC) are known. The TC has 10 months, without numbered days. The LL does not mention months with more than 29 days. Lydus' Calendar starts with June, the TC with March, and the LL (with 12 columns) mentions June in column VI, 14. There is no clear reason why Lydus' calendar begins with 1 June (pp. 87, 247) because Mesopotamian calendars start with Nisan (March/April). Lydus does not mention an Etruscan god, person, place or thing *disertis verbis*. If we take the word *tyrannos*, incidentally used apart from *basileus*, literally, the turbulent 6th century BC would be a better candidate for an Etruscan archetype in view of the pro-middle class politics of the tyrant-like king Servius Tullius (*Macstrna*). Even a Hellenistic date is possible. Some *apodoseis* (e.g. 'succession (*diadochè*) of a great ruler/of rulers') have a Hellenistic flavour. In addition, one might rather await 'a grain supply from abroad' (the *apodosi*s of 3 April) after 194 BC when Puteoli was founded than a grain import into the very fertile Etruria around 700 B.C. At the other hand interpolations in the Etruscan, Latin and Greek texts are not excluded, even seem likely, as is shown in the recent article by Peter Siewert, Zum politischen Hintergrund des etruskisch-römischen 'Donnerkalenders' bei Johannes Lydos, *de ostentis* 27-38, in P. Amann (ed.), *Kulte – Riten – religiöse Vorstellungen bei den Etruskern und ihr Verhältnis zu Politik und Gesellschaft*, Vienna 2012, 153-161.

Apart from the well documented, thought provoking theory, Turfa's book is a real goldmine for those who are interested in the Etruscan material culture, society, economy, nature, health and diseases in the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

L.B. van der Meer

LAURA AMBROSINI, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Italia 7.1. Roma – Museo Nazionale Romano. Museo delle antichità etrusche ed italiche, Sapienza – Università di Roma. Collezione Gorga. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2012, 241 pp., 144 pp. with ill., 32.5 cm. – ISBN 978-88-8265-750-5.*

This thirty-third volume of the international corpus of Etruscan mirrors (CSE) starts with an introduction and abbreviations (a bibliography). Then follows the history of the Collection of the 'eclectic' tenor and passionate art dealer Gennaro Evangelista Gorga (1865-1957), which consisted of more than 150.000 objects of art. Part of his collection of Etruscan mirrors is in the Museum of Antiquities of the University 'La Sapienza' at Rome since 1969, whose history is also described. A table is included, with the results of the non-destructive bronze analysis of 81 of the 91 items, based on the X Ray Fluorescence Spectrometry (XRF) and on scanning electron microscopy (SEM) with energy-dispersive spectroscopy (EDS): no forgeries were detected.

The fascicle is important because all items were hitherto unpublished. The core is the catalogue of 46 bronze mirrors and fragments, and 45 handles and fragments, all provided with good black-and-white photos and drawings of all sides, some of them made by the author herself (hereafter LA). Strictly speaking not all items are Etruscan; some are Praenestine or Falisco-Praenestine. With the exception of no 89, a mirror from a tomb at Corchiano, all find-spots are unknown since Mr. Gorga bought artifacts from antiquarians; he was not interested in their provenances, or did not want to make them known.

LA offers meticulous descriptions and numerous parallels of forms and decorations, using data from recent excavations in and outside the Etruscan world. She tries to find the production center or workshop, interpret the engraved images and define the approximate date of each mirror and handle. Her comparisons also include other minor arts. Following the methods of G. Mansuelli, D. Emmanuel-Rebuffat, I. Wiman and many others, LA attributes some engraved mirrors to *maestri* (master engravers) or groups, and even recognizes new *maestri* (see nos 10, 43, 81 and 89), one of whom overlaps with a formerly identified groups of engravers (pp. 87-88). Although LA denies the existence of the so-called *Kranzspiegelgruppe* (Spiky Garland Group), she frequently cites it (see nos 9, 28, 37, 65, 67, 83, 87, 88). As J.G. Szilágyi observed, this group is not homogeneous, but it should be noticed that several mirrors of this group have inscriptions on the border instead of inside the engraved scene (see reviewer, *Interpretatio etrusca. Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors*, Amsterdam 1995, 228-235). When combined with common iconographic and stylistic elements, it may be possible to reconstruct some iconographic subgroups when the CSE is complete.

Seven mirrors, probably made in North Etruria in the 3rd century BC, show the Dioskouroi, and another ten have a nude, winged Lasa, called Pseudo-Lasa in other recent CSE-volumes. The Lasas are dated more precisely thanks to comparisons to similar mirrors from datable tomb contexts, ranging from the end of the 4th century until ca 150 BC. The production of Lasa mirrors started in South Etruria (with large tang mirrors) and ended in North Etruria, probably at Volterra (with small handle mirrors).

Four mirrors show the Judgment of Paris, and six show less definable representations, the so-called conversation scenes. LA suggests that the female owners of Dioskouroi and Judgment mirrors identified themselves with Helena, symbol of beauty, a view that in my opinion cannot yet be proven. The same holds true for her tentative suggestion of a funerary function of these mirrors (p. 58).

The other mirrors are not engraved, apart from a small decoration above the tang on some of the reflecting sides. Some undecorated round discs once belonged to round or rectangular mirror boxes like those seen on Volterranean urn lids. Only three mirrors bear inscriptions, reading respectively: *(me)nerva* (on the border of a fragment), *nu[?]i* or *mu[?]i* (written *dextrorsus*, probably in Latin), and a big, punched letter *san* (M = *ś*) which may stand for *śuθina* (the adjective of *śuθi* = tomb).

The book concludes with chronological, typological,

iconographic and epigraphic indexes. It is a pity that an index of groups and *maestri* is not included. There are only a few typos, e.g. *sub vocem* instead of *sub voce* (p. 14), *ctutmsta* instead of *clutmsta* (p. 60), *gersprochen* instead of *gesprochen* (p. 88). LA has prepared an up to date catalogue, which will be useful for authors of future volumes and anyone else interested in Etruscan material culture.

L.B. van der Meer

CAITLÍN E. BARRETT, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos, A Study in Hellenistic Religion*, Leiden: Brill, 2011. 731 pp., 3 appendices, 365 figs, 74 colour pls, length 23.9 cm, (Colombia Studies in the Classical Tradition 36). – ISBN 978-90-04-20797-4.

This clearly written and extensive monograph by Caitlín Barrett analyses in six chapters the Hellenistic Egyptianising terracotta figurines that have been preserved from Delos in the context of domestic religion. Hellenistic Delos has yielded almost 1500 (published) terracotta figurines and plastic vases, mostly stemming from residential contexts on the island. Of these terracottas, a small minority of 82 objects display Egyptianising iconography.

The scope of Barrett's study can be placed within the larger current of the 'interpretative turn' in Classical studies, which tries to provide a more contextual framework for objects that were previously only regarded from a descriptive viewpoint. Barrett therefore takes as her methodological aim not to study the objects as isolated '*objets d'art*' (p. 26), but wishes to employ a contextual approach and provide a wider interpretative framework to understand the figurines, in order to 'break down the monolithic concept of "domestic religion"' (p. 3). This means that the dataset of 82 Egyptianising figurines are studied in the larger context of domestic cult practices, with special attention being paid to the cultural and socioeconomic contexts of the houses in which the figurines were found. With the knowledge gained from this exercise Barrett wishes to contribute to the knowledge of Hellenistic domestic worship. As Barrett proclaims, the general aim of the study is not only iconographical in scope, but consists of an interdisciplinary approach combining archaeology, Egyptology, Classics, epigraphy and art history (p. 31). This approach resulted in four analytical chapters: a fabric analysis (chapter 2), a study of technological style and manufacture (chapter 3), an iconographical study (chapter 4), and a final chapter devoted to the archaeological context of the figurines (chapter 5).

The introduction (chapter 1) is used to put forward the main propositions that will be maintained within the book. The first argues for a closer relationship between 'official' and 'popular' religion on Delos. Whereas former archaeologists often dismissed Egyptianising figurines as mere 'curiosities' (p. 25) Barrett argues that the terracotta figurines and their use show a closer and more complex relationship between popular and official cult than often acknowledged (p. 25). Relating to this, the second important proposition in Barrett's book is that in contrast to previous studies, a sophisticated

understanding of Egyptian theology was present on Delos. Within the attempt of advocating these theories Barrett further makes a case for reinstating the highly problematic terms of religious syncretism and hybridity in the Hellenistic Mediterranean as interpretative tools (p. 31).

Chapter 2, 'Fabric analysis: Evidence of the local origin of the majority of Egyptianizing figurines on Delos' (pp. 37-87), is the first analytical chapter and is devoted to the fabric analysis of the figurines in order to answer the question whether the figurines were locally produced on the island or imported from other parts of the Mediterranean. Barrett compares the material with different datasets of figurines (Egyptianising and non-Egyptianising) from the Cairo Museum and the Athenian Agora. Unfortunately, it was only possible to obtain a macroscopic analysis, and some artefacts (from the Cairo museum) could only be observed within their museum cases. However, the analysis is very detailed and carefully executed, and Barrett's decision to describe the process of the data collection and sampling methods also provided useful insights. The results of the analysis show that although it is hard to ascribe clay sources to Delos (which was devoid of suitable potting clays), the majority of the figurines have a local origin (pp. 70-72). Only 10 (12.7%) of the Egyptianising figurines were imports from either Egypt (only three cases) or elsewhere from the Mediterranean (pp. 86-87).

Chapter 3, 'Manufacturing techniques, technological style, and the questions of Egyptian coroplasts on Delos' (pp. 89-118), is a summary of her PhD-dissertation (*Diversity within Domestic Cult: A Contextual Analyses of Egyptianizing Terracotta Figurines from Delos*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University 2009) and treats the different techniques used in the manufacture and style, for these might provide clues to regional specific methods. The chapter focuses on manufacturing techniques that are diagnostic of particularly Egyptian or non-Egyptian traits, comparing again the Delos dataset to corpora from Athens and Cairo. Special attention is paid to fabric tempering, shaping the figurine through moulding and the addition of handmade elements, reworking the figurine, and pre- and post-firing surface treatment (p. 96). The comparison shows an important difference between the Egyptian and the Greek/Delian figurines; whereas the production of terracottas from Egypt was mainly aimed at mass-production giving them a rather crude and unpolished look, Athenian and Delian coroplasts placed a greater emphasis on the aesthetic appearance of each individual figurine (p. 104). Barrett however, emphasizes that this does not mean the Egyptian craftsmen should be seen as unskilled, but that different preferences for production and consumption were at the basis of these choices (p. 92). The production of the figurines and their comparison and especially as Barrett argues 'their unconscious choices' (p. 90), show interesting differences between Egyptian and Greek/Delian production which might say something significant not only about the chosen methods, different conditions of production and consumption, or cultural perceptions of value as Barrett mentions (p. 104), but would also display an important discrepancy in the ritual use of these statuettes and in the religious practice and framework of both contexts,

in which the Greek structure was evidently closer to Delian practices than the Egyptian.

Chapter 4, 'The eye of the sun and the inundation of the Nile: iconographic evidence for Egyptian theology on Delos', covers the iconographical analysis of the book. The main body of the interpretation is formed by this chapter (pp. 119-328), in which Barrett takes the terracotta figurines as evidence of religious syncretism in the everyday, domestic sphere of life on Hellenistic Delos (p. 120). She explains all the Egyptianising figurines she gathered as a corpus in the context of Egyptian religion and states that the figurines mostly allude to the Egyptian festivals of the inundating Nile, as parallels from Egyptian temple and literary texts demonstrate (p. 121). This reveals a relatively sophisticated religious imagery, suggesting a detailed understanding of Egyptian theology (p. 121).

The statues are divided according to depictions of deities identified with the 'returning goddess' (the female deity related to the inundation of the Nile, which was first identified with Hathor, and later from the Ptolemaic period onwards with Isis), which means that figurines of Isis fall under this category, but also statues with attributes of Isiac crowns or costume, figurines with corkscrew curls, the so-called 'Oriental Aphrodite' type (which has several varieties), nude figurines (male and female) wearing crossed chains and central medallions, figurines of Maltese Spitz dogs (popular household pets in this period and identified by Barrett as 'Sothic dogs'), and depictions of Arsinoe II and figurines depicting double cornucopia (an attribute of Arsinoe and Ptolemaic queens). Another category is interpreted as erotically charged religious images related to the inundation as the time of the *hieros gamos* (the returning goddess's sexual union with the reigning god), the ithyphallic Harpocrates figures, figurines of the so-called 'Baubo' type, and a statuette of a divine pair with cornucopiae fall under this category. Further categories consist of figurines of Harpocrates, Nubians and the entourage of the returning goddess, Bes and related dwarf deities (such as Ptah-Pataikos), plastic vases and depictions of water or wine vessels, Dionysos Botrys, herms representing Hermes-Toth, and figurines with flowers and floral wreaths. All the figurines are explained from an Egyptian religious context using examples from Egypt (referring to temples, or texts) from the Middle and New Kingdom, but also from the Late and the Ptolemaic Kingdom. Iconographic parallels are all sought within the sphere of the Inundation myth. In the end the iconography would consistently allude to the Inundation of the Nile and New Years' festival. Interesting is Barrett's observation that certain unique types within the corpus not only point to a very close understanding, but also to an innovation in their artistic representation of Inundation themes (pp. 315-316). Rather than merely copying Egyptian imagery in an uncomprehending fashion, the Delian coroplasts translated and adapted foreign ideas for a new audience (p. 316).

Chapter 5, 'A contextual analysis of the findspots of Egyptian and Egyptianizing terracotta figurines on Delos' (pp. 321-419), entails the examination of the archaeological contexts to which a number of the Egyptianizing figurines could be assigned. A careful analy-

sis of the contexts reveals that of the 82 objects that display 'Egyptianising' themes, 46 could be provided with a secured find spot; 10 of those figurines are found in houses (14 figurines come from the residential areas but are found on streets or ambiguous contexts). Further, 9 are found in shops, 11 from various sanctuaries (interestingly enough, they all derive from non-Egyptian sanctuaries), 2 are from a grave in the Delian necropolis (p. 323). Not a very large, but nonetheless the largest number of figurines stem from the residential areas of Delos. A closer examination of these contexts shows that the figurines come from households with a varied social background. The finds in houses in iconographical terms are very heterogeneous and relate to all Barrett's iconographic categories. In her treatment on houses the reader also gets some view of other Hellenistic material culture that was found beside the Egyptianising objects. For the House of the Herm for example, Barrett notes that most of the finds belong to 'a fairly standard later-Hellenistic material culture repertoire, featuring familiar Greco-Roman subjects like herms, nymphs, satyrs, Aphrodite, and Herakles' (p. 337). Also wall paintings associated with the *Compitalia* festival, suggesting Italising cult practices, were attested in the house. Further, the workshops (p. 364), shops (p. 370) and the burial contexts (p. 373) likewise show very heterogeneous and mixed assemblages of Greek, Anatolian and Egyptian figurines.

The sanctuaries proved to be an especially interesting case, because Barrett discovered that all the Egyptianising statues were attested at non-Egyptian sanctuaries; a Dionysiac chapel, a Kabirion/Samothrakeion, a synagogue, an Archegeion, and a sanctuary of Apollo. Barrett tries to explain this by looking for connections between those sanctuaries and Egyptian theology. In the wider context of Delian religious practices it is an interesting case. Were the mixed votives a sign of a connection between Egyptian cults? Or was the practice of votive offerings just inherently very heterogeneous and did it not matter which statue was presented in which sanctuary? Did other religious or social values play a role within such practices? Or did these statuettes carry too little association with 'Egypt' or with Sarapis to be restricted to his sanctuary? None of the figurines from the Sarapeia, moreover, fall in Barrett's category of Egyptianising, instead they display 'wholly Greek imagery' (p. 402). Barrett concludes that this chapter has been able to show the interaction of multiple cultural traditions in the island's religious life. In this the Egyptianising figurines from sanctuaries of non-Egyptian gods have brought a new perspective to the nature of late Hellenistic religious syncretism (p. 418).

Chapter 6, 'Conclusions: syncretic theology in household cult' (pp. 421-445) forms a synthesis of the data and presents a range of conclusions on the use and production of Egyptianising figurines on Delos. Next to the statements already made in the book, such as the relationship between temple and household religion, and the thorough knowledge of Egyptian theology, the main conclusions deal with the integration of the objects in Delian society, in which the figurines provide a source of constructions of identity in the late Hellenistic Mediterranean world. According to Barrett it is important to realise that Egyptianising figurines were

not the province of separate craftsmen who specialized in 'exotic' imagery, but rather they were thoroughly integrated into the rest of the island's coroplastic production (p. 422). In contrast to the common tendency to dismiss certain Egyptianising themes such as dwarf-gods, Nubians or sexual images as grotesque, and to assume *a priori* that people could never have taken such imagery seriously, these objects actually draw on traditions of divine interpretation well-known from Egyptian religious texts and temple relief (p. 422). Who then designed the images? According to Barrett it could not have been the craftsmen, but a priest, and it is 'certainly conceivable that coroplasts asked iconographic advice from the priests in the three Sarapeia' (p. 435). It strikes one as a bit odd, when the previous chapter dismissed a connection between the figurines and the Sarapeia, to include priests of Sarapis as the source of knowledge for the figurines' production. Barrett ends the chapter with a statement on the integration of the figurines in 'a cosmopolitan household', the presence of the figurines in houses and their incorporation into otherwise non-Egyptianising sanctuaries, demonstrates, according to her, the thorough integration of Egyptianising cult into the everyday life of a diverse international Delian community (p. 423).

The appendices of the book (pp. 443-620) contain a timeline of Delian history, a catalogue of the Egyptian and Egyptianising figurines, and a list of unpublished field notes. The book is also accommodated with colour plates of figurines from Delos, Cairo, and Athens, plans and photographs of the architecture on Delos, and section drawings of plastic vases.

Barrett did an admirable job not only with the careful analysis of the objects' fabric, manufacture, and archaeological context, but also with the attempt to place them in a wider discussion of domestic religion, thereby pulling the statuettes out of the often descriptive 'traditionalist' archaeological and art-historical domain. Especially with her contextual archaeological analysis, Barrett has added interesting new data in the use of figurines and in this respect it can be considered a significant contribution to Hellenistic terracotta studies.

However, although the book adds an interesting methodological component to figurine studies, its interpretative part is lacking some sophistication, which becomes clear especially in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 presents a detailed study of Egyptian iconography and religion in connection to the dataset, however, some key problems about categorisation and interpretation emerge which are not sufficiently resolved. First, the category of Egyptianising figurines itself is not clearly defined. Is this a category as employed by Delians or a categorisation by the author?

Next to the question whether this was a conceptual category for its users, questions of function and perception rise. Can we unquestionably assume that all these figurines were experienced as 'Egyptian'? And how do we know that all those statuettes were only used and regarded as cult objects? By explaining all the figurines as connected to the inundation myth chapter 4 limits our scope for interpreting these figurines. The iconographic heterogeneity, the difficulty Barrett occasionally demonstrates in finding a connection between the figurines and the myth, and with finding argu-

ments to add certain statues to the 'Egyptianising' category shows that such objects are by no means perceived as just a portrayal of knowledge of Egyptian religion. It shows that a multitude of perceptions, uses, and interpretations could have been employed by its users. Furthermore, Egyptian religion is also by far not a monolithic concept, and to possess knowledge of parts of it does not explain the presence of these figurines or their iconography fully. Lastly, the innovations within the iconography that Barrett discusses are very interesting and could have been explored in a wider scope to attain more insights in local decision making. For example, the variation Barrett mentions in the Delian Isis figure, in which she wears a crown of radiate rays instead of fringes of *uraei* to represent solar light (p. 316), has also been found at Amathus Cyprus (as discussed by J.B. Connely in J.P. Uhlenbrock, *The Coroplasts' Art, Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, New Paltz 1990, 96). Does this still mean it was an example of a conscious alteration for a different audience and evidence of local knowledge or should it be taken as evidence of a wider network and thus for a more complex understanding?

In chapter 5 Barrett is able to add important new data on the use and perception of the figurines. However, she again seems to be reluctant to interpret anything outside the context of Egyptian theology. Next to the varied iconography of Egyptian related objects, the find contexts show a diverse employment of the figurines, which does seem to point to more varied possibilities of interpretation, use, and perception of these objects.

To take the example of one of the graves on Rheneia, this contains a figurine of an ithyphallic Harpocrates imported from Egypt, but also plastic vases of a fish, a dolphin and a soldier with a Galatian shield, which were made in Magenta ware and probably imports from Campania, Italy (p. 373). Barrett tries to explain the assemblage by connecting all these objects to Egyptian theology [on the figurine with the Galatian shield]: 'However, while this figurine's long, oval shield was frequently associated with Galatians, it does not necessarily identify its carrier as a Galatian himself... Within Egypt, many Ptolemaic mercenaries carried Gaulish shields, and Egyptian figurines of armed gods carry such shields as well.' The plastic vases of the fish and dolphin are interpreted by Barret as marine symbolism and resonate, in association with the soldier figure and the ithyphallic Harpocrates, the cult of Isis Pelagia (p. 376). Although she does not conclude that the deceased was an ethnic Egyptian, her interpretation rests on the assumption, just as the case of the sanctuaries, that people perceived the statuettes as Egyptian and that the whole assemblage therefore somehow can be generalised as being Egyptianising and attesting knowledge on Egyptian theology. Apart from hasty generalisations, the argument cannot be sustained without including more evidence and contextual analysis that shows proof of a wholly Egyptian understanding. A more inclusive view on the use of these figurines in their various contexts would therefore have benefited the argument of this chapter. This could have been done by taking more account of the remaining non-Egyptianising figurines and by more carefully analysing

the specific contexts in which the figurines were found in the form of a detailed case study. Within a contextual case study, other important questions could have been more extensively treated. How did the variety of 'Egyptianising' figurines relate, for example, to 'non-Egyptian' ones in different contexts? What other objects were attested in those contexts besides figurines? Could they have had other uses besides cultic ones? What social functions could they have fulfilled in relation to other objects? In the case of the grave-assemblages for example, it might have been of importance that these Harpocrates figures were the only 'Egyptianising' objects that were actually imported from Egypt. Not only would they have carried other social values because they were found in a grave instead of a house or sanctuary, the fact that they were imports could have had a special social value. By asking these questions and by adding a more holistic approach to the contexts and their finds we would have been given a much more embedded view on these objects.

The aim of Barrett to add to the knowledge of household cult and Hellenistic religion, as her title and introduction implies, does not do full justice to the interesting observations made throughout her analysis. First of all it seems that the framework of domestic religion is restraining a more balanced interpretation of the objects; as they are also found in sanctuaries, roads, workshops, shops, and graves, their use is more varied than the domestic cult. Secondly, explaining all the figurines in the context of Egyptian religion as an allusion to the inundation of the Nile is much too restrictive and leaves out the many other possible interpretations by local users. The field of studies that includes 'Egypt outside Egypt' has in the past years moved on from interpretations that draw exclusively on either exotic or religious understandings of material culture. Work that is interpretatively broader in scope and more contextually sound has been undertaken in recent years, which allows interpretations of such objects on multi-varied levels, depending on the complex contexts in which objects are attested and variety in understanding that new environments creates (as discussed by scholars like M. Swetnam-Burland or the contributions in L. Bricault/M.J. Versluys/P.G.P. Meyboom (eds), *Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman world*, Leiden/Boston 2007). In some ways, Barrett does just what she warned against, taking an *a priori* stand on the interpretation of these statues, without considering other possibilities. However, the fact that religious concepts are *present* in iconography, does not mean that they were experienced as such ubiquitously. Aesthetic values, social values, even exotic values in some cases cannot be ruled out as possible uses and perceptions of this material. From a site like Pompeii for example, for which the find contexts provide better clues on their use and appropriation, figurines that display so-called 'Egyptianising' elements were used in a wide variety of contexts, only some of which were cultic. Objects similar in appearance could be used in different contexts and were perceived very differently; therefore explaining all objects from the context of religion rather limits interpretation. Theoretically, even if the owners were aware of the religious background of the objects, they still could have valued them for other reasons. It is a missed opportu-

nity not discussing or even allowing the possibilities of different interpretations, as evidence of the latter through both the variety in iconography and archaeological contexts seems to have been clearly present on the island. Furthermore, from all the 'foreign' and 'indigenous' (which become in themselves unsustainable categories in this period) deities of the Hellenistic world, especially Isis and Sarapis, were very ambiguous and multi-interpretable due to their universal(ised) and syncretic(ised) nature; it is likely that many other concepts outside Egyptian religion were connected to these deities, and that this is what made them such a success outside Egypt.

Within the increased connectivity of this period in history, Delos can be considered one of the most important nodal points. Within this context, terms like hybridity and religious syncretism should be considered a starting point for investigation rather than a conclusion, for such terms inherently belong to the Hellenistic world. Studying more closely the material, social, and religious context of Delos as a key-site therefore would have given more information on the choices and preferences that were made locally from the wide array of material and ideas provided by the increased cultural contact of the Hellenistic world.

Eva Mol

CARMELA ROSCINO, *Polignoto di Taso*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2010. 188 pp., 24 figs; 21 cm (Maestri dell'Arte Classica III). – ISBN 978-88-7689-236-3/ISSN 2035-3634.

A small but steadily growing series of slim monographs on ancient artists initiated by Luigi Todisco is now enriched by a study about a man whose fame is very great, but whose work is entirely lost. Carmela Roscino has the difficult task to evoke, as far as possible, the style and talents of this 'master' who was born on Thasos ca 500 and lived at least some sixty years, working in various parts of the Greek world. After a brief biography based on literary sources, Roscino discusses the paintings Polygnotus made in Delphi, Thespieae, Plataeae and Athens, which were to a lesser or greater extent described in ancient sources. For the wooden panels in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Ares in Plataeae Polygnotus made a set of four wooden panel paintings, 1.50 x 8 m each, representing Odysseus slaying the pretenders of Penelope. The author suggests a great love for Homer in the painter, which would have inspired him and could help us to form an idea of the results (p. 15). Such an hypothesis implies a narrow correspondence between text and image, which is not provable at all. The dead corpses of the pretenders would form a large heap like those of Trojan victims in the Lesche of the Cnidians in Delphi some decades later. The bloody scenes alluded at the victory of the Greeks over the Persians and could be interpreted metaphorically in the way relief decorations of temples are usually seen. The 'Seven against Thebes' by Onasias would be the pendant. The metaphor went much further: former Greek allies of Persia were warned in the same way as the Persians themselves and Plataeae, an Athenian outpost in Boeotia was a good example of

Athens' power expansion. Another artistic collaboration formed that between Micon and Polygnotus in the Anakeion in Athens, a sanctuary dedicated to the Dioscuri as princely lords (*anakes*), nowadays no longer traceable. Micon's Departure of the Dioscuri with the Argonauts and Polygnotus' Wedding of the Dioscuri with the Leucippidae formed pendants and were clear references to the demigods venerated here, politically forming an emblem of the Athenian pro-Spartan leader Cimon. Among the Athenian works, the Ilioupersis in the Stoa poikile is seen by Roscino as the highlight of Polygnotus' work (again, executed in collaboration with Micon). The Stoa itself was probably discovered in 1981 by the American excavators at the north side of the ancient Agora (Roscino sums up the uncertainties regarding the identification), but no scraps of paintings remain to satisfy our curiosity. As in most cases, the only testimony is Pausanias who saw panel paintings of some 600 years old, probably no longer as fresh as they had been at the moment of production. The main representation was the cruel taking of Troy by the Greeks, concentrating on the capture of the poor Cassandra and Laodice. In Delphi other protagonists featured in the same Ilioupersis. The author cannot but point out the political implication of these wooden panel in the decades after the Persian Wars. Therefore, almost the half of the chapter on the works is dedicated to Delphi's Lesche, a hall for banqueting erected by the inhabitants of Knidos, and adorned with the mentioned Ilioupersis and the Nekyia or Rites evoking the Dead, here consisting of Odysseus' descent into Hades. Roscino enumerates the various proposals made to visualize the lost panel paintings, but does not add new data or insights to this narrative. Like in the other instances, political motifs played an important role in Delphi as well; probably Micon, again, was influential in this choice.

Chapter III tries to collect data about Polygnotus' style and composition on the basis of the already used testimonies, which are collected in chapter IV (with translations by the author after the texts rather than on the opposite pages). Polygnotus introduced compositions of large figures, maybe marked by dark outlines on a bright background. He used primary colours, and would still have been 'primitive' according to Quintilian (p. 73), who, however, probably never saw Polygnotus' works unless some panel brought to Rome. Roscino includes some drawings with attempts to reconstruct Polygnotus' paintings, all taken from previous studies. These are interesting attempts, varying from Robert's complicated composition to the rather linear juxtaposition of figures and scenes by Stansbury O'Donnell. Roscino analyses these compositions and refers to the compositorial and metric similarity of Polygnotus' contemporary Aeschylus. Polygnotus must have had a great talent to represent characters and not simply figures, expressing their emotions and actions at the same time. His work showed the ethos of protagonists, to be followed or abhorred by the spectators according to their political and societal commitment.

This small book leaves the reader with some embarrassment. Despite the lot of work, the positivist scholar Roscino cannot add substantial novelties to the (lack of) knowledge of the quite invisible artist Polygnotus is for us. The discussion on uncertainties has grown with a few

new proposals so that Polygnotus' panels get still more covered under a thicket of wood now transformed into paper. As a skeptical scholar concerning the reconstruction of lost works of art, I may not be the good reviewer of this paper exercise on works of art we will never be able to know unless by finding parts of them thanks to a miracle, but unfortunately, for me the usefulness of this book is very small. The poorly printed plans of discussed buildings and drawings of former reconstructions do not help the reader to get a greater understanding.

Eric M. Moormann

ADOLF H. BORBEIN & MAX KUNZE (eds), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Statuenbeschreibungen, Materialien zur „Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums“, Rezensionen*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2013. XX, 488 pp.; 26,5 cm (Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Schriften und Nachlass Band 4.5). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4569-9.

This huge volume contains two sets of documents regarding the genesis and reception of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764). First, there are notices and excerpts from his archive (*Nachlass*), nowadays scattered over various archives. They form parts of his common place book of notes and copied sentences recorded during the preparation of his master work and sometimes dating back more than a decade. The various versions of descriptions of some famous statues like the Apollo and Torso from the Vatican's Belvedere show how the author was wrestling with his formulae and compiling with a systematic order, admiring several specific works of art and looking for an appropriate linguistic apparatus to present his provocative ideas about the development of ancient art. The editors have been so wise to include the final versions in the *Geschichte*, so that the reader has all variants together. Two brief essays in Latin, not edited during his life, contain the first thoughts regarding archaic and early classical art, in which he seeks a dialogue between Greek, Egyptian and Etruscan art. Of course he makes mistakes and draws false conclusions on the basis of wrongly conceived interpretations of ancient objects, but the lecture of these texts provides the reader the possibility to follow Winckelmann's thoughts. As in other volumes of this excellent series of modern editions of Winckelmann's *opera omnia*, there are fine comments, illustrated with the discussed monuments, and indices which open the material to the reader. If an object or idea has been discussed in the *Geschichte* itself, the reader should consult the comments in the volumes (see on these books my review, *BABESCH* 84, 2009, 241-242).

The second part of the book contains reviews of Winckelmann's work, including the second German edition of 1776 and the French and English translations. Many scholars know the polemic between Winckelmann and Lessing on the emotions of the Laocoon, but they will find here for the first time extensive presentations and discussions of the *Geschichte*. Even if all documents were once published, mainly in the 18th cen-

tury, and some in reprints as well, they have not been easily accessible hitherto. The first document in this section is Winckelmann's life, written for the second edition of the *Geschichte* edited in 1776, as part of an extensive preface by Justus Riedel. Riedel stresses the particular talent of the Stendal student to reach his goals despite his low social background and his moderate means. He sketches Winckelmann as the ideal scholar, who lives for his arts only and does not bother about material problems. The only flaw Riedel seems to see, is Winckelmann's lack of interest for religious matters, a point also observed by other authors. According to Riedel, Winckelmann's conversion to Catholicism would free him from shyness and enable him to behave more freely and autonomously in Rome. This text would remain the main overview of the archaeologist's life, even after the publication of many collections of letters and Goethe's fundamental *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* in 1805. Axel Rügler gives a fine assessment of this text in an Afterword.

Among the numerous reviews and brief announcements are examples in English, French, and Latin, whilst the bulk is German. Some are very long and contain extensive compilations of the contents, e.g. Christian Weiße's text in two parts (pp. 225-250), who defends the length of his review on the basis of the book's learnedness, importance and innovative approach. He observes Winckelmann's prejudice regarding the preference for the South and the abhorrence of the French (p. 226, witty note 1). Two Latin reviews (translated by Balbina Bäbler) are by Riedel's *Doktorvater* Christian Klotz. Again, Winckelmann's erudition and original analysis of ancient and modern arts are praised. One of the most famous reviewers is Christoph Gottlob Heyne, an old friend of Winckelmann, who, as late as 1771, tries to provide addenda and suggestions for improvement, especially regarding the chronology of Greek art and assures the reader that these observation do not diminish at all the genius of the author of this already 'classical' book (p. 313). An anonymous review of Heyne's contribution adds more chronological data, like Heyne's all derived from ancient sources. There are long lists of corrigenda in Thierbach's and Murr's discussions. Most authors received the book positively and saw its importance for the study of ancient art. It would be desirable to know a little more on these authors, their status and on the periodicals and their status within the Republic of Letters in those days.

We may conclude that this volume forms a fine conclusion of the set of five volumes dedicated to and presenting Winckelmann's *Geschichte* in an exemplary way. They contribute considerably to the study of this still fascinating hallmark of the scientific study of ancient art.

Eric M. Moormann

NATASCHA SOJC / ALOYS WINTERLING / ULRIKE WULF-RHEIDT (eds), *Palast und Stadt im severischen Rom*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 306 pp., ill., 16 pls; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-515-10300-8.

This book forms a welcome study about the transformations of imperial Rome under Septimius Severus and his family. Despite his rare presence in town, the

emperor apparently found it important to endow the *urbs* with important buildings. The book starts with introductory papers by one of the editors, Aloys Winterling, and Domenico Palombi and Maria Antonietta Tomei. Winterling discusses the interactions between court and town. Both parties may have had the same interests like (the increase of) prestige and status as well as the need of infrastructure and commodities, which constituted an inseparable bond. Palombi sketches the urbanistic developments of Rome in the two first centuries of the imperial era and concisely discusses aspects like the urban infrastructure, elite residences, *horti*, and the role of religion. Tomei focuses on the imperial residences on the Palatine from Augustus to the Severi. She makes clear that the residential complexes were more or less defined for the coming centuries under Domitian, and the works of his predecessors did no longer play a role of significance, even if the approach of the last Flavian had a serious precedent in the works of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Peter Eich brings us to the Severi with his rich essay on the administration of Rome and its court. He highlights the function of the *praefectus praetorio* and notes the bureaucratization and codification of Roman law, with law experts such as Ulpianus, Paulus, and Papianus. Many institutions were shaped in a way that Rome was no longer necessary as the place to act: the administration could work in every town the emperor wanted (p. 99). It did not imply that Septimius Severus and his family had no interest in Rome any longer. Their building policy promoted the image of Rome as the centre of power and tradition.

Alexandra Busch explains the reason of the increase of military presence in Rome as a result of Severus' reliance on this force rather than on the Senate. The enormous growth of military people in and around town can be demonstrated by the monumental evidence as well as by votive and funerary inscriptions. The latter show the import of soldiers from various areas, especially Pannonia, while the Italic forces who filled the praetorian guard were sent off. As a matter of fact, Severus' opponent, senator Cassius Dio, called the new forces 'barbarians'. Busch stresses the peculiar situation of nearby Albano, where a large military fortress was constructed, imposing remains of which are still visible in town. The properties were the former grounds of the villa of Domitian, so that here - as Busch aptly says at p. 115 - *otium* was replaced by *disciplina militaris*. Thanks to this clear analysis of the military activities in and around Rome, we may better understand Dio's opposition: the senatorial class was more or less put aside, even threatened in its existence by the new military forces.

Björn Schöpe researches the development of the court, in which he concentrates on Caracalla who has often been described as a man who left the imperial duties to his mother. Aspects discussed are the *salutatio, convivium*, and the *amici* of the emperor. By reanalyzing the sources he redresses Caracalla's negative image. There is some overlap with Eich's paper to which no cross reference has been made.

Françoise Villedieu's paper on the Severan phase of the Vigna Barberini complex excavated by the Ecole Française de Rome (1985-1998) describes the vestiges

and asks which monument stood here in the early 3rd century. She defends the opinion that there was a sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter Victor and rededicated to Sol-Elagabal rather than accepting the alternative of a construction under Heliogabalus (one misses references to the study on this problematic emperor by M. Ickx, *The crimes of Elagabalus: the life and legacy of Rome's decadent boy emperor*, London 2011). If she is right, the preceding remains, dating back to the early 2nd century, form previous phases of this sanctuary. The surmised existence of a shrine for Adonis is discarded in this hypothesis.

Jens Pflug discusses the architectural development of the palace on the Palatine in and on top of the *domus augustana*. He retells some of Tomei's observations, but proceeds with an analysis of the construction phases which demonstrate a differentiated articulation instead of a monolithic monument erected by Domitian. However, the additions from the 2nd century are rather limited. As to the time of Domitian, Pflug distinguishes three distinct phases (pp. 186, 193), but I think that these are chronological subsequent steps of one and the same building project. The result was a building with an eerie upper story, an octagonal banqueting room, green spaces and rooms of various dimension, most of all destined for banqueting and receiving. Pflug considers this *domus-villa* as an innovative complex, but I see strong correspondences with Nero's Golden House, especially with the pavilion on the Oppian Hill (e.g. octagonal room, sequences of rooms, upper floor with thin walls) which might still have inspired Rabirius. Subsequent interventions include the monumental façade at the south side, providing a costly sky box to oversee the circus games (for Sojc, p. 222, maybe Severan), and a series of porticoes at the opposite side. During the Severan phase, Pflug notes paintings as substitutions of marble incrustations, which would form an impoverishment of the decorations. The modesty of these interventions - apart from the Septizodium as a major project - contradicts the observation made by co-editor Natascha Sojc that the importance of the Severan works should not be underestimated (p. 216). However, she points at the extensions at the Forum side and shows how the palace sat in the urban texture, enriched by Severan projects. The Septizodium might be a nymphaeum combined with a monumental entrance to the Palatine. Sojc convinces the reader with her sketch of the important interventions made by the Severi in the urban landscape of Rome and the central position of the Palatine within that restructuration.

Andreas Grüner brings us outside Rome, towards the villas of the Severan emperors. After the observation that most villas have not been studied thoroughly, he questions which Severan activities can be seen in the complexes around Rome. Many villas had their *floruit* in the middle of the second century AD and underwent relatively small interventions in later stages. A good case is the Villa Hadriana in Tivoli, where no profound analysis of all building phases has been carried out. Grüner raises relevant questions such as the reason of this modest degree of alterations and suggests that the available complexes might suffice or that other interests prevailed. An interesting argument is the construction of the Sessorium, a residential complex not far from the

Lateran area, which included most commodities of a villa and palace at the same time. Sadly, the monument does not feature in other contributions to the book and needs more study to ascertain this attractive hypothesis.

The third editor, Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt, finally, discusses the importance of the palaces in the aftermath. She observes a number of correspondences between the Severan complex on the Palatine and later structures. Notable features are the circus adjacent to the palace, exedra-shaped reception rooms, temples combined with residences and the like.

The book is well edited, with very few typos, but the illustrations are grayish (even those on the color plates) and not abundant in number. The leaders of the Palatine research project have made virtual reconstructions, partly shown in small images (e.g. p. 296-297). There is no information given about the authors, who all may be seen as experts in their respective domains. This highly informative book can certainly serve as a material collection on the Severi, laying a sound base under future studies which might really produce such an all-encompassing, much desired monograph such as M. Boatwright's *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton 1987).

Eric M. Moormann

ANNA ANGUSSOLA (ed.), *Privata Luxuria. Towards an Archaeology of Intimacy: Pompeii and Beyond*. International Workshop Center for Advanced Studies, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (24-25 March 2021). München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2012. 239 pp., figs, 5 colour pls; 25 cm (Münchener Studien zur Alten Welt Band 8). – ISBN 978-3831-641017.

In this book, ten essays devoted to the use of space for private life and the connection with the public space elucidate many questions about the way Romans used to live and work in urban society. Eight papers deal with Pompeii, one highlights Roman Africa and Iberia, and one is on Ephesos. The scholars were invited to Munich by Anna Anguissola, who edited the results of the round table in a rapid way and in excellent form. As she points out, the idea was born during her work on *cubicula* (*Intimità a Pompei*, Berlin/New York 2010, cf. my review in *BABESCH* 87, 2012, 224-225). She wants her colleagues to discuss the relationship between work and use of space by the members of a *familia*, as well as to look for spaces of intimate family life. The modern notion of private life is seen (p. 10) as 'interaction between individual and collective identities.' Hence the wish to explore 'degrees of publicness and privateness' in the Roman house, which evokes the question whether the main function of houses was to impress the world outside or if they also met the quest for privacy.

The ten papers are assembled in five chapters, starting with I: Space of One's Own. The classicist Laura Nissinen analyses ancient texts (without translations) to find out in which combinations and where family members slept. It strikes me that texts are used indiscriminately, as in old antiquarian studies, so that the

satirist Juvenal has the same information value as the serious Younger Pliny and excessive cases are as realistic as 'normal' occasions. Her references to modern scholarship miss important studies like Anguissola 2010 and, for the beds, S.T.A.M. Mols, *Wooden Furniture in Herculaneum* (Amsterdam 1999). Anguissola herself analyses the use of space in two grand mansions in Pompeii. The House of the Labyrinth is exemplary for the 1st century BC, while the House of the Gilded Cupids represents the third quarter of the 1st century AD. In both cases public use of private space can be recognized, while large parts of the houses served for private activities only. The peristyle area, however, could receive 'a variety of people' who would be impressed by the luxurious display not immediately visible from the atrium-tablinum axis. I would like to know to which extent invited dinner parties in the late afternoon or early evening accommodated in these areas were public or private events.

Part II, Work and Leisure under One Roof, zooms in on workshops and bars. Miko Flohr displays his profound knowledge of 'industrial' activities and expands his previous studies by showing how workshops that might produce a lot of nuisance functioned without evident problems. 10 % of the 485 houses we know had a bakery, fullery, *lanifricaria* or dyeing installation, all directly related with the remainder of the house; sometimes walls shut off the working area, but in many cases the working spaces were along the street and flanking the entrance of the *domus*. The proprietors either took smell and noise for granted or hoped to earn money. Antonio Calabrò presents similar observations concerning bars in Pompeii. He gives a clear assessment of the location, interior display and contents of bars and their relationship with the houses. Sometimes the kitchen of bar and house are the same, in few cases the bar occupies a greater (or even complete) area of a *domus*.

Section III, Quantifying Privacy, includes papers on boundaries within the *domus* by M. Taylor Lauritsen and on *domus* in the regions V and VI by Chiara Maratini. Lauritsen starts from the assumption of 'empty space theory': houses did not contain many objects, for which reason she wants to stress the function of doors and wooden screens. This is a good point, but she fully forgets that recent research has made clear that houses contained a lot of furniture (Mols 1999, 115-142), and sculpture or other objects all over the place, not yet studied from this point of view. Maratini's brief overview of GIS research in two *insulae* would have been a good pendant of Flohr's paper (yet, not taken into account). Her work brings us nearer to the older phases of houses and the function of rooms and working spaces in that period.

IV, Organizing Privacy, brings us to the Republican house found under the Casa del Granduca Michele (Dora D'Auria) and upper floors in the imperial period (Riccardo Helg). D'Auria's case study works out Maratini's more general observations and brings to life an almost complete house discovered under a later one. She succeeds in evoking the way of living and representation (e.g. a bath suite, for which she could have used with profit N. de Haan, *Römische Privatbäder*, Frankfurt etc. 2010) of this period, which can be linked to other

mid-Republican houses in Fregellae, Monte Iato etc. Helg explains the changes from large one-family houses towards apartments and sections of old houses occupied by new inhabitants. These formed the 'most disruptive effects' (p. 145) of the increase of population and social re-stratification in the run of the 1st century AD. He instructs the reader about the information façades can give us about the changes made internally.

The first paper of V, *Privacy beyond Pompeii*, by Margherita Carucci studies the use of *cubicula* in imperial texts and in houses from Africa and Iberia. She comes to similar conclusions as Anguissola (2011; not taken into account), but also shows new ways of display and decoration. Helmut Schwaiger highlights the famous 'Hanghäuser' of Ephesos as well as late antique houses near the Harbor Gymnasium and defines the specific aspects of high- and late-imperial domestic architecture like the apsidal halls. Private rooms seem less easily recognizable except for their location in the rear parts of the houses.

In sum, this is an thought-provoking set of essays, which I think will become an important work within the study of Roman houses and housing. Its strength and coherence would have become greater, if the editor had inserted more internal references to other papers, so that readers could gather information from various standpoints on the same topic.

Eric M. Moormann

MARTIN DISSELKAMP, „Nichts ist, Rom, dir gleich.“ *Topographien und Gegenbilder aus dem mittelalterlichen und früh-neuzeitlichen Europa*. Ruppolding/Mainz: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2013. 259 pp., 62 figs; 27 cm (Stendaler Winkelmann-Forschungen Band 10). – ISBN 978-3-447-06869-7.

In his latest book, the literary historian Martin Disselkamp collects and analyses testimonies of antiquarian interest in Rome from the late medieval era up to the 17th century. In his view, these works did not only testify to the interest in antiquity but also formed a sort of defense against the political and societal developments in the time these authors were writing. Ancient Rome served as a utopian ideal town, and provided an 'Erlösungsmythos' (p. 11). Ruins formed material for reconstruction of the old town, but at the same time they made clear the decay of the eternal city. The author focuses on a limited number of authors, which gives his work a sound and clear structure, and divides the work into three sections. The discussed texts include travel-ogues, poems, drama. No pretension of completeness is envisaged; the book purposely is fragmentary (p. 11).

The first section is on the Middle Ages and starts with the *Mirabilia Romae* from 1140-1143, a travel guide for pilgrims to *Roma caput mundi* or *aurea Roma*, in which antique monuments were seen for the first time as relevant ingredients of the town. Interestingly, the work should endorse political programmes of either the pope contra the Emperor or vice versa, the first claiming an independence rooted in antiquity, the second claiming legitimizing bonds with the Roman past. In both cases ancient Rome should provide a firm historical basis for

modern power display. The *Mirabilia* and its many translations and adaptations did not give guidelines for visitors, but were a merely hailing description of antique monuments without nostalgia. In this way, it stood in the rhetorical and ephrastic tradition of antiquity itself. Legends were an important element in this genre of Rome descriptions.

The dense chapter on Petrarca focuses on his letters concerning the papal court in Avignon, which had become in those days a luxurious new Rome, while leaving in abandonment the venerable old *urbs* itself. Petrarca's position was critical and risky, since he felt the need to leave his old Avignon allies and to seek contact with Italians like the briefly reigning Cola di Rienzo (1347). He regarded ancient Rome as the basis of a new Roman society, possibly no longer reigned by popes, but by the emperor or the king of Naples to whom his epic *Africa* was dedicated. In respect to antiquity, Rome features in the *Africa* in an antiquarian way, portrayed on the basis of ancient authors. Monuments are not presented in a topographical order or in precise descriptions. It is their mass and immensity that conveys the idea of Rome's enormous past. Since the description plays out in the time of Hannibal, the town is no ruin, which, in contrast, is the case in the *Letter to Giovanni Colonna*: the author and his friend are discussing amidst the ruins of the ancient town. Nevertheless, this town must provide a 'Rettungsmodell' (p. 64) which plays a great role in later Rome evocations as well.

The second part is on three different approaches in the 16th century. Georg Fabricius' *Roma* from about 1550 is the product of a long humanist study and a tour to Italy in 1543 and envisages the presentation of Rome's greatness and authority. Ruins embody the former grandeur: If they are still so huge, how huge would the city have been in the past? At the same time the decay demonstrated the transitoriness of the former grandeur, and for that reason they were studied and eternized in drawings and engravings. Fabricius and other scholars rejected books like the 'primitive' *Mirabilia* and made the pretension to present scientific studies relying on sources and autopsy. Antiquarianism, however, was first of all a branch of philology, for which reason archaeology played a minor role, if any, and which consisted of assembling data and systemizing them within a given frame. Regarding Rome's topography, the archaeological remains formed one of the sources, again next to texts, both ancient and modern. Disselkamp sketches the fascinating increase of different opinions, visions and discussions about Rome's ancient topography in the run of the 16th and 17th century. The distance between antiquity and modernity did not lessen in this process, but rather grew and complicated the understanding of the ancient town. The ruins of Rome, one might say, were overgrown by new weeds, that is the innumerable pages of texts and illustrations that sought to reveal them.

Joachim du Bellay wrote both French and Latin poems on ancient Rome. Disselkamp makes clear that in his *Antiquitez* from 1558 the poet, despite his erudition, felt himself unable to approach antiquity in a proper way. Although monuments were seen as proofs of the splendid past, the poet mainly relied on literary sources like Virgil, Horace and Ovid, and positioned himself as a literary author rather than as an antiquarian or archae-

ologist (which is stressed, I would say, by the poetical form and style of his text). His point of view is decay caused by the *superbia* of the Romans (then and now). Disselkamp makes interesting excursions by briefly discussing specific topics like the triumph and the triumphal arch in the time of Du Bellay.

The third section is on Montaigne's travel book. In my opinion, this discussion is beyond the scope of the book: Montaigne's Rome section is small and this highly informative and amusing work has other values, which are well explained, but do barely pertain to the central theme of Disselkamp's discourse.

The third part discusses literature with a lesser degree of Rome interest, about which one might put question marks to the relevance for the main theme of this book. It focuses on Justus Lipsius' *Veneranda*, Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, and the German travelogue *Brandenburgischer Ulysses*. Lipsius' *Veneranda* of 1598 was a political work, since it hoped to help Albrecht as the governor of the Spanish Netherlands to create his own splendor and mighty state. Rome could serve as an example. Lipsius described various monuments and wrote strong passages about Rome's fascination, but like his predecessors used written sources instead of archaeological monuments to convey his ideas. Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (from 1608 or 1609) is in so far relevant that he illustrates the greatness of Roman heroes, who despite weaknesses and defeats are examples for modern man. Rome literally serves as a background for the drama itself, which seems to happen in a London previous than that of around 1600. It is a laboratory (p. 188) in which the poet can discuss the problems of his days. The *Brandenburgischer Ulysses*, finally, is analysed as an example of the ingredients of a trip made by German noblemen, in this case the margrave Christian Ernst from Brandenburg-Bayreuth. He was on tour in 1659-1661 and his adventures were written down by Sigmund von Birken, who did not participate in the trip. Antiquities only feature as parts of art collections and Rome does not get a special place as educational source for this prince.

The book may fall out of the interest of many BABESCH readers, but for the study of Rome's impact on post-antique reception studies, Disselkamp truly offers many new insights. The book is beautifully edited and has a rich array of illustrations.

Eric M. Moormann

BRIAN MADIGAN, *The Ceremonial Sculptures of the Roman Gods*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013 (Monumenta Graeca et Romana 20). XXVIII, 120 pp., 58 figs; 29 cm. – ISBN 978-90-04-22723-1.

This book discusses moveable statues, used in religious ceremonies in the Roman world during the imperial period. Since no real statue of this kind survives, the author has to rely on ancient texts and images of statues on paintings, reliefs, and other media. Two chapters concentrate on 'processional statuettes' and 'litter statues', the third one discusses 'capita deorum' and the final chapter is devoted to 'exuviae'. The first category concerns objects, to be carried by individuals in processions and other religious gatherings. These hand-held objects used to be small and manageable and, conse-

quently, were not well visible for a large group of spectators. As a consequence, according to the author, ceremonies in which such statuettes served must have been rather small-scale and frequently domestic. A famous image illustrating this practice is the Altar of the Vicomagistri from Rome on which officials hold statuettes of Lares and an emperor mounted on small square bases. As on other reliefs, the objects may represent statuettes usually exposed in private *lararium* shrines, while in Rome, they may also refer to the institution of the public *Lares* cult founded by Augustus (cf. the Belvedere Altar). On the altar of the *collegium fabrum tignariorum* in the Capitoline Museum one side shows a large Minerva which is replicated in the shape of a small statuette on the other side, which demonstrates the existence of manageable miniature copies. Another well-known example is that of statue carriers on the columns from the Iseum Campense in Rome, which illustrates the existence of similar small scale sculpture is Egyptian religion. The Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki is a late case; it has a series of Victoriae carrying statuettes (figs 10-11). The bad condition of the reliefs forbids an interpretation of the figures, but Madigan correctly observes that gods (i.e. Victoriae) carry effigies of colleague gods.

Madigan observes a lacuna of images between these cases from the 1st century and late antiquity, while there are various written testimonies of the custom among which papyri. A fascinating case is that of processions in Ephesos in the time of Trajan, known from the 'Salutaris endowment'. The large amount of statues (or statuettes: the size is not indicated in the text) includes Artemis of Ephesos, other gods, and Roman emperors and empresses. The first category recalls the statuettes and temple models made by Demetrios in the time of the apostle St. Paul (*Acts* 19.21-20.4; not mentioned by Madigan). I am less convinced by Madigan's interpretation of the Victoriae statues in the dream of Septimius Severus featuring in the circus (*Historia Augusta*, Severus 22) as hand-held statues. If small figures were erected in the huge arena, they would have been invisible for the public; therefore, it is more plausible to hypothesize large-scale 'puppets' of papier-mâché or another light material. Images of the Circus Maximus indeed show statues on the *spina* (not 'podium' as on p. 24), visible from all sides.

The section on *fercula* or litters carried by at least four people as parts of processions includes an array of statuary depictions that is much more variegated than the former group. We see *quadrigae*, statuary groups, seated and standing figures, and so on. A puzzling case is a painting of a group of carpenters together with Daedalus who is looking at a supine person, found in the Shop of the Perfume Maker in Pompeii (p. 55). This man is usually seen as Perdix or Talus, killed by Daedalus for reasons of envy. Nevertheless, the scene would hail the talents and skills of the wood workers in Pompeii. Personally, I interpreted this man as a statue made by Daedalus, which might be a better explanation for this paradox (*La pittura parietale come fonte di conoscenza per la scultura antica*, Assen/Wolfeboro 1988, 170).

The *capita deorum* or heads of gods in chapter 3 refer to images of gods in the shape of busts or half torsos exposed during *lectisternia*, official meals dedicated to the gods to ask their forgiveness. In many monuments

we see really banqueting living people, so that this category seems to fall out as less (or not) relevant for this study on images of cult statues, unless we take them as a whole as statues, in the way they are carried in representations on lamps. The greater part of this chapter obviously tackles the problem of the *lectisternia* themselves, and does so in a clear and valuable way.

The *exuviae* of chapter 4 are also less sculptures than depictions of divine attributes accommodated on thrones and tables. These symbols could be transported on carriages or carried by officials as parts of processions to public events like circus games. It is for this reason that Madigan has included *exuviae* in his study on portable statues of gods. An interesting example is a set of exquisitely executed marble reliefs (now Ravenna, Venice, Florence and Paris), which I would date to the early 1st century AD. Madigan's suggestion that they once adorned parapets in a circus is attractive (p. 98), and is announced to be worked out by the author in another study.

The photographs are well chosen, but reproduced in a miserable grayish tone, often blurred and missing the right dimensions (too big: fig. 14; too small: figs 27-28). There are various irritating misspellings (Caratelli for Pugliese Carratelli, Scheid for Scheid, Vanmasseren for Vermaseren, juvenas for juvenis, quatro for quarto). The bibliography is not always up-to-date; references to the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* lack in all instances of Roman topography. After reading this slim and very expensive volume about a rather small topic, I honestly am in doubt about its value. The contents, now blown up by widely printed lists of abbreviations, ancient sources, bibliography and indices, would have formed a well structured and rich article in some renown periodical.

Eric M. Moormann

NICOLAS MONTEIX/NICOLAS TRAN (eds), *Les savoirs professionnels des gens de métier. Études sur le monde du travail dans les sociétés urbaines de l'empire romain*. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 2011, 169 pp., 74 figs, 27.5 cm; (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard, 37). – ISBN 978-2-918887-09-6.

This volume contains seven articles and two brief evaluations of the results; one by A.-F. Garçon ('Conclusions et questions'), the other ('Synthèse des débats') by anonymi whom I tend to identify as the two editors of the book.

In an introductory contribution N. Monteix discusses some workshops in Herculaneum and Pompeii and in that context suggests that the term 'artisan(at)' should be abandoned in favour of 'métier', the main reason being that the former suffers from being the opposite of the industrial worker and, thereby, from being considered merely as a stage/phase on the long road to industrialisation; a stage, moreover, characterized by the notion of 'un déterminisme évolutif trompeur' (p. 9). If, however, one avoids the 'post hoc, propter hoc' fallacy, implied by the concept of 'déterminisme', I do not see what is wrong with 'artisanat'; the more so, since M. himself underlines the importance of *ars* (*technē*) as

professional knowledge. Perhaps my Dutch ears are not the ideal medium to fully understand the connotation of words like 'artisan' and 'métier'; it strikes me, however, that in the other contributions authors constantly change from artisans to métiers (and back) and do not seem to bother about M.'s hyper-sophisticated discourse. N. Tran unscrupulously even writes about 'les métiers de l'artisanat' (130)!

The other six articles discuss a variety of themes. C. Freu's piece on the Egyptian apprentice-contracts is a multi-faceted study of the people acting as apprentices (slaves; freeborn children), of the parents/masters, who decided to sign such contracts, and of the artisans, who took on the apprentices in their workshops. Both among parents and trainers-artisans she discerns persons characterized as 'petits notables' and 'assez aisés'. F.'s article on 'L'identité sociale des membres des collèges professionnels égyptiens' in M. Dondin-Payre/N. Tran (eds), *Collegia. Le phénomène associatif dans l'Occident romain* (Bordeaux 2012; *nondum vidimus*) will undoubtedly shed more light on the social status of these 'petits notables'. The problem of the social status will re-surface in Tran's contribution (see *infra*). Most of the evidence concerns the textile-industry; remarkable is the role of guilds of weavers (*homotechnoi*; *koinotēs tōn synteknitōn*) and of master-weavers, who own a workshop with various looms (*ergasteriarchēs*; *histonarchēs*) and employ trainees and ex-trainees, whose status as *hypourgōs* (assistant) or *misthios* (wage-worker), is much lower than that of the boss. The final examination, to which the apprentices are subjected, is controlled by members of the guild. The question whether the existence of wealth-generating ateliers points to local, or perhaps regional, and/or interregional markets remains to be answered. Incidentally, spinning is never mentioned in all these contracts; this is in line with the absence of spinners in the epigraphy of Asia Minor. The explanation is simple: it was done by unorganized women, free or slave, at home.

H. Dessales confronts the ideas of various authors (Theophrastos; Vitruvius; Pliny the Elder) about the types of stone and mortar to be used by builders and about the desired behaviour of masons with what Pompeian archaeology tells us about what masons actually did, with special reference to seismic risks and possible reactions of the masons in their choice of stone and masonic techniques. D. presents an excellent analysis of building techniques applied by the *structores*, united in a *collegium structorum* (CIL VI 444), and shows that masons responded to seismic danger by using different types of stones and tiles in wall-building. It looks as if an author like Vitruvius in this field more or less codifies knowledge acquired in a long process of trial and error by masons rather than that he wants to impose new techniques, devised by himself, upon the artisans.

D. Esposito presents a lucid account of the people who produced wall-paintings in the Vesuvian area and the organizations in which they worked: large workshops with teams of painters adapting their products to the wishes of clients and the sort of buildings they were destined for.

M. Pernot contributes an article on the techniques of plumbers, goldsmiths and bronze-workers, which goes beyond my competence.

M. Flohr studies the fulling workshops (*fullonicae*) known so far from Rome and Italy. For a full, comprehensive discussion we now have his magnum opus *The world of the fullo. Work, Economy, and Society in Roman Italy* (Oxford 2013). In his article he emphasizes the importance of the many small *fullonicae*, especially in Pompeii, combined with a *taberna* or an *atrium* house; he argues that direct contacts between customers and workers and the absence of hierarchical relations resulted in substantial self-confidence among the *fullones* and in a positive appreciation of their skills and knowledge by the population at large. In its turn this explains why it is precisely the fullers who often appear in electoral graffiti as supporters of local politicians.

F. advances two further props for his theory. First, the fullers predominantly engaged in cleaning used clothes of private customers; this yielded more personal contacts than in e.g. foodshops. True, nowadays you have indeed more personal contacts in a dry-cleaning shop than in a supermarket. F. does not exclude that *fullonicae* also processed new clothes to be sold on the market but he minimalizes this; and in a recent article in *JRA* 26 (2013) 53-78, he supposes that these market goods consisted of home-woven textiles (69), which once more increases the prospects of close contacts; but he also plays with the idea that new garments were offered for finishing purposes by cloth-dealers; in that case, there is little space for romantic ideas about close contacts. I personally feel that the archaeological remains of fulleries in themselves do not allow us to precisely determine the balance between cleaning used garments and processing new ones and that on that count it is unwise to speculate about private contacts having an impact on the status of *fullones* in the eyes of the beholders.

Secondly, F. argues that in small fullers' shops there were only few workers, who, moreover, were visible to the clients and, therefore, could establish friendly contacts with them, resulting in reciprocal respect. Archaeology, however, in this case cannot tell us what kind of people were active in or just behind the shops; they may have been slaves, which would frustrate the whole idea of mutually respectful citizens. As to the few somewhat larger, medium-size *fullonicae* - four in number - F. argues that they were manned by private households, i.e., families of men, women and children, who lived in the *atrium* houses, in which the *fullonicae* were situated (92). In three of the four there was 'a space for interaction with private customers' (92). In the *JRA*-article, however, F. seems to have changed his view; he writes that because of their size 'they could not be staffed from a small nuclear-family' and that 'extra labor (either hired or bought) would have been necessary'. Here F. suddenly does consider slavery as an alternative; it remains obscure to me how important 'interaction with private customers' was and how, in this scenario, it would have affected the appreciation of the workers' skills and professional knowledge by the Pompeians.

In the book under review F. argues that these medium-size *fullonicae* predominantly catered for private consumers bringing their used textile for washing and rinsing and only marginally used their fulling capacity for new clothes to be sold on the market; in *JRA* they all of a sudden 'were not built to deal with private consumer demand but also or uniquely worked with the larger

batches of products and materials coming in and going out through the professional circuit'; in more concrete terms, they may well have fulled imported wool and textiles destined for neighboring cities like Nuceria and Nola and for the south coast of the Bay of Naples. Interaction with individual customers and the resulting reciprocal respect are a dubious phenomenon in this setting.

Incidentally, the corollary of 'imported wool' is the marginalization of locally produced and washed wool. In *JRA* F. demolishes the theory that the fifteen Pompeian so-called '*lanifricariae*' were wool-washing establishments processing local wool; in the same fascicle Monteix (79-87) counters with the proposition that these workshops specialized in cleansing wool (or fleeces), originating, I suppose, in Pompeii's countryside. Clearly the analysis of uninscribed ruins is a risky affair. I refer here to A.-F. Garçon's warning against 'surinvestir l'archéologie ---, à négliger l'archive au profit de fouille' (135).

For the few really large *fullonicae* in Rome, Ostia and Florence, whose capacity constituted ca 80% of all excavated fulling capacity in Roman Italy, F. assumes that the workers were hired adults rather than slaves; his sole argument is that these 'industrial complexes' did not have living space attached to it; is it, however, an iron law that fifty slaves working in such a complex were inevitably housed in the same complex?

In his 'Les gens de métier romains: savoirs professionnels et supériorités plébéiennes', Tran questions theories about the culture of the Roman *plebs* as a sort of 'antimonde' versus the culture of the elite. He announces the publication of C. Courrier's monograph on the culture of the former with a reconsideration or perhaps even an elaboration of P. Veyne's concept of the *plebs media*, well to be distinguished from the *plebs sordida*. In this connection the concept of a 'middle class' has also to be examined (cf. M. Flohr, *JRS* 103, 2013, 308-309 and A. Wallace-Hadrill, *JRA* 26, 2013, 605-609, who rightly reject the concept of 'class' but do not consider Veyne's concept of *plebs media* as a sort of 'middle group or stratum' between the decurional elite and the *plebs sordida*). In the meantime T. analyses a number of epitaphs of skilled artisans, with special reference to the values attributed to the deceased and transmitted by them to their apprentices: *doctrina* (the *doctus artifex* with his *manus docta* or *manus dextra*), *peritia* and *ingenium*; values also claimed for what nowadays is considered an intellectual profession like that of the physician. Some of these values are also on record in the *Digesta* and in a number of literary sources (Ovid, Martial; some treatises of Cicero). Together they constitute a healthy antidote against passages in Cicero's *De off.* (1.150) and in Seneca's epistle 88.20 about all artisans engaging in *artes sordidae* or *viles*. T. could have been somewhat more precise in distinguishing the views of senatorial authors (Seneca, Cicero) from those expressed by other authors, who possibly reflected the views of local elites in the town-councils (*curia*; *boule*); it is to the level of the latter that some master-artisans, who owned a workshop and employed many subordinate workers, could rise, albeit to its lower echelons. Against this background a statement like 'les perceptions plébéienne et aristocratique [my italics, HWP] du travail artisanal n'étaient --- pas si éloignées l'une de l'autre'

(127) is somewhat unfortunate (see also 132: 'les artisans et les membres des élites [my italics, HWP] pensaient différemment'). Freu's above-mentioned concept of '(petits) notables' (30,36; cf. also 'personnes aisés'; 30/31 and 40) could be helpful here. Needless to say, differences in prestige and dignity between artisans have to be taken into account (cf. Tran 127).

Ancient historians convinced of the necessity to compare the organizations and values of ancient artisans with those in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period are advised to ponder the 'Conclusions et questions' of A.-F. Garçon (135-140). An excellent and fitting end of an eminently readable and beautifully illustrated volume.

H.W. Pleket

Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana (Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patras 23-24 marzo 2006). Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2009. 321 pp., figs; 25 cm (Tripodes 8). – ISBN 978-960-98397-4-7.

This book contains the text of eleven papers read during a joint conference of the Italian Archaeological School in Athens and the Greek KERA (K(entron) E(lēnikēs) kai R(omaikēs) A(rchaiotētos)). Four of them have nothing to do with Patras. One really wonders what was going on in the minds of those, who decided to include these contributions in the Acta of a conference on Patras. I. Baldassarre writes on wall-paintings in Italian houses under Augustus, F. Ghedini on the Roman house in the same period, with a focus on Gallia Cisalpina (and two pictures of the remains of two houses in Patras – a desperate attempt to justify its publication in the Acta?), K. Zachos on the ornaments of an altar from Nikopolis, admittedly an Augustan project and not all that far from Patras (on their way from the Aktia in Nikopolis, artists and athletes sailed from Nikopolis via Patras to Nemea; in Patras they could participate in local contests: see SEG LVI 1359 LL. 64/65) and finally we have E. La Rocca writing on the dedication of the Ara Pacis in Rome.

Fortunately we are left with six papers on Patras, preceded by a brief 'sermon' by F. Coarelli ('Graecia capta'; 11-15); he briefly comments on the Hellenization of the Roman elite in republican times in general and on S. Alcock's attempt in particular to show on archaeological grounds that the demographic and economic decline of Polybian Greece – an idea cherished by literary sources – is a ghost-phenomenon. He argues that it is precisely Alcock's surveys which show that there was a drastic reduction in the number of rural sites in Polybian Greece; subsequently he briefly questions Alcock's concomitant idea that the population did not go down but left their rural sites and moved towards the expanding cities. C. may well have a point here, but it is, to say the least, unfortunate that in a book on Patras he refers to cities in Boiotia and fails to mention ... Patras!

Perhaps on purpose? A.D. Rhizakis, the 'doyen' of

recent studies on Roman Greece in general and the Peloponnese in particular, examines the impact of Augustus' decision to found a Roman colony in Patras in 14 AD. He accepts Alcock's idea of the growth of cities to the detriment of rural sites and points out how Augustus considerably enlarged the territory of Patras and transferred part of the population of other small cities in the Eastern Peloponnese and in Aetolia/Western Lokris to the city. The characterization of Patras as a 'super-cité' and a 'géant économique' (20) may be somewhat exaggerated and anachronistic, but undoubtedly the city became the dominant urban centre in the northwestern Peloponnese. The position of the original population remains a problem. On the one side R. defines them as *incolae*, the opposite of the colonists, who were *cives Romani* and full-fledged citizens, on the other side he quotes Pausanias, who writes that Augustus gave freedom to the inhabitants of Patras and all the privileges which Rome gave to their colonists (7.18.7). R. advances a compromise: the original population received a limited number of rights (property-rights; *ius commercii* and *ius conubii*) but in due course their position became identical with that of the Roman citizens. Pausanias simply retrojected the contemporary situation to the period of Augustus' foundation of the colony. Comparison with the situation in other Roman colonies in the Greek East would have been appropriate. In the Roman colony of Macedonian Dion the distinction between *coloni* and *incolae* was still made in the late 2nd century AD (SEG XXXIV 631). If both groups enjoyed the same rights, one wonders why the distinction was still there.

After M. Petropoulos' thorough analysis of the urban development of the city from the foundation of the colony onwards (39-77), four papers focus on specific problems. P. Bonini (121-162) investigates various aspects of private domestic architecture: tetrastyle courts ('corte tetrastila'), gardens, entrances, rooms, building techniques. He concludes that the colonists were in general 'ostile all'assimilazione' and remained loyal to 'simboli di romanità' (154). Their houses did not resemble the large senatorial dwellings but were owned by the 'ceto medio' (154), to which most veterans are likely to have belonged. I. Dekoulakou (163-210) essentially subscribes to Bonini's conclusion after a detailed analysis of the graves and funerary monuments in the three necropoleis of the city, in particular the northern one. The same applies to I.A. Papapostolou's review of mosaics found in the city (211-256; the same review already in AE 148, 2009, 1-84). The mosaics are influenced by Italian prototypes; both have adopted Hellenistic Greek elements; P. considers even the presence of mosaicists from Italy. All three papers offer convincing analyses of the objects concerned. Ch. Papageorgiadou-Bani briefly reviews the iconography of the colony's first coinage (257-268), with special reference to Augustus' dynastic preoccupations.

After so much emphasis on Romanizing elements in the colony one wonders whether there are signs of Hellenization. In Roman colonies like Apamea in Asia Minor the original Roman settlers seem to have been thoroughly Hellenized; was the situation in Patras so different and, if so, why? Were the relative proximity to and the concomitant relations with Italy a factor of some

importance? And how about developments over the centuries? In an innocent footnote on 203 Dekoulakou in passing refers to the gradual Hellenization of the city in the 2nd century AD, reflected by the increasing use of Greek in Patras' epigraphy. Inscriptions on Patraean mosaics are in Greek (cf. *SEG* LIX 450-453). Remarkably enough even on a mosaic in a building somehow related to commerce in Italian wine, the dedicatory inscription is in Greek (*SEG* LIX 452; unfortunately no date given). Public buildings reflect both Greek and Latin cultural interests: there was a theatre, an odeion, an amphitheatre and a stadion (see the plans on 71 and 73; V. Di Napoli, Entertainment buildings of the Roman Peloponnese; theatres, odeia and amphitheatres and their topographic distribution, and A.D. Rizakis, Colonia Augusta Achaica: réaménagements urbains, constructions édilitaires et la nouvelle identité patréenne, both in A.D. Rizakis, C. Lepenioti (eds), *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, economy and culture under the Roman Empire: continuity and innovation*, Athens 2010. Instead of all those not-Patras related contributions more attention to problems of Romanization and Hellenization would have been welcome.

H.W. Pleket

ERIC M. MOORMANN, *Divine Interiors. Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011. 259 pp., 109 colour figs, 115 b/w figs; 30.5 cm (Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 16). – ISBN 978-90-8964-2615.

In *Divine Interiors*, a study of the wall paintings that once decorated Greek and Roman cult sites, Eric M. Moormann has not only filled a significant gap in the scholarship, but produced a work that will be the standard on the subject for decades to come. The author is careful to frame the scope of his work: it is not devoted to painted *pinakes* or temples' polychromatic architectural features, or else the paintings at *lararia* or *scholae*, but rather the 'decorations in painted form in religious complexes of the ancient world' that primarily graced the interiors of temples and shrines, but also could be found on their exteriors or in associated structures such as porticos. Such complexes include public temples, sites associated with the Imperial cult, and private shrines of Mithras and other gods. Moormann does not limit himself in terms of chronology or geography, as he begins with the earliest Greek remains and stops in Late Antiquity, and surveys sites from the easternmost to the westernmost fringes of the Roman Empire. The book therefore represents an enormously ambitious undertaking - one matched by the author's proficiency with remains unearthed throughout the Greek East and Latin West.

Moormann's overall goal is to determine whether the paintings that would decorate temples were unique to them or comparable to paintings found in secular (especially private) settings; secondarily, he seeks to establish whether certain types of painting were only associated with particular cults. As he clearly demonstrates, there was no genre of 'temple painting'. This conclusion is reached over a series of generously illus-

trated chapters that each have a different geographical or thematic focus, but together cover the vast majority of the pertinent archaeological, literary, and documentary evidence. The book begins with a survey of Greek and Roman literary sources that mention or describe paintings at temples - mostly brief references to paintings at important temples that were given or painted by famous individuals, but there are also detailed and informative descriptions of paintings at fictional temples (e.g., the painting Aeneas sees at Carthage; pp. 7-41). The literary sources are especially valuable because they reveal better than most of the remains how common it was for the paintings at cult sites though not necessarily inside temples to form coherent programs devoted to themes appropriate to that site. Moormann's first chapter also features a discussion of epigraphical and papyrological testimonies (pp. 15-16), noting in particular a text from *Sarapeum C* at Delos that records an individual's gift of having the *pastophorion* white-washed, painted, and otherwise decorated (I. Delos 2085-2086); this, however, is far from the only such reference, as a number of Greek and Latin inscriptions not cited by the author likewise record such gifts to cult sites.

Moormann next begins his methodical treatment of the relevant archaeological remains at dozens of sites, too many of which due to stucco's brittle nature have yielded negligible traces of painting; moreover, a large number of the walls with preserved paint do not rise beyond the dado, which prevents reconstruction of the full painting. Wall paintings at the public temples of Greece have been especially poorly preserved, as is evident from the relative shortness of the second chapter, and what little survives is insufficient for reliable conclusions (pp. 43-46). The opposite is true of paintings at temples in Roman Italy, which thanks to the extensive remains in Rome and the Bay of Naples area can be studied in detail, as Moormann does in his third chapter (pp. 47-85). As the Pompeian evidence in particular shows, decorations for Roman gods corresponded to the Pompeian styles found in domestic and public buildings. Turning to Roman and non-Roman cult sites in the rest of Europe in his fifth chapter, Moormann produces essentially the same result: the themes and styles matched those of Italy, and were often lacking in religious significance (pp. 87-110). This is followed by a chapter on the Greek East and North Africa (pp. 111-118), with the primary focuses Egypt, which 'has a decorative language of its own' (p. 118), and modern Israel and Jordan.

The rest of the book is divided thematically, with chapters on the Imperial cult (pp. 119-148), Eastern and Egyptian cults (pp. 149-187), and a 'case study' of Dura Europus (pp. 189-201). The discussion of the Imperial cult is focused on the *Augusteum*, *Basilica Noniana* and *Aedes Augustalium* at Herculaneum and their impressive programs. The survey of Egyptian and Eastern sanctuaries, however, covers sites from numerous parts of the Empire, with particularly illuminating discussions of the paintings from the Pompeii *Iseum* and the *Mithraea* of Rome, Ostia, Huarte and Dura Europus. The latter site, due to the unusually good preservation of a variety of religious complexes that were backfilled in Late Antiquity, features such an extraordinary collection of paint-

ings that it merits separate treatment: in particular, the temple of the Palmyrene gods stands out for its detailed cultic scenes, but this is impressively outdone by the synagogue's numerous religious symbols and fifty-eight figural scenes.

While one might expect such paintings illustrating aspects of religious worship to be predominant in decorative schemes at Greek and Roman cult sites, Moormann concludes in his final chapter that 'It is clear that while paintings formed an important decorative element in temples, their composition differed only slightly from the general fashions of domestic wall decorations' (pp. 203-206, quoting p. 203). The author suggests two reasons for this: first, temples were houses of the gods, and thus would be painted similarly; second, the cult statue and gifts were intended to be the visual focus of a temple's interior, and generic patterns or monochromatic panels would not detract from these. Only cult sites built and decorated by specific groups (e.g., Mithraea) were likely to 'display a richer and more meaningful iconographic repertoire' (p. 203). In addition to these overarching conclusions, Moormann makes further contributions through numerous discussions of specific problems - mostly concerning individual structures - as well as his repeated explorations of the relationship and interactions between sacred architecture and painting. It is, however, a book written primarily for archaeologists and art historians, and thus overlooks certain problems concerning religious history, such as the question of what we can know regarding whether all, or only some, of these paintings were treated as dedications to a god. But this is a minor issue, in view of the unique contribution that Moormann has made with his invaluable study of 'divine interiors.'

Gil H. Renberg

ROSMARIE MÖSCH-KLINGELE, *Braut ohne Bräutigam. Schwarz- und rotfigurige Loutrophoren als Spiegel gesellschaftlicher Veränderungen in Athen*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2010. IX+94 pp., 34 figs; 31.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-4094-6.

Im Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung steht die Loutrophore, die sich durch ihre hohe schmale Form und vor allem im 5. Jh. v.Chr. durch ihre ausladende Mündung auszeichnet. Sie tritt in zwei Varianten auf: die Loutrophoros-Amphora (LA) mit zwei Henkeln und die Loutrophoros-Hydria (LH) mit drei Henkeln. Bis heute ist sich die Forschung uneins, ob die Funktion beider Varianten als gleichwertig oder verschieden anzusehen ist. Meist werden sie geschlechtsspezifisch gedeutet: die LA für Männer, die LH für Frauen. Demgegenüber stellt Mösch-Klingele in ihrer 2006 veröffentlichten Dissertation "Die *loutrophóros* im Hochzeits- und Begräbnisritual des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr." die These auf, dass bei der Hochzeit nur die LH, für ehelos Verstorbene ausschließlich die LA verwendet worden sind.

Die hier zu besprechende Studie führt die These ihrer Doktorarbeit weiter aus. Im Fokus steht die Frage, warum der Bräutigam auf attisch rotfigurigen Hochzeitbildern des 5. Jhs. v.Chr., insbesondere den Loutrophoren, so selten vorkommt.

Die Arbeit umfasst einschließlich der Einleitung und der Zusammenfassung insgesamt acht Kapitel: Im zweiten bis vierten Kapitel wird die Verwendung der LH bei der Hochzeit behandelt, das fünfte Kapitel gibt einen Abriss der verschiedenen Themen auf LH und LA und Kapitel sechs und sieben widmen sich der LA mit dem Thema der Heimführung der Braut durch den Bräutigam.

Den Ausgangspunkt ihrer Überlegungen bildet die Hydria Warschau 142290 des Leningrad-Malers mit der seltenen Darstellung eines Bräutigams beim Bad (5-23). Auf eine hochzeitliche Deutung verweist insbesondere die am rechten Rand dargestellte LH. Mösch-Klingele schließt hieraus, dass für das Hochzeitsbad nur die LH verwendet worden ist.

Im dritten Kapitel behandelt sie ca. 30 rotfigurige Bilder, auf denen die LH während der Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten aufgestellt bzw. von Menschen getragen wird (24-32). Außer beim Wasserholen und beim Brautbad zeigen die meisten die Braut im Haus, in ihrem *oikos*, umgeben von geschenkebringenden Frauen, in einigen Fällen auch die Wiedergabe eines männlichen Kleinkindes. Üblicherweise fehlt hier der Bräutigam.

Im Folgenden untersucht sie die Funktion der LH im Hochzeitsritual (33-42). Zu den frühesten nachweisbaren Ritualen der Hochzeit gehören das Wasserholen und die Weihe der LH im Heiligtum der Nympe am Südabhang der Akropolis. Mösch-Klingele vermutet, dass die LH in der vorkleisthenischen Zeit "Zeugnis für eine rechtskräftige Verbindung von Mann und Frau war" (42).

Im fünften Kapitel gibt sie einen Überblick über die Veränderung der Ikonographie schwarz- und rotfiguriger Loutrophorenbilder (43-63). Auf den schwarzfigurigen LH begegnen im Unterschied zu den rotfigurigen Männer häufiger, wie etwa in der Heimführung der Braut im Wagen. Demgegenüber spielen auf der LA Begräbnis-Themen eine wichtige Rolle. Von der Mitte des 6. Jhs. bis etwa zur Mitte des 5. Jhs. dominiert die Prothesis. Der meist männliche Verstorbene wird hier im Rahmen seiner Familie wiedergegeben. Eine eigene Gruppe bilden die zwischen ca. 470/60 bis Ende des 5. Jhs. hergestellten sog. Kriegerloutrophoren mit Darstellungen von Kämpfern (56-63), die zu Ehren der im Krieg Gefallenen auf Gräbern aufgestellt worden sind. Zu den größten und monumentalsten zählt die LA in der Art des Talos-Malers in Berlin und Athen (Abb. 23a-b), auf der jedoch anders als die Verf. meint, nicht der Kriegerabschied die zentrale Stelle einnimmt, sondern der Besuch des Verstorbenen am Grab, zur Ikonographie zuletzt ausführlich A. Schwarzmaier, Grabmonument und Ritualgefäß. Zur Kriegerloutrophore Schliemann in Berlin und Athen, in O. Pilz/M. Vonderstein (Hrsg.), *Keraunia. Beiträge zu Mythos, Kult und Heiligtum in der Antike*, Berlin 2011, 115-130; A. Schöne-Denkinger, CVA Berlin 15 Taf. 66-70. Vereinzelt finden sich kriegerische Themen auch auf LH, siehe z.B. die Amazonomachie auf der LH Athen A 15369: N. Stampolidis/L. Parlama (Hrsg.), *Athens, The City beneath the City*, Athen 2000, 370 Nr. 410. Als Ergebnis lässt sich festhalten, dass sich der Schwerpunkt hier vom familiären Umfeld zur Polis verlagert hat.

Das sechste und das siebte Kapitel haben die rotfigurige LA mit der Heimführung der Braut durch den

Bräutigam aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. zum Thema (64-72). Mösch-Klinge sieht hierin entgegen der herrschenden Meinung nicht in erster Linie eine hochzeitliche Thematik, sondern verweist auf deren Herkunft von außerhalb des Heiligtums der Nympe und interpretiert sie ähnlich wie die weißgrundigen Lekythen als Begräbnisobjekte.

Im letzten Kapitel (73-74) fasst sie ihre Überlegungen folgendermaßen zusammen: "Im 5. Jh. zeichnet sich eine Dichotomie zwischen Polis und *oikos* ab" (74), die sich auf den Loutrophoren widerspiegelt. Die LH zeigt als Hochzeitsgefäß den *oikos*, den Ort für die Frau und Braut, während die Kriegerloutrophoren den Verstorbenen als Angehörigen der Polis wiedergeben.

Die Studie bietet viele interessante Einzelbeobachtungen, vor allem zur Veränderung der Bildthemen im 6. und 5. Jh. Allerdings lässt sich ihre Argumentation nicht immer leicht nachvollziehen. Auch setzt die Verf. sehr viele Kenntnisse voraus. Das Buch ist daher nur für Kenner der Materie geeignet. Nicht überzeugend ist ihre Erklärung zur ausschließlich funeralen Bedeutung der LA, da etwa 20% der LA auch im Heiligtum der Nympe geweiht worden sind. Es ist daher trotz Ablehnung durch die Verf. nicht gänzlich ausgeschlossen, hierin Weihgaben des Bräutigams zu vermuten, siehe hierzu Victoria Sabetai, *The Washing Painter. A Contribution to the Wedding and Genre Iconography in the second Half of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Dissertation Cincinnati 1993, 145-146, 157-161. Und die LH könnte als Gefäß für die Braut gedeutet werden, denn das Fehlen des Bräutigams beschränkt sich nicht allein auf Loutrophoren, sondern ist auf allen Frauengefäßen, so z.B. den Lebetes Gamikoi, zu beobachten.

Bei den Überlegungen von Mösch-Klinge muss vieles jedoch Spekulation bleiben, solange die Materialbasis so dünn ist und wichtige Fundkomplexe wie das Heiligtum der Nympe und das Demosion Sema an der Salaminosstraße unpublishiert sind. Wie sehr zusätzliche Veröffentlichungen unser Bild erweitern können, zeigt das Tritopatreion auf dem Kerameikos, in dem zahlreiche Loutrophoren und Lebetes Gamikoi geweiht worden sind, siehe J. Stroszeck in H. Frielinghaus/J. Stroszeck (Hrsg.), *Neue Forschungen zu griechischen Städten und Heiligtümern. Festschrift Burkhardt Wesenberg*, Möhnesee 2010, 79-80. Offensichtlich galten Loutrophorenweihungen in Athen nicht nur den Nymphen.

Angelika Schöne-Denkinger

DIEDERIK BURGERSDIJK/WILLEMJIN WAAL (eds), Constantinopel, *Een mozaïek van de Byzantijnse metropool* (Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux', Mémoires de la Société d'Études Orientales 'Ex Oriente Lux' XXXVI). Leuven: Peeters, 2011. 261 pp, 3 maps, figs; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-90-72690-00-5.

This interesting publication in Dutch presents an often neglected and forgotten epoch in the history of Istanbul which is only recently facing a growing interest: The Byzantine Period. This Period is being considered from multidisciplinary perspectives, such as (art) history,

archaeology, religious and literary orientations. Sixteen chapters are each highlighting a specific subject in Constantinople's (Byzantine) history, in more or less chronological order, often also referring to earlier times as well as to contemporary Istanbul.

The introduction by the editors describes Constantinople's history in a nutshell, starting from the foundation of the capital of the Roman Empire in AD 330, the transformation of Byzantium into Constantinople, a Christian city under the rulership of Constantine the Great and a flourishing city under Justinian. Furthermore the definite break between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East during the crusades, and the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire into several smaller states are discussed.

Floris van den Eijnde describes the geomorphic genesis of Constantinople's predecessors and their first habitation, indicating reasons for the preferability of this specific spot, based on geological and archaeological as well as historical evidence and parallels in mythology. The author is justifiably critical about the discrepancy in dates ascribed to Greek colonisation of the Eastern and Southern coasts of Turkey in textual, historical sources (late 7th and 6th centuries) as opposed to some archaeological evidence of earlier Mycenaean (or inspired) ceramics, to which as I agree with the author, we should not attach too much value in terms of evidence for early Greek habitation. In this way the article adds very well to current discussions in these research fields.

Henk Singor depicts the beginnings of Constantinople as a capital, from where the emperor could cover both East and West. The article focuses on developments in constructions of buildings and monuments by the successive emperors, the transformation from a Late Antique into a medieval city. It pays attention to its weakening position from 1204 onwards and the conquering by the Ottomans in 1453. The chapter gives a clear overview, which also helps for the understanding of the other articles in the bundle about these periods in history which to a large extent determined the city's appearance and nature up till now.

The following articles focus on certain emperors in more detail and the law system of Constantinople, as well as religious matters and power. More attention to the works carried out by Constantine, their central position in the new capital, as well as a comparison between Constantinople and Rome are found in the chapter by Olivier Hekster. Moreover Hein van Dolen zooms in into emperor Justinian through the eyes of the scribe Prokopios.

J. Spruit goes into the codification in Constantinople, which implies the assembly of one or more law codes in order to regulate law and order. The Justinian legislation has been of predominant influence on all later Byzantine legislative enterprises. Via many detours this codification also established its authority in the West and indirectly became one of the most important fundamentals of the legal order in Medieval and contemporary Europe.

Herman Teule focuses on ecclesiastical and secular power, from Constantine to Atatürk. It describes Constantinople as the important centre for orthodox Christianity, as well as disputes between Eastern and West-

ern Christianity prior to the final break in 1204. It pays attention to orthodox and non-orthodox Christians up till the first years of the Republic.

Willem Aerts describes the way in which Constantinople transformed into an Islamic city, including reactions from the 'Byzantines', mainly based on texts by the historiographer Theophanes Homologetes (ca 760-818).

The following chapters seem to be a collection of high level articles on varying subjects. It is surprising, however, that they do not seem to focus on Constantinople and go into textual details, aiming for the specialist reader. Eva de Vries-van der Velden discusses the value ascribed to the history of ancient Greece in Byzantium and Gerard Boter tells about Greek handwritings, for the preservation and revision of which Byzantium fulfilled an important role. Emilie van Opstall focuses on a Greek epigram collection, the *anthologia palatina*. These two interesting, high level chapters hardly focus on Constantinople and go into (technical) textual details. An equally specialist level is seen in a second chapter by Eva de Vries-van der Velden, about interpretations of iconographic mosaics in the Chora church in Constantinople.

After this focus on text and iconography, we come back to Constantinople after the 1453, connecting again with the chapter about the change to Islam as a religion. Rolf Strootman discusses how Mehmed the Conqueror changed Constantinople into an Islamic city. It's followed by Jan Schmidt's informative chapter on Byzantine Istanbul through the eyes of 17th century travellers and Hans Theunissen's chapter on Ottoman baroque rococo styles, which he convincingly argues to be a result of internal developments and renewal in the Ottoman culture instead of rather than a part of a westernization process of Ottoman Turkey, as often stated by scholars.

The book ends where it started, in the sediments of the spot where Constantinople and its predecessors were founded, with the description of several archaeological excavations related to the construction of a metro connection between the European and Asian part of Istanbul, by Joanita Vroom. The largest project described is the excavation of the antique harbour at Yenikapı.

The book as a whole is unique and innovative in the fact that it is a bundle for a quite broad Dutch audience with articles of (varying) academic quality, mainly written by Dutch specialists in Byzantium. However it does not seem to be completely clear what kind of audience is envisioned, since the articles vary from general themes to very highly specialized subjects. The congruency of the bundle is a bit lost at times and the word Byzantine in the title does not apply to all the chapters. At the same time the book is innovative in the respect that it looks beyond the borders of the Byzantine historical time span and research disciplines.

Concluding, 'Constantinople, een mozaiek van de Byzantijnse metropool', is definitely worth reading for anyone with a (scholarly) interest in Constantinople and its history.

Karin Schuitema

ELISA PELLEGRINI, *Eros nella Grecia arcaica e classica*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2009. 602 pp., 13 figs, LIX pls; 24 cm (Archaeologica 149). – ISBN 978-88-7689-222-2 / ISSN 0391-9293.

In diesem Band legt Elisa Pellegrini (E.P.) eine umfassende Studie zu Eros vor, die die überarbeitete Fassung ihrer 2007 an der Università degli Studi di Perugia abgeschlossenen Dissertation darstellt. Obwohl einzelne Kapitel so unterschiedliche Aspekte wie die literarische Überlieferung zu Eros (Eros: La nascita di una personificazione) oder die Kultstätten für Eros (Alla ricerca dei luoghi di culto) behandeln, so gilt doch das Interesse der Untersuchung - wie der Untertitel des Bandes "Iconografia e iconologia" bereits andeutet - vorrangig der bildlichen Überlieferung des Eros. E.P. hat für ihre Bildanalyse einen nach Gattungen gegliederten Katalog mit eindrucksvollen 2.451 Einträgen erstellt, von denen leider nur etwa 5% mit einer Abbildung versehen sind. Ein umfassenderer Abbildungsteil als digitale Bucherweiterung wäre für E.P.s Arbeit wünschenswert gewesen.

Ausgehend von ihrer großen Materialkenntnis gliedert E.P. die Darstellungen von Eros in drei große Gruppen, denen sie jeweils ein Kapitel widmet: Untersucht wird zunächst, wie sich die Erosfigur in der Bildwelt der Archaik ausbildete, anschließend wird deren Ausdifferenzierung in klassischer Zeit nachverfolgt und abschließend die große Verbreitung der typischen Eros-Ikonographie im 4. Jh. v.Chr. dargelegt (S. 47-202). Dabei greift E.P. die zentralen Fragen der bisherigen Forschung geschickt als Leitfragen in ihren bildgeschichtlichen Kapiteln auf. So ist etwa das Kapitel zur archaischen Zeit mit "Tra demoni alati ed Eros: un problema aperto" betitelt und diskutiert die Einflüsse nicht-griechischer, östlicher Flügelwesen-Darstellungen auf die Ikonografie des Eros ebenso wie die Frage, ab welcher Zeit Eros im Laufe der 1. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v.Chr. eindeutig als solcher erkennbar wurde.

Auf der Ebene der Unterkapitel funktioniert das Gliederungsprinzip entlang der aktuellen Forschungsfragen nicht mehr, da es in Konflikt mit dem Anspruch einer vollständigen Materialübersicht gerät. Beispielsweise stehen Überlegungen zum archaisch rotfigurigen Eros als Zeichen einer "paideia maschile" (S. 96-100) für Leser und Leserin doch recht unvermittelt neben solchen zu Kultplätzen des Gottes (S. 100-103) - zumal sie auch nicht in den entsprechenden Zusammenfassungen zueinander in Bezug gesetzt werden.

Um die Relevanz der einzelnen Bildphänomene, die E.P. im Laufe ihrer Untersuchung vorstellt, besser zu bewerten, wäre eine grafische Gegenüberstellung der Bildthemen hinsichtlich ihrer Häufigkeit hilfreich gewesen. Angesichts von Hunderten von Eros-Darstellungen, die E.P. als 'vergleichbar' in ihren Unterkapiteln zusammenfasst, hätten auch statistische Methoden zum Einsatz gebracht werden können. Besonders lohnend wäre dies bei den attischen Vasendarstellungen des mittleren 5. Jhs. v.Chr. gewesen, da in dieser Kategorie einzelne Bildthemen mit ca. 200 Katalogeinträgen, andere hingegen nur mit ca. 30 vertreten sind (vgl. 'Braut und Eros', S. 113-117, und 'Eros unter Tieren', S. 138-140).

Bei der Zusammenstellung der Schriftquellen und Inschriften zu Eros sowie der Heiligtümer, in denen der

Gott verehrt wurde, verlässt E.P. - notgedrungen - den selbstgesetzten, zeitlichen Rahmen und blickt an mancher Stelle in hellenistische und römische Zeit hinaus. Besonders im Falle der Heiligtümer bleibt eine direkte Verbindung zu dem auf stilistischer Grundlage chronologisch viel detaillierter eingeordneten ikonografischen Material schwierig (vgl. z.B. den Befund zu Thespiak, S. 219-222).

Das Potential der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen hätte zudem besser genutzt werden können, indem die einzelnen Erkenntnisse explizit nach ihrer Relevanz für die Eros-Ikonographie befragt worden wären. So bleiben beispielsweise die von der Forschung angenommenen anikonischen Repräsentationen des Eros (z.B. S. 221f.), die mit dem chthonischen Aspekt seines göttlichen Wesens erklärt und als Gegenpol zu den hochgradig deskriptiven Darstellungen des Eros auf Gebrauchsgegenständen gedeutet werden könnten, leider von E.P. weitgehend unbeleuchtet. Ferner hätte man sich von E.P. einige einordnende Worte zur Ikonographie der Weihgeschenke an Eros gewünscht, die sich z.T. deutlich von derjenigen seiner bildlichen Darstellung unterscheiden (z. B. Steine und Terrakotten in phallischer Form, S. 207). Darüber hinaus wäre es für Leser und Leserin auch interessant gewesen, wenn E.P. sich etwa in ihrer abschließenden Interpretation dazu geäußert hätte, ob sie den Eros der Theateraufführungen (S. 25-32) auch in den bildlichen Darstellungen repräsentiert findet.

E.P.s großes Verdienst ist es, die griechischen Darstellungen des Eros von archaischer bis in klassische Zeit so umfassend wie nie zuvor behandelt zu haben. Dank der Studie tritt nun deutlich hervor, wie langelig einige prägnante Bildkombinationen waren: Etwa das sogenannte "bestiario di Eros", das in archaischer Zeit zunächst regional mit korinthischer Keramik verbunden war (S. 73-81), dann aber ab der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v.Chr. in der attischen Vasenmalerei wieder aufgenommen wurde und als Darstellung erst im 4. Jh. v.Chr. an Beliebtheit abnahm (S. 172-173.). Weiterhin unterstreicht E.P.s Untersuchung die sozialhistorisch besondere Bedeutung, die die Erosfigur für die bildliche Überlieferung von Gender-Beziehungen besaß: Das Spektrum der Darstellungen reicht von päderastischen Themen des 2. Viertel des 6. Jhs. v.Chr. über die Repräsentation weiblicher Geschlechterrollen und Hochzeitsdarstellungen im 5. Jh. v.Chr. bis zur Begegnung der Geschlechter in der dionysischen Sphäre im 4. Jh. v.Chr.

Da im Zentrum von E.P.s Untersuchung eine umfassende Materialbehandlung steht, ebnet sie auch den Weg für weiterführende Untersuchungen, die bestimmte Fragestellungen beispielsweise aus der Perspektive der Bildwissenschaft oder der Gender Studies verfolgen. Aus dargelegten Gründen darf E.P.s Arbeit in keiner Bibliothek fehlen - und man darf zudem hoffen, dass E.P. den einen oder anderen von ihr aufgeworfenen, spannenden Aspekt des Themas 'Eros' in zukünftigen Beiträgen wieder aufgreifen wird.

Natascha Sojc

STEPHAN WEIß-KÖNIG, *Graffiti auf römischer Gefäßkeramik aus dem Bereich der Colonia Ulpia Traiana*

Xanten. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2010. XIV, 282 pp., 78 pls, 8 colour photo pls; 28.5 cm (Xantener Berichte 17). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4273-5.

Where did the people living in the Xanten area in Roman times come from, in the times before, during and after the existence of the Colonia Ulpia Traiana (CUT)? The answer of Weisgerber in BJ 1954 on the basis of 245 different names from inscriptions (20 from CUT) and ancient literature, and of Bakker and Galsterer-Kröll (1975) on the basis of 18 graffiti from CUT and 75 from the legionary fortresses nearby, has now been supplemented by the present study. It is the revision of the author's PhD thesis of 2007, in which 202 personal names are mentioned in a corpus of 1062 graffiti from the area of CUT presented here. They come from the excavated one-fifth of the CUT area, cannot be anything but a sample, and were retrieved by the author on the basis of publications and detective work in the excavation depots. A great work indeed. It stands in the tradition of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, the more systematic *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, the serial works of the *Année épigraphique*, *Britannia* and the internet *Guide de l'épigraphiste*, but only recent monographs can compare to it: on graffiti from La Graufesenque, in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, from Haltern, Nida/Hedderheim and Le Mans. They all tell us about literacy in the Roman northwestern provinces.

The chronological framework of the present study consists of six periods: the first three in the time before CUT was founded, where V stands for *Vorcolonia* (leaving aside the ± before every date, V1 5 BC-AD 20 founding phase; V2 AD 20-70 growth; V3 AD 70-98 the settlement up to the founding of CUT), two in the time of CUT (C1 AD 98-200 founding and growth; C2 AD 200-275 the developed CUT until its end), and one in the Late Roman time of the smaller fortified city, where S stands for *spät* (S1 AD 275-400).

For this study, graffiti are defined signs and text on pottery made either before (drawn mostly with the finger tip) or after firing (scratched, filed or punched), as opposed to *ostraka*, name stamps, painted drinking mottoes, and *tituli picti* meant for commercial use. Most graffiti are in Roman cursive script, and the handy presentation alone of this alphabet on p. 32-34 makes it worthwhile to consult this study.

The most frequent graffiti made before firing occur on amphorae Dressel 20, in various fixed positions, the most interesting of which give name of the maker and calendar date of the manufacture. The graffiti made after firing occur mostly on terra sigillata (ts), especially smooth and stamped ts (motto, military units, personal names, monograms, single letters, crosses, numbers and the curious erasings after change of owner), smooth pottery (the same categories plus a volume indication) and heavy coarse pottery (same ones plus gods' names, weight and volume). Volumes are indicated with the M for *modius* with a number, filed into the lip of an amphora. However, some of these filed volume indications occur on break surfaces of the neck and show secondary use.

Now to the question put at the beginning of the editor's introduction and of this review: what do the per-

sonal names tell us? First, the personal names of the authors in the recent literature: beside well-known name specialists like Galsterer, Kajanto, Mócsy, Solin and Weisgerber, it is the name of Kakoschke that catches the eye in the footnotes, with his recent studies of names in the Germanic provinces. Then, the ancient names in the graffiti. The system set out in Dondin-Payre/Raepsaet-Charlier, *Noms, Identités culturelles et Romanisation sous le Haut-Empire* (2001) is followed: Italic, Latin, Celtic, Germanic and Greek as well as hiding names (*Decknamen*: assonant and translated names in the various languages, such as the frequent Similis, probably borne by indigenous people). Two phenomena stand out: Weisgerber's pseudo-gentilicia on -inius, formed with the infix -(i)ni- in the cognomen of the father (well-known, by the way, on the Nehalennia altars of the Scheldt estuary) and imperial nomina like Iulius, probably borne by indigenous citizens. As to the abbreviations of names: the same process of suspension is active as on ts-stamps. Polak (2000) has shown that Lucius Cosius Virilis occurs in stamps as L Cos Virili, L Co Vir, L C Virili, L C Viril, L Cosi Vi and Cosi Vi. *E così via*, I am tempted to say.

The results of long lists are the following. Phase V1: mainly Italic and Latin names, some Germanic and Greek. From V2 onward, Celtic names are added. Hiding names occur from V2-V3 and stay on during C1. This mixture stays on during C1. C2: only Latin names. No names are known from Phase S1. These developments run parallel with those of names in the surroundings of CUT, analysed by Weisgerber. There is almost no overlap with names on stone inscriptions and so the gap noticed by Weisgerber is filled by the graffiti published here.

More than half of the book is taken by tables, indexes, plates and the catalogue, the latter one presented per ware, shape and conservation (with the curious result that the graffiti of the one closed find (from Insula 37: p. 104, fig. 33) have numbers as wide apart as 60.1 and 341.1).

I have one point of criticism: I simply do not understand the chapter and its figures on the statistics of frequency of the graffiti. Moreover, it took a friend who teaches statistics and mathematics more than a day to faintly grasp what was going on. I do not doubt the usefulness and validity of the method to assess what percentage of a ware or shape got a graffito, but it should have been explained better. For the rest, this is an excellent study.

D.C. Steures

HANS-JOACHIM SCHALLES (ed.), *Der frühkaiserzeitliche Manuballista aus Xanten-Wardt*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2010. VIII+180+ii pp.; 28.5 cm (Xantener Berichte 18). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4274-2.

The *manuballista* found by a dredge in Xanten-Wardt in 1999 is a hand-held torsion weapon of early imperial times, comparable to a crossbow, originally consisting of the following parts: the actually found metal-clad wooden frame with two torsion chambers, and further two arms fixed into the contorted sinews, a non-elastic bow string between the arm ends, a butt-end with in

its top a channel or pipe, in which a slider functions as gun-barrel. In order to stretch the bowstring, the *manuballista* was taken from the shoulder, the string was fastened over a hook on the back of the slider and the weapon pushed with the tip of the slider onto the ground, so that the slider went backwards and the string was stretched at the same time; the slider clicked in its place on the pipe with the same hook. The soldier then shouldered his weapon, put a bolt on the slider, aimed through the hole in the frame through which also the slider passed, and fired by pulling the trigger, which made the hook tip forwards and released the string and slider. The weapon must have been fast and easy to use, as films of reenactors on YouTube show. As the front of the butt-end would be fastened in a hole at the back side of the frame with only the help of a wedge, the weapon could be easily taken apart for transport.

The restored frame of the *manuballista* is one of the most exciting exhibits in the new Xanten museum.

Find circumstances, description and date are treated in a long chapter by H.-J. Schalles, who is also the editor of the volume. It is well-documented and illustrated with many photos and diagrams. None of them, however, shows the spatial relations between frame, butt-end and slider, because the latter two appear in no schematic drawing at all. The same holds for the exploded view fig. 98 on p. 60, where all nails and some parts described are missing: parts 5.3 and 6.3 (discussed on p. 54) and 8.3 and 8.4 (discussed on p. 15); otherwise this is a clear drawing.

Restorers J. Kempkens and T. Lupak of the Dutch firm Restaura tell the wonderful story of the inspection of the hollow spaces inside the thick crust of iron oxide, sand and pebbles, extracting pieces of wood (all *fraxinus excelsior* = ash, a tough kind of wood), making partial casts (sections) of butt-end with its pipe and the slider in sharp-edged holes at the back of the frame, substituting the largely decayed wood by epoxy resin, removing the crust, and restoring the metal parts.

D. Baatz discusses the proportions and typology of the *manuballista*, comparing this actual example to descriptions of large *ballistae* by Vitruvius and Philon. It diverges from these prescriptions: as a hand-held weapon it had to be as compact as possible. The functions of pipe and slider are discussed on p. 139, where also a drawing of a real crossbow from antiquity, the *gastrophetes* ('the belly-shooter'), being cocked is shown: point of the slider on the ground, belly of the archman pushing on a curving butt.

F. Willer discusses his analysis of all metals used, especially the washers with which the sinews were contorted. They appear to consist of lead bronze, a material also now in use in bearings: the lead forms a smearing film. B. Asmus discusses how he made replicas of them, and Ursula Hendriks the analysis of remains of the sinews.

A. Zimmermann discusses the replica of the *manuballista* he made. Some questions that came up to me while reading are not discussed: how much does the replica weigh?; is that more than a modern rifle with wooden butt-end?; is it in good balance, or does the user always have to support his elbow with his horizontal upper leg, as shown on the wrapper and on p.

175? Standing in that way, with one leg on a chest or block of stone, is dangerously immobile for the marksman during battle. Moreover, on YouTube the reenactors stand upright during shooting.

Three points of criticism must be made of this study. Firstly: a glossary at the end of the book gives Latin, Greek, and German names for all parts. A column of English terminology would have spared the reviewer much time; moreover, many if not most studies of Roman military things are in English. I give the German terms and their English translations, looked up in Morgan's translation of Vitruvius, in Bishop and Coulston 1993, and in Lewis and Short (see below): *Arm* = arm; *große Bohrung* = hole (at top and bottom of torsion chamber); *Mittelständer* = middle post; *Pfeife* = pipe (Lewis and Short: channel); *Querträger* = the horizontal boards at the top and the bottom (of the frame); *Schieber* = slider; *Seilkammer* = torsion chamber; *Seitenständer* = sidepost; *Spannbolzen* = (horizontal) pin (on the washer) over which the sinews go; *Spannbuchse* = washer; *Spannrahmen* = frame; *Spannseil* = twisted sinews; *Vorstecker* = pin fixing the washer in position.

Secondly, *A Latin Dictionary* by Lewis and Short, used by many classical scholars, only gives the 4th-century author Vegetius as user of the word *manuballista*, which so prominently figures in title and text of the present study. He is mentioned once, in passing, on p. 144, where only the numbers of the passages are given. Being the only ancient author on this hand-held weapon, he should have been quoted: it is all we know about its actual use. The passage in 2,15 is, in the translation of Lieutenant John Clarke (1767): 'The first line, as I said before, was composed of the *principes*; the *hastati* formed the second and were armed in the same manner. In the second line the sixth cohort was posted on the right flank, with the seventh on its left; the eighth drew up in the center; the ninth was the next; and the tenth always closed the left flank. In the rear of these two lines were the *ferentarii*, light infantry and the troops armed with shields, loaded javelins, swords and common missile weapons, much in the same manner as our modern soldiers. This was also the post of the archers who had helmets, cuirasses, swords, bows and arrows; of the slingers who threw stones with the common sling or with the *fustibalis*; and of the *tragularii* who annoyed the enemy with arrows from the *manuballistae* or *arcuballistae*.' Notice that Vegetius is describing a legionary battle formation of what to him was the past: he may be discussing the time of the present *manuballista*. The soldiers with *manuballistae* were behind the first two lines. The deadliness of the *manuballista* is given in Veg. 4,22: 'They called *scorpions* what they now name *manuballistae*, so named because they bring death with small and thin bolts.'

Thirdly, the present study takes for granted that the reader knows what pipe and slider are for. The reader, who keeps wondering *But how does it work?*, has to wait until p.139 before pipe and slider are explained, and even until the last page, p. 179, for clicking the slider in place. What I dearly miss in this book is the first paragraph of this review.

D.C. Steures

MARTIN MÜLLER/THOMAS OTTEN/ULRIKE WULF-RHEIDT (eds), *Schutzbauten und Rekonstruktionen in der Archäologie (Von der Ausgrabung zur Präsentation; Xanten, 21.-23. Oktober 2009)*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2011. 504 pp.; 28.5 cm (Xantener Berichte 19). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4344-2.

In the museum of *Aventicum* / Avenches there is a 19th-century drawing of a large figurative Roman mosaic found there. Not a *tessera* of the mosaic is left over now. Every tourist took one home.

Archaeology is important for the economy: it generates money through tourism and by its part in inner city renovation. Therefore, it is an important task of archaeology to preserve, restore and present immovable finds *in situ*. It can do so in many forms: with the austere maxim of 'preserving as found', by partial reconstruction, by building a complete replica *in situ*, or by constructing a covering building, and by never forgetting the needs of the public. It should do so with this public in mind, which should immediately understand what it sees, in order to guarantee its lasting interest. These symposium papers show the loving care of archaeologists, civil servants, contractors and skilled workmen to do so. As this volume is important to those who have to discuss and implement the necessary measures, it was quickly and beautifully published.

The first article, by P. Kienzle, sets the framework: the *Chartae* or charters, preceded by the development of a code of conduct or even an ethics of archaeology. The first one to do so was Flinders Petrie in 1904: the archaeological substance is unique; therefore standards of excavation should be high; the unadulterated original deserves preservation, because it alone gives the information; all disciplines should cooperate; and the rights of the community should have prevalence over those of private ownership. The charters of the archaeological congress of 1905, Venice 1964, and Lausanne 1989 all take these rules as their starting-point and inevitably mirror their times. The mother of all partial reconstructions, by Evans in Knossos, is mentioned only in this article. After a long absence caused by World War I, Evans had observed that all exposed alabaster floors had decayed into friable gypsum and that launched him into action. I may add the following observation. His reconstructions may be regrettably and inextricably incorporated in the archaeological substance, but his results are a didactic masterpiece against indifference of the public: no visitor leaves Knossos without loving them or hating them, feelings not easily generated by other preserved sites (only equalled by Kolumba; see below).

The other thirty articles give an up-to-date overview of what is being done in this field. I could not detect any particular order, though German and Xanten subjects do have pride of place; I retain the order the articles have in the volume. Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt discusses the worldwide efforts of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (DAI) to restore and present what it has excavated, always with the interests of the local population in mind and so cooperating with local workmen and authorities. Th. Otten treats new concepts in presentation in Nordrhein-Westfalen: a landscape in Königswinter,

the centre of Cologne, and plans to make the legionary fortress of Xanten on the Fürstenberg visible with the use of plants. M. Müller shows the visualisation of Colonia Ulpia Traiana (CUT) near Xanten: from free terrain with nothing visible above ground, to threats by industrial building, to the present-day archaeological park with museum, which draws a large public from Germany and the Netherlands. The article by D. Breeze is entitled *The Antonine Wall* but discusses the *World Heritage Sites of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire* in England and Germany. K. Peterse and H. van Enkevort show the first author's marvellous virtual reconstructions of monumental Roman buildings in Nijmegen. F. Humer discusses Carnuntum, with particular attention to complete reconstructions of a house and a villa. A. Diler discusses the delicate balance of values (natural and cultural heritage) of Sedir Island, ancient Kedreai, before the southwest Turkish coast. With a 100,000 visitors a year, mostly daytrippers to Cleopatra Beach, prudent measures are being implemented. R. Aßkamp discusses 110 years of archaeological reconstruction in Haltern (the quote *nichts ist dauerhafter als ein ordentliches Loch* is older than he says: Carl Schuchhardt said it to emperor Wilhelm II in 1904, of course in Haltern, and of course saying first *Majestät*, ...). H.-J. Schalles discusses the wonderful glass-and-steel covering building on the site and in the shape of the large baths of CUT. E. van Ginkel shows that the Dutch part of the limes is marked by works of art, some more successful than others. M. Bachmann discusses new restorations in Pergamon: anastylosis of part of the Trajanum, a covering roof for Building Z (with attention to esthetically fitting it into the archaeological landscape), and the remaining tower of the Red Hall in the lower city. The same problem of fitting a protecting roof in a ruin landscape (and much more) is treated by Sabine Ladstätter in her article on Terrace House (*Hanghaus*) 2 in Ephesos, from Roman living block to modern covering building to tourist attraction. Paola Rispoli treats the long and partly sad tale of the restorations of the mausoleum of the Istacidii in Pompeii. Iris Gerlach, M. Schnelle and C. Weiss go into all the details of keeping the pillar propylaea of the temples of Sirwa (Yemen) sound and upright. Margarete van Ess discusses what to do with architecture in sun-dried brick of Uruk (cover it!). P. Wilson presents the dilemma *To build or not to build? Presenting Roman Sites in Britain*. The Xanten *Burginatum* Tor now has a parallel in the West Gate of South Shields. P. Kienzle discusses the reconstruction of three strip houses opposite the inn of CUT: the first private houses to be reerected there, and the first time one gets the feel of a street in this meadow with beautiful crossing tree-lined lanes and isolated buildings. Particularly ingenious is the suspension of the houses on concrete floors above the archaeological substance. Honeycombed cardboard, meant to rot away, guarantees a well-ventilated space between traces and floor. M. Filgis discusses the new high-tech roof over the Roman baths in Badenweiler, beautifully fitted between the nineteenth-century thermal architecture. Inventive and innovative is what the municipality of Ingelheim does in order to renovate the inner city and give the Carolingian palace a place in it: each still standing ruin exemplifies one period. Markings in pavements and

eGuide, available at the museum, do the rest. H. Grewe describes it. Harriet Bönisch describes the complete reconstruction of a Slav wooden fortification southeast of Berlin; it draws a large public. A high-tech roof over an early industrial complex in Oberhausen (cannonballs for the Netherlands around 1800), described by H. Luley, is already lovingly referred to by the population as *our tortoise*. The recurring problems of ventilation and of fitting a raised walking path without damaging the archaeological substance are also treated. Kolumba, described by M. Steinmann, is world-famous in Germany and draws crowds (I went to have a look after reading the book). It was a Gothic church in the centre of Cologne, fell victim to a bombardment in World War II, became a place of pilgrimage to the *Madonna of the Ruins*, and is now the creation of Peter Zumthor, housing the excavation results of Roman buildings and forerunners of the church on ground floor (beautiful walking path, clear plan in booklet, good lighting, contact with outside world in temperature and sound through a perforated wall, soundscape of cooing of pigeons in the ruins). The upper floors contain the new episcopal museum, which one cannot leave without having a strong opinion. L.-M. Dallmeier discusses subterranean rooms in which one can see remains of the former Jewish quarter in the centre of Regensburg. F. Glaser is not completely satisfied with covering buildings over Roman ones in the eastern Alps but sees tendencies in modern direction. Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáská and Zs. Vasáros treat beautiful Roman sites in Hungary (the map in fig. 1 could do with more names mentioned in the text). Pécs with its underground walking tour along Late Roman grave chapels sounds and looks exciting. W. Koenigs discusses the anastylosis of the theatre of Priene. J.M. Klessing treats the citadel of Tiryns: their solution of problems with sun-dried brick is packing them in foil and then coating them with water-resistant clay. Where filling had been washed out of cyclopean walls, stones crumble under the weight carried; the empty spaces have been filled now by squirting in clay under high pressure. R. Senff treats DAI restorations in Olympia. The reerection of part of the defensive wall of Hattuša in sun-dried bricks is again the cause of strong feelings; J. Seeher writes about it. J. Kunow discusses three Roman baths in Lower Germany and calls those in Zülpich, wonderfully integrated in city renovation, the best preserved baths of the northwestern provinces. (And what about those in Dutch Heerlen, in the mother of all modern covering buildings? They belonged to the *civitas* of CUT, were restored by its *decurio* M. Sattionius Iucundus, and are simply not mentioned in this volume written in CUT!) J. Schubert closes the list with a delightfully inventive article on how builders in Saba managed a perfect fit of irregularly shaped blocks of stone.

I apologize for the length of this review, but I felt I had to do justice to all the authors of this rich volume, a *Fundgrube* for ideas on presentation, indispensable for everyone working in this field.

D.C. Steures

BERND LIESEN (ed.), *Terra sigillata in den germanischen Provinzen (Kolloquium Xanten, 13.-14. November 2008)*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2011. VIII+ 352 pp.; 28.5 cm (Xantener Berichte 20). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4345-9.

‘At last, a handbook on terra sigillata (ts)’, my first thought was when I saw the cover of this volume, ‘in which every archaeologist, not himself a specialist in ts, can easily look up what all those type names and numbers stand for when browsing through lists of finds, and in which we can find parallels for the odd ts fragments in find groups we are processing.’ So far, we have to make do with a small library of publications (or photocopies of their type plates), unpublished syllabi (marked with *) and a website (**). I take my own reference library as a, possibly typical, example:

- 1 Overviews of all Roman pottery of whole areas, be it 1a present-day countries (Switzerland: Ettlinger/Steiger 1971; the Netherlands: Van Lith undated*), 1b Roman regions (Northern Gaul: Brulet/Vilvorder/Delage 2010, 2012²), 1c geographic regions (Rhine-land: Gose 1950; the sandy soils of the south of the Netherlands: Hiddink 2010; the Dutch province of Zuid-Holland: Blomsma/Brouwer 1989*; unspecified: potsherd.net**).
- 2 All Roman pottery from sites, be it 2a in Germany (in Roman chronological order: Haltern: Loeschcke 1909; Hofheim: Ritterling 1913; Niederbieber: Oelmann 1914; Krefeld-Gellep: Pirling/Siepen 2006; Alzei: Unverzagt 1916), 2b Britain (Newstead: Curle 1911, the only one to be found on the internet), 2c The Netherlands (Nijmegen: Brunsting 1937, Stuart 1963 and 1977, Steures 2013).
- 3 Terra sigillata from sites in 3a Belgium (Tongeren: Vanderhoeven 1979 and forerunners) and 3b The Netherlands (Vechten: Polak 2000, detailed, a handbook in itself; Kalee 2013, a private collection; along the limes: Kalee 2001, a small selection).
- 4 Terra sigillata from production regions, i.e. from periods: the *Conspectus* of Italic shapes (Ettlinger et al. 1990); the Argonnes (Chenet 1941; a new corpus by Bakker, Dijkman and Van Ossel has been promised in SFEAG 1996).
- 5 A syllabus on ts in general (Vanderhoeven 1985*).
- 6 Desiderata, so missing: Dragendorff 1895 (type plate, apparently considered outdated, not in any of the studies named nor on the internet; the book itself has been reprinted, but buying an outdated book for one type plate is frivolous), Déchelette 1904, Walters 1908, Ludowici 1927, Oswald 1937, Oxé et al. 2000. And two beginning specialists are clear about the absence of a handbook: on p. 175, Lieke van Diepen and Ryan Niemeyer list the studies they used, five out of eight being over a century old. Addition alone of the type plates from those studies would have been a first step in the direction of a general handbook.

So: please, specialists, a new handbook. It should contain all old typology plates, because that is what is still being referred to, but updated with captions in which data and region of production; it could be organized

per place of production in chronological order; potters’ names and their stamps; statistics of output; and, from the consumers’ side, distribution maps of both single types and table services; modern analyses in a standardized way; and, of course, new typology plates per region of production.

The present study, being colloquium papers, is by ts specialists for ts specialists. It does have a saving grace for the non-specialist, though, to be revealed below.

And after this lamentation a fair review of the present volume is due, in the order of the articles. Editor B. Liesen remarks in the foreword that the Rhineland was an important market for ts producers, but that it has been inadequately published. This volume, he adds, gives access to large data collections. B. Rudnick and N. Zieling publish 129 stamps of 39 potters on Italic ts from the area of Colonia Ulpia Traiana (CUT), of course from strata dated before CUT was founded. The distribution map p. 2 fig. 1 gives a good impression where this pre-CUT settlement was. Many stamps of Xanthus date from around AD 10. Many Ateius stamps might be from Pisa, and a small part in Lyon, just like in Haltern. Pre-CUT begins hardly before 5 BC, probably only after AD 1, is their conclusion. Pia Eschbaumer publishes early Italic ts from *Asciburgium*/Asberg. Three possible periods: the preparation of Drusus’ offensive, like Neuss and Nijmegen; Drusus’ offensive itself from 12 BC onwards, like Oberaden, Vetera I, Mainz and Rödgen; consolidation phase, like Haltern, Anreppen and the tragic city of Waldgirmes. Her analysis of the ts shows the earliest finds of the site, near the place where the rivers Ruhr and Emscher flow into the Rhine, to belong to the first phase mentioned. Bettina Tremmel discusses fine pottery by M. Petronius Flosclus in Anreppen, whose production fell in the years around AD 5 and probably took place in Haltern. This Italic entrepreneur had settled in Cologne and had experienced potters from Italy or Lyon at his service. B. Liesen publishes an Italic mould for the manufacture of figured ts of unknown type, found in the area of CUT. Constanze Höpken publishes the contents of a case, packed with at least 31 plates in La Graufesenque and lost in the harbour of Cologne between AD 80 and 90: one quarter of the contents Drag. 15/17 by Vitalis and by Calvus plus Drag. 18 by Calvus, and three quarters Drag. 18 by Censor. S. Schepp publishes a ts depot of 78 pieces of South Gaulish ts from the CUT area, to be dated just before the founding of CUT. It shows that besides the dinner-service of Drag. 35, 36 and 50 also 15/17, 18/31 and 33 were in use. B. Liesen publishes marbled ts from La Graufesenque, meant for the Mediterranean market and ending up in the area of CUT as personal belongings. Ester van der Linden publishes ts from the Nijmegen *canabae*: 6.5% of some 30,000 sherds, 1,415 potters’ stamps, of which 1,118 name stamps, 96% of which South Gaulish, the rest from Central or East Gaulish centres. 14 out of the 145 potters whose names were found imported 40% of the ts. Its occurrence clearly coincides with the presence of *Legio X Gemina*, AD 71-104; only 1% to be dated after that. Supply problems in La Graufesenque causes a decrease in stamped ts shortly before AD 100. The spatial distribution shows the chronology of the *canabae*: Drag. 24/25, produced up to Flavian times, along the road in NW; Central and East Gaulish, from

AD 100, over the entire terrain. The close economic link between *canabae* and fortress appears from the similarity of their pottery spectra.

The article that makes this volume indispensable for find processors is the exemplary study of S. Weiß-König of the ts with reliefs from the first group from Metz. That city is identified as the origin of what was known as 'the first group of non-localised Gaulish potters' with its characteristic metope-like squares. Decorations and their stamps, connections with other groups, chemical analysis (by G. Schneider), distribution in the north-west are all treated.

Anke Seifert treats the potters' stamps from (under) the inn of CUT and gives an alphabetic catalogue of stamps and drawings of all types found plus graffiti.

Lieke van Diepen and Ryan Niemeijer publish the ts from the 2005 excavations in Forum Hadriani, the *civitas* of the *Cananefates* in Voorburg near The Hague. Two settlement phases could be distinguished in the terrain in the south part of the city: phase 1 AD 120-170, phase 2 AD 170-270. This part, mainly backyards and gardens, was planned anew around 170, with slightly altered orientation from the one before. The 3,654 ts fragments make up 14% of the pottery found. The oldest fragment is a Curle 11 (AD 100-120); a Drag. 37, dating from AD 230 and later, is the latest one. Tendencies within the material may be understood as changes on producer or on consumer side. A potters' stamp list is duly given and all relief fragments are shown.

Susanne Biegert and B. Steidl have a large article on a pottery merchant from the *limes* fortress of Ober-Florstadt in the Wetterau: 3rd-century ts and local wares in a cellar in the *vicus*, destroyed by fire and dating AD 225-245, further on in the article set at the general Wetterau destruction horizon of AD 233, caused by a Germanic incursion and documented in an appendix for the rest of the region. 96% of the ts comes from Trier, 4% from Rheinzabern. It is comparable to two groups in Langenhain (ceramics shop) and Echzell (ts depot), both nearby. As to local wares, the white ware of the Wetterau is shown to be the forerunner of the coarse Urmitz ware; it has the shapes typical of Late Roman coarse ware. Of particular interest is the section on ceramics supply in the Wetterau: no travelling merchants, but general shops in small centres and specialized ones in the larger; but always buying from more than one *negotiator* or wholesale dealer. The turnovers of the shops are tentatively calculated. A find catalogue is duly given.

The volume closes with an article by Nina Schücker, P. Jung and M. Thomas on potters' graffiti on smooth ts from Rheinzabern, especially of Attianus. Sometimes the potter wrote his name (before coating and firing) instead of stamping it. The reason for doing so was not found, but it happens in the time that stamping stopped, up to mid 3rd century AD.

The volume fulfills the promise of its editor: an impressive series of detailed publications of ts from the Germanic provinces.

D.C. Steures

MARCUS REUTER / ROMINA SCHIAVONE (eds), *Gefährliches Pflaster. Kriminalität im römischen Reich*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2011. XII+437 pp.; 28.5 cm (Xantener Berichte 21). – ISBN hardcover 978-3-8053-4393-0 / ISBN paperback 978-3-8053-4382-4.

Ein gefährliches Pflaster, literally a *dangerous pavement*, is a colloquial German expression meaning a *dangerous place (city, country) to be*. My first association with this title is the first exhibit one sees on entering the Xanten museum: a large piece of Roman terrain, not exactly pavement, with all kinds of footsteps and cart ruts in it. It looks more as if it once was very slippery mud, almost literally a dangerous pavement. But now the visitor can safely walk not over but above it, on a thick glass floor. That exhibit is the metaphor for this volume: we can safely watch all the dangers of living in the Roman Empire without experiencing them ourselves. Its subject is crime in the Roman Empire. The Empire was well managed, its law was highly developed, but there never was a regular police, and suing criminals was a private and provisional affair. Some deeds that are now criminal offenses were not so (slavery, castigating of slaves). The volume is a companion to a travelling exhibition under the same name (2014 in Nijmegen!).

The volume comprises twenty-nine articles, divided over four parts. A reviewer must do justice to everything and everyone without boring the reader. The least I can do is summing up the subjects per part, and then the authors in the same order. Finally, I shall discuss a few points that I found particularly interesting one way or another.

The first part of the book discusses the need of security the population of the Roman provinces had: attention to security in architecture; locks and keys; calling for divine protection with statuettes and mountings on doors and furniture; watchdogs; and deities invoked when travelling. The authors: P. Kienzle, M. Müller, M. Kemkes, Marianne Hilke, Marion Mattern.

The second part sums up all kinds of criminal offenses: reaction to theft on curse tablets; counterfeit money; cheating at play; magistrates guilty of corruption and abuse of power; religious offenses; rape and domestic violence; violation of tombs; highway robbery; murder and homicide mentioned on tombstones; piracy; and soldiers guilty of abuse, corruption and desertion. The authors are: M. Scholz, M. Peter, D. Bracht, R. Haensch, Romina Schiavone, Anke Seifert, A. Hensen, P. Jung, M. Reuter, C. Golüke, and M.A. Speidel.

The third part treats prosecution and administration of justice: criminal prosecution; security in Egypt according to papyri; the trio of sitting in judgement, implementing laws and dealing out punishments; women and jurisdiction; the emperor above the law?; Roman lawyers; curse tablets against opponents in lawsuits; executions; the gruesome find of two decapitated men in a Roman grave near Trier; finding traces of crime and punishment on human bones; crime and law in the Germanic provinces and their barbaric successor states. The authors are: Romina Schiavone, P. Sängler, D. Liebs, Elke Hartmann, M. Clauss, R. Backhaus, M. Scholz, D. Schmitz, W.-R. Teege, T. Becker, and H. Fehr.

The fourth and final part compares then to now: comparison of Roman and present-day criminal law; the work of the police in Nordrhein-Westfalen. The authors are A. Nogrady and J. Bockow, respectively.

A few observations of things that were eye-openers or stumbling blocks to me. The day and night positions of the doors of a *taberna* in Pompeii (p. 9): the door standing open by day blocks the stairs to the living quarters and keeps sneak-thieves out. Lions' heads on doors, familiar from Roman times onwards, keys (p. 49-51; and ladies' chests, I may add) are meant to keep anyone but the owner out. P. 60 and 66: that is how deterrent a Molossian dog, known from Greek tragedy, looks. The cross-roads goddesses *Bibie*, *Tribie* and *Quadrubie* (sic) are represented by multiplying the figure of a standing mother goddess (p. 80-82). Impressive lists of cursing tablets, all on petty crime (p. 96-103), but where did a still angry victim of theft from a bathhouse get a lead tablet from so quickly, that he could jot his curse down in an angry handwriting? (p. 93); were they for sale in *Aquae Sulis*/Bath, where so many of them were found? Emergency money, almost always small change, occurred not only in the last quarter of the 3rd century in the northwestern provinces: always massive emissions, but confined in time and space (p. 115-117). What a horrible symbolic things can a thwarted lover do (p. 134)! I wish that papyri, curse tablets and inscriptions would have always been given with translation and preferably also transcription (pp. 91, 93, 140, 151, 152, 168, 178, 181, 226, 227, 229, 231-3, 245, 324). Why is both here (p. 189) and in Vol. 23 passim not explained what a dedication *sub ascia* (= under the stone mason's hammer) means? The question may seem to have been solved long ago, but it is not generally known: probably it means reserving the right to alter or reopen the (fictitiously unfinished) grave later on without the permission of the authorities, e.g. *pontifices*. I do not agree with the following (perhaps unfairly summarized) line of argument: *in Roman Egypt there was a bizarre number of police-like security officers, so that must also have been the case throughout the empire* (pp. 250-251). As to eye-witness documents, we do not only have the Egyptian papyri, but also the *Vindolanda* tablets from Britannia and governor Pliny's letters from *Bithynia*, where nothing of the sort is implied. The real eye-opener of this volume to me is the cohesion of loose facts long known (on pp. 262-263, amidst gruesome execution scenes *ad bestias*): since AD 64 it was a capital offense to be a Christian; Marcus Aurelius enlisted gladiators into his army for the Marcomannic wars (AD 166-180, with intermissions); after the first of those wars, he imposed maximum prices for the expensive gladiators, with the result that none were offered anymore; in Lyon AD 177 there were large-scale prosecutions of Christians. Christians, as opposed to gladiators, were cheap victims for the blood games, and dutiful citizens wanting to be elected knew how to find them. To the Christians, poor philosopher Marcus Aurelius turned into a prosecutor. A fascinating book, with handy indexes by J. Feltes.

D.C. Steures

UWE PELTZ/HANS-JOACHIM SCHALLES (eds), *Der Xantener Knabe. Technologie, Ikonographie, Funktion und Datierung*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2011. X+188 pp., 9 pls; 28.5 cm (Xantener Berichte 22). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4431-9.

The bronze statue known as the *Xantener Knabe* was found in the pebble bed of the Rhine near Bislich opposite Xanten in 1858 when the water was very low. It shows a nude young boy at the threshold of puberty, striding forward and holding a now missing tray in his hands. It is nearly complete: only right lower arm, the inlaid eyes and parts of its wreath are missing (one flower-bud, documented in an early study, disappeared shortly after it was found). Its beautiful gloss is not the result of cleaning, but it was already there when it was found: it is a gold coloured marsh patina. The contemporary archaeologist Aus'm Weerth observed that claims by the state heightened the sum of acquisition to an exorbitant level. Such proceedings, he added, could have the result that such finds would be kept secret and that knowledge of the find circumstances could get lost; the free play of market forces would have been salutary.

The find and collection history are treated by M. Maischberger, U. Peltz and H.-J. Schalles. The sculpture has after its acquisition always been in Berlin, apart from a period in Leningrad after World War II and its recent short stay at an exhibition in the new Xanten museum. Only seventy years after its discovery its true nature was found out by P. Wolters (1928): it is a silent servant offering refreshments to the participants of a feast or banquet. Nonetheless, the socle it was exhibited on in various Berlin museums remained rectangular and high. Now it stands as the only exhibit in the Bacchus room in the *Neues Museum* on a low round metal basis mounted on a low round movable socle.

It is the last of the eight large Berlin bronzes to be technically studied. Its wax model was made with the help of a negative of many parts. The seams between the mounted parts are now detectable on the inside of the sculpture; so are places where nails held the core. This core was made of a material removed in antiquity and later by the Rhine, and mounted upon four iron rods of rectangular section (as appears from a hole in the underside of the left heel). The torso and the legs were cast in one go; fifteen parts were cast separately. A bronze with a high percentage of tin was used, which requires a higher temperature and allows a longer interval to solidify in, with obvious advantages for the casting process. The parts were joined by pouring overheated metal over the two rims to be joined, which just melted and formed a strong weld. Joining the head to the neck, which both have fitting flanges, was done from inside, so that no corrections on the outside were needed. The six parts of the wreath and the ribbons from wreath to shoulders were added with a soft solder, probably an alloy of lead and tin. Superficial casting errors were corrected in many different ways: repair pieces mostly took the form of dovetails with concave sides; small pits were filled with a drop of bronze, which was then hammered flat. Finishing on cold metal included the chiseling off of casting channels and fine

chiseling of the flowers and fruit of the wreath. Eyelashes were added in the form of cut strips of metal sheet soldered in their places. The inset eyes are lost. Ancient traces of filing at the (perfectly shaped) undersides of the feet show that the statue had a metal basis. A Roman iron chisel was found inside the statue.

The statue is extensively described. The beautiful surface of the diadem, which was covered by the wreath some parts of which are now lost, can only be understood if the statue is an original. Parallels show that the statue was carrying a tray. A fresco in the *Casa del Triclinio* in Pompeii shows such a silent servant, standing on a low round base, with the help of which it could be rolled into its place. It belongs to the Hellenistic and Roman genre of instrumental sculpture, which includes torch and tray carriers. Its stance reminds of the Hypnos type. As to its style, the statue is eclectic and includes stylistic elements of late Hellenism and early Roman Empire.

H.-J. Schalles discusses iconographic and functional aspects, especially connotations of age, hairdo, literary sources, wreath and lighting. The age: the front is soft and childlike, the back more muscled; it has an erotic connotation, and reminds of Martial's poem 12.75. Hairdo: a plait on the top of the head reminds of Eros, fluttering between innocence and sexual stimulus. Literary sources: in Athenaios, such instrumental sculpture is idyllic; in Petronius, it is part of a feasting culture in which the speakers display their taste and word play; in Lucretius, it displays the wealth of the owner. Wreath: all four seasons are represented, which shows it is not in one sphere of whatever god. Lighting: torch bearers mainly lit themselves, creating a theatrical atmosphere.

U. Peltz discusses technical comparisons with other sculpture. It shows many unusual traits. The tin bronze, the casting of torso and legs in one go, the way the head was joined, the casting of many loose parts of the wreath, the absence of polygonal repair strips all speak against a Roman and for a Greek origin.

Many authors discuss scientific aspects: computer tomography, alloy, and experiments in ancient repair and welding techniques. The lead used has isotopes strikingly similar to those in lead from the English Lake District, which was probably already exported to the continent before the ore deposits were under Roman control. A new movable sockle is described in detail.

H.-J. Schalles discusses its date (before Flavian times) and meaning: a conversation piece. It must have been made in the Mediterranean world and brought to Xanten by its owner. The commanders in the Xanten legionary fortress, of senatorial standing, are the likely candidates. Was the sculpture part of plunder during the Batavian revolt AD 69-70 and did it fall into the Rhine like so many other plundered Roman bronzes, e.g. the find at Neupotz? The book ends with the suggestion that the owner was Munius Lupercus, the commander of *Legio XV*, who was captured during the revolt and met his end during transport. However, other suggestions, the author adds, are possible but less probable.

An impressive, impeccable and comprehensive study.

D.C. Steures

MARCUS REUTER, *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix. Ihre Geschichte, ihre Soldaten, ihre Denkmäler*. Darmstadt / Mainz: Von Zabern, 2012. X+194 pp., 28.5 cm (Xantener Berichte 23). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4586-6.

Translation of the clear and concise summary on p. 49 (sic) with one interpolation from the main text:

'*Legio XXX Ulpia victrix* was during its c. 250 years of history almost exclusively stationed in *Vetera II* on the Lower Rhine; only the first two decades of its existence it was in garrison on the Danube frontier. The legion, which was transferred to the province of *Germania Inferior* between AD 118 and 122, can rightly be called "the Xanten legion". Immediately after its arrival the troops seem to have developed an energetic building program in various places: tiles produced in Xanten were delivered to Aachen and to Dutch Heerlen, where large public baths were built under Hadrian. At the same time, a *vexillatio* of *Legio XXX* was at work in the tufa quarries near Krufth producing blocks, most probably meant for building the young *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*. At the same time the legionaries built a new aqueduct, which from then on delivered fresh water to the legionary fortress *Vetera II*. So *Legio XXX Ulpia victrix* played an important role in building the infrastructure of Lower Germany.

Short fighting missions of *vexillationes* from the legion to Britannia and North Africa did not change that. Only with the internal Roman civil war of AD 193-197 the troops participated in fighting, which evidently cost the legion many losses. Legionaries from Xanten fought both the troops of Pescennius Niger in the east of the empire, and those of the British pretender Clodius Albinus. As the *legio XXX Ulpia victrix* had sided with (the later victor) Septimius Severus, it immediately got the honorific title "*Pia Fidelis*", which it carried in its name from then on. In the first half of the 3rd century its soldiers took repeatedly part in wars against the Parthians on the eastern frontier of the empire.

When the so-called Gallic Empire declared itself independent from Rome AD 260, the Xanten legion got a very important role, as it now formed the core of the troops of Postumus and his successors. But it was also the *legio XXX Ulpia victrix* that supported a revolt against Postumus a few years later and sided with his rival Laelian AD 269. At the end of the 3rd century there is almost no information on the thirtieth legion, but its presence in Xanten in the first half of the 4th century can be taken for granted, although the effect of the Late Roman army reforms cannot be reconstructed with complete certainty [but the find of a Trier motto beaker, dated AD 275-290, with a dedication *prefecto* (sic) *leg XXX* in grave 5555 of the cemetery of Gelduba/ Krefeld-Gellep makes it probable that part of the legion was now stationed there and built the Diocletianic brick fortress]. The end of the Xanten legion most probably came AD 352-355, when almost the entire Rhine frontier collapsed during the revolt of Magnentius. According to Ammianus Marcellinus very few settlements and garrisons escaped from the turmoil, but the ancient places of the Xanten region are not amongst them. However, before the catastrophe a small group of soldiers of the thirtieth legion

had been marched off in the field army. With their death during the conquest of the Syrian city of Amida, the history of the legion came to a definitive end.'

Pages 50-179 are filled with a complete catalogue of 163 inscriptions relating to *Legio XXX*, where possible with photograph and always with transcription, translation and commentary. They are presented in descending ranking (*legati legionis, praefecti castrorum, primipili, tribuni, centuriones, milites, veterani*) and, within those ranks, alphabetically ordered according to their *gentilicia*, and ending with sixteen inscriptions in which the legion itself is mentioned. Two facts become clear in the twelve inscriptions of *legati legionis* (about a quarter of the number there must have been): most of them were former *candidati Augusti*, who got their appointment immediately after the praetorship, and only one of them got a military command after that of *Legio XXX*, whereas the others went on in civil functions. As they had almost all started their careers as members of the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, they were probably chosen as managers trained as lawyers. The *legati legionis* of the other legion in Lower Germany, *legio I Minervia* in Bonn, were outspoken military men.

After the catalogue and bibliography of the literature referred to in abbreviated titles, there is a handy *Index Nominum*, alphabetically ordered according to *gentilicia*, and an *Index Cognominum*, ordered in a similar way.

I have one point of criticism of this otherwise thorough and therefore indispensable study. Although flattered with an extensive quote of my own words on the improbability of a long stay of part of *Legio XXX* in the Nijmegen legionary fortress (there is only one stamp type, so one batch of tiles; a hearth on a tile with LXXXVV-stamp was found in a position where it should not be, in a *papilio* instead of a *contubernium*), I am disappointed that the ubiquitous brick stamps of *Legio XXX*, such a clear sign of its (support for) building activities, are not systematically treated. Had they been so, the lovely result would probably have been completely different from the distribution map of the stamps of the Nijmegen *Legio X Gemina*, recently published in the PhD thesis of the Nijmegen municipal archaeologist H. van Enckevort (*Gebundelde Sporen*, p. 277, fig. 134, Leiden/Nijmegen 2012; <https://openaccess.leidenuniv/gebundelde-sporen/ch.13>): for the first time, a Thiessen polygon comes to life, because all but two of the dots neatly fall into that of the *civitas Batavorum*. For *Legio XXX*, brick stamps of which are found along the Dutch part of the *limes* up to the North Sea coast, many such polygons would be filled with dots. I hope the author will find the time to write this article, which should have been a chapter. Anyway, Dr. John's motto in *Such a night* is always true: *if I don't do it, somebody else will*.

D.C. Steures

MARTIN MÜLLER, *Xantener Berichte. Grabung – Forschung – Präsentation. Sammelband*. Darmstadt/Mainz: Von Zabern, 2012. VIII+541 pp., 28.5 cm (*Xantener Berichte* 24). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4587-3.

The subtitle of this volume might suggest that it is a pendant (on the movable finds) to *Xantener Berichte* 19,

reviewed above, on covering buildings and reconstructions (of immovable goods). Not so: the subtitle of this volume is the same as that of the entire series. The addition of the word *Sammelband* shows it to be what one expects in an annual volume of an archaeological periodical: *capita selecta* on finds and find categories. I mention the articles in order of appearance. C. Bridger (with H.-J. Schalles) publishes further finds, (mostly) dredged up from the pebble bed of the Rhine, from a private collection; it is a supplement to *Xantener Berichte* 3, *Geschichte aus dem Kies*. P. Jung (with M. Wieland) on long pins with richly profiled heads from Roman imperial times and from the Lower Rhine. J. Krämer (with Nadine Nolde) on find circumstances and finds from Colonia Ulpia Traiana (CUT) Insula 15. C. Lindner about a latrine of Trajanic age in the CUT area. Jutta Meurers-Balke and Silke Schamuhn discuss the plant remains from the same latrine; W. van Neer and W. Wouters the fish remains. M. Dodt publishes private baths in CUT Insula 19. M. Müller and D. Schmitz publish Roman grave buildings in Xanten. D. Schmitz discusses brick stamps of auxiliary cohorts in the CUT area. Romina Schiavone on coin casting moulds from CUT. P. Kienzle publishes extensively what he already touched upon in *XantBer* 21, Roman forged window-bars. B. Liesen discusses new stamps on mortariums. H. Berke and P. Jung discuss a bone splinter that looks like an eye but isn't. D. Schmitz discusses briefly what happens when two finds are confounded. After that, he reports the theft (from the former museum in the city centre of Xanten) of two bronze statuettes, a bronze base and a bronze replica of a Roman statuette, in case they might turn up in an art dealer's shop; of course, he gives good photographs.

H. Cölßen discusses how understandable explaining texts in museums (and archaeological parks) are and should be. For the analysis of the text tables in the Archaeological Park in Xanten he uses the methods of applied linguistics: their pragmatic contexts, the project design, the transcription (on the computer screen just as it will appear on the table) and the linguistic analysis in ten categories: 1 factual errors and points to be clarified, 2 vocabulary, technical terms and jargon, 3 syntax, 4 coherence in text parts, 5 coherence within a text table, 6 coherence in text clusters, 7 superfluous and missing text, 8 inconsistencies, 9 relation between text and figures, 10 relation between text table and object. He defines these concepts and then applies them to the actual text tables. Conclusion 1: sometimes it takes a fresh pair of eyes to put things into proper perspective. Conclusion 2: comparison between texts in the park (written from 1977 onwards) and in the new museum (2008) shows that progress has been made. Conclusion 3: always ask help from the field of applied linguistics.

Marianne Hilke discusses the roles of multimedia and sign language. eGuides are helpful by showing virtual reconstructions of what the visitor actually sees in the museum. Sign language on the eGuide does not only translate the words of the soundtrack, but also adds what can be read on the text tables: congenital hearing problems often go together with reading problems.

C. Bridger gives an update of the literature on archaeology, ancient and early history of Xanten up to

AD 1000; he does so in handy categories. M. Müller and N. Zielsing close volume with the annual reports of 2009-2011.

After several months of reading and weeks of writing (just after my retirement, which in German is charmingly but erroneously called *Ruhestand*) some general remarks are due. The output of the *Xantener Berichte* is prolific: the eight volumes 17-24 reviewed here were published in the three years 2010-2012. The level of the texts is always high without being difficult, with the occasional *Aha-Erlebnis*, where facts long known are brought into connection and perspective. The editing of the German text is perfect: not a single printing error in the main text; sometimes a typing error in the notes, mostly in the year of publication or page numbers, must be a slip of the pen of the authors not the editor. (That of Latin text is not always perfect: women in shame (*probrum*) are *probrosae* with twice the letter *r*: cf. Vol. 21, 153-156; *ius conubij* Vol. 21, 156.) The appearance of the volumes (wrappers, cover, paper, layout) causes three adjectives to come up: beautiful, attractive and distinguished. And, most importantly, they are *fun* to read. It has been my honour to have been asked, and my delight to read and review them.

D.C. Steures

JACK L. DAVIS/NATALIA VOGEEKOFF-BROGAN (eds), *Philhellenism, Philanthropy, or Political Convenience? American Archaeology in Greece* (Hesperia Special Issue). Athens: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2013. 227 pp, 58 ills; 28 cm. – ISSN 0018-098X.

In recent decades, the history of classical scholarship and archaeology has become quite a popular field of study. A field that is in need of detailed institutional histories. The book under review addresses this need by exploring the involvement of scholars attached to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) in political, economic and philanthropic programs in Greece during the first half of the 20th century.

In the first article, Jack L. Davis discusses the involvement of ASCSA scholars in activities of the American Red Cross (ARC) in 1918-1919. In particular, Davis investigates whether personal relations between Greek officials and American academics that were fostered during this period, helped ASCSA later to achieve goals, such as the foundation of the Gennadius library or the excavations at the ancient agora. The main character in the article is one of the most enigmatic figures in the whole book, Edward Capps, chairman of the managing committee of ASCSA for more than 20 years. He also commanded the Greek Commission of the ARC. Davis argues that Capps' activities in the ARC and his connections with the Woodrow Wilson administration, as well as with Eleftherios Venizelos catapulted the ASCSA into a position of cultural dominance.

A second key-figure in the book is Bert Dodge Hill, director of the ASCSA from 1906 to 1926, who is discussed in the second article, by Eleftheria Daleziou. Of particular interest are Hill's activities as chairman of the Athens American Relief Committee, who helped

refugees that came to Greece from Asia Minor after 1922. In this position, Hill developed connections that proved instrumental for the acquisition of the land necessary to build the Gennadius library. Daleziou's account suggests that the political advantages of the philanthropic work were not part of a clear plan of action, but the logical outcome of the devotion of individual actors, in this case Bert Dodge Hill.

Interestingly, the two key figures mentioned above remained personal and professional antagonists throughout their careers, as is shown by David Rupp. He gives an interesting account of the many conflicts between Capps and Hill in the foundation of an American-style school at Athens: Athens college. However, it is not entirely clear to which extent this difficult relationship influenced their activities and which effect it had on the role of ASCSA in 20th century Greece.

Of an altogether different nature is the article by Betsey Robinson on the relation between hydrologic engineering and classics. The American firm Ulen & Company built the Marathon hydraulic dam (1929) and carried out substantial waterworks near Thessaloniki. Both engineering projects included a classical component: in front of the Marathon dam, a copy of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi was built, while in Macedonia an ancient sculpted lion was restored near Amphipolis. Robinson compares these cases to the activities of American archaeologists with regards to the ancient waterworks at Corinth, that were causing flooding and pollution.

Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan highlights the American side of the story by focusing on the donations to the ASCSA by the Carnegie Corporation (Washington). She clearly shows that the ASCSA relied heavily on influential individuals within the USA. The article also shows that the motivations to support the classics had not so much to do with philhellenism, as with the political agenda of the Carnegie corporation to promote the diffusion of knowledge for the benefit of the people of the United States. This clearly shows the fundamentally imperialist character of the framework in which the ASCSA scholars operated.

This imperialism is further explored by Yannis Hamilakis who discusses the American archaeological excavations at the ancient Athenian Agora. The ways in which the ASCSA succeeded in acquiring the permission to carry out this prestigious project on its own are revealing. Hamilakis shows that a foreign notion of what constituted Hellenism was dominant among American and Greek archaeological and political élites. In practice, the ASCSA capitalized on the financial, economic and cultural domination that the USA had on Greece and its political class.

Despina Lalaki's article concerns WWII and the role of various ASCSA scholars in the Office of Strategic Services, the American Intelligence Agency. Lalaki argues that the archaeologists' activities hardly had an effect on the course of the war, but did provide a narrative that stressed the need for greater American involvement in Greece. Lalaki makes a strong case for the acknowledgement that the activities of ASCSA scholars were very much part of the politics of creating an American political influence in Greece.

In the last article of the book, Nikki Sakka discusses

the reconstruction of the stoa of Attalos in the ancient Agora of Athens. Sakka shows the conflicting Greek and American visions on the creation of this monument. In a spirit of growing anti-Americanism during the 1950's, Greek archaeologists summoned up notions of authenticity to address the ambitious American plans. However, American influence with the political élites proved to be stronger than that of the Greek archaeologists.

This collection of papers clearly shows that the activities of American archaeologists are part of a wider process of the spread of American influence in Greece. What I found most revealing were the various ways in which scholars and administrators pursued academic and social-political goals without clear distinctions between them. A serious drawback of this book is that only a few of the articles explore the Greek side of the story. In the articles by Hamilakis and by Sakka, Greek archives have been consulted extensively in addition to those of the ASCSA and these two articles show a variety of perspectives that is lacking in most other articles.

Nevertheless, this book makes very clear that many other motives than just the love for classics drove the activities of American scholars in Greece. Considering the extent and the duration of the American political and ideological dominance of Greek archaeological politics, I would disagree with the editors insistence that any political dimension was the result of individuals rather than of an institutional agenda.

In the introduction, the two editors acknowledge Yannis Hamilakis' remark that there is a lack of critical studies on the foreign schools of archaeology in Greece (Hamilakis, Y., *The Nation and its Ruins: antiquity, archaeology and national imagination Greece*, Oxford 2007, 48-51). This volume will no doubt prove to be a landmark study in such an academic field.

Gert Jan van Wijngaarden

Books received

SIMONETTA ANGIOLILLO/MARCO GIUMAN/CHIARA PILO (eds), *Meixis. Dinamiche di stratificazione culturale nella periferia greca e romana. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi "Il sacro e il profano"*, Cagliari, Cittadella dei Musei, 5-7 maggio 2011. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 255 pp., figs, LXII pls; 24 cm (Archaeologia 169). ISBN 978-88-7689-270-7/ISSN -391-9293.

Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, vol LXXXIX, Serie III, 11 - Tomo I, 2011. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2013. 378 pp., figs; 31 cm. – ISSN 0067-0081.

LAURA AMBROSINI (ed.), *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Italia 7.1. Roma - Museo Nazionale Romano. Museo delle Antiquità etrusche e italiche Sapienza - Università di Roma, Collezione Gorga*. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2012. 240 pp., 71 figs; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-88-8265-750-5.

ANDREA BABBI/UWE PELTZ, *La Tomba del Guerriero di Tarquinia – Das Kriegergrab von Tarquinia*. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2013. XIII+439 pp., 91 pls, 2 folding pls; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-3-88467-207-5.

WILLIAM AYLWARD (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma*, conducted by Oxford Archaeology (3 vols). Los Altos, CA: Packard Humanities Institute, 2013. xii+279 pp., 169 pp. of plates; 258 pp., [92] p. of plates; 449 pp.. – ISBN 978-1938325298.

DANIELLA BALDONI/FEDE BERTI/MARCO GIUMAN (eds), *Iasos e il suo territorio. Atti del convegno internazionale per i cinquanta anni della Missione Archeologica Italiana (Istanbul, 26-28 Febbraio 2011)*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2013. 263 pp., figs, LXXXIV pls; 30 cm (Archaeologia 170). ISBN 978-88-7689-275-2/ISSN -391-9293.

MARCELLO BARBANERA, *The Envy of Daedalus: Essay on the Artist as Murderer*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2013. 60 pp., 10 figs and 6 pls; 21.5 cm (Morphomata Lectures Cologne, 4). ISBN 978-3-7705-5604-5.

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BARBARA E. BORG, *Crisis and Ambition. Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century CE Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 308 pp., 140 figs; 25 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-967273-8.

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baden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. 389 pp., 275 figs; 30.2 cm (PHILIPPIKA. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 60). – ISBN 978-3-447-06868-0/ISSN 1613-5628.

DIEDERIK BURGERSDIJK/WOUTER HENKELMAN/WILLEMJIN WAAL (eds), *Alexander en Darius. De Macedoniër in de spiegel van het Nabije Oosten*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2013. 267 pp., figs; 24.5 cm (Zenobiareeks 1). – ISBN 978-90-8704-383-4.

ANNA CALDERONE (ed.), *Cultura e religione delle Acque. Atti del Convegno interdisciplinare «QUI FRESCA L'ACQUA MORMORA...» (S. Quasimodo, Sapph. fr. 2,5), Messina 29-30 marzo 2011*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 433 pp., figs, XL pls; 24 cm (Archaeologia 167). ISBN 978-88-7689-272-1/ISSN -391-9293.

MAURIZIO CANNATÀ, *La colonia latina di Vibo Valentia*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2013. 236 pp., 34 figs, XXXI pls; 24 cm (Archaeologia 171). ISBN 978-88-7689-281-3/ISSN -391-9293.

PATRICIA CAPRINO/FABRIZIO GHIO/MICHELE ANDREA SASSO, *Il Complesso di S. Maria del Tempio Lecce (Scavi 2011-2012)*. Galatina (Le): Congedo Editore, 2013. 272 pp., figs; 29 cm. – ISBN 978 8867 660216.

ADA CARUSO, *Akademia. Archeologia di una scuola filosofica ad Atene da Platone a Proclo (387 a.C. - 485 d.C.)*. Atene/Paestum: Pandemos, 2013. 254 pp., 84 figs; 29 cm (SATAA 6). – ISBN 978-88-87744-49-1.

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JACK L. DAVIS/NATALIA VOGELKOFF-BROGAN (eds), *Philhellenism, Philanthropy, or Political Convenience? American Archaeology in Greece (Hesperia Special Issue)*. Athens:

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2013. 227 pp., 58 ills; 28 cm. – ISSN 0018-098X.

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LUCINDA DIRVEN (ed.), *Hatra, Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 363 pp., 77 figs; 24 cm (Oriens et Occidens 21). – ISBN 978-3-515-104212-8.

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LAURA FICUCIELLO, *Lemnos. Cultura, storia, archeologia, topografia di un'isola del Nord-Egeo*. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2013. 455 pp., figs, 15 pls, CD; 31.5 cm (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente XX, 1/1). – ISBN 978-960-9559-03-4.

ELENA DI FILIPPO BALESTRAZZI, *Sculture romane del Museo Nazionale Concordiese di Portogruaro*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 296 pp., 78 pls; 28.5 cm (Collezioni e musei archeologici del Veneto 46). – ISBN 978-88-7689-265-3/ISSN 0392-0879.

MIKO FLOHR, *The World of the Fullo. Work, Economy, and Society in Roman Italy*. Oxford: University Press, 2013. 401 pp., 137 figs, 22 plans; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-965935-7.

SUZANNE FREY-KUPPER, *Die antiken Fundmünzen vom Monte Iato 1971-1990. Ein Beitrag zur Geldgeschichte Westsiziliens*, 2 vols. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2013. Vol. 1: XVI+522 pp., 96 figs; 27 cm (Studia Ietina X 1), – ISBN 978-2-940351-16-9; vol. 2: VIII+294 pp., 65 pls; 27 cm (Studia Ietina X 2), – ISBN 978-2-940351-17-6.

IAN HAYNES, *Blood of the Provinces. The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 430 pp., b/w figs; 21 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-965534-2.

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ANDREAS HILLERT, *Hero und Leander. Ein bemerkenswertes Gemälde von William Turner (1775-1852)* (Katalog einer Ausstellung im Winckelmann-Museum vom 7. Dezember 2013 bis 18. März 2014). Stendal: Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, 2013. 48 pp., 51 figs; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 3-910060-88-9.

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RALF VON DEN HOFF/WILFRIED STROH/MARTIN ZIMMERMANN, *Divus Augustus. Der erste römische Kaiser und seine Welt*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2014. 341 pp., 74 figs; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-66052-8.

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MAX KUNZE (Hrsg.), *Vorsicht Lebensgefahr! Sirenen, Nixen, Meerjungfrauen in der Kunst seit der Antike* (Katalog einer Ausstellung im Winckelmann-Museum vom 20. Oktober 2013 bis 19. Januar 2014). Ruppolding/Mainz: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2013. 112 pp., 136 Abb.; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-447-10064-9.

MAX KUNZE/KATHRIN SCHADE/ELKE MÄHLITZ-GALLER (eds), *Vom Nil aus um die Alte Welt. Rekonstruktionen ägyptischer, minoischer und griechischer Schiffe* (Katalog einer Ausstellung im Winckelmann-Museum vom 27. April bis 22. September 2013). Ruppolding/Mainz: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2013. 96 pp., 145 figs; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-3-447-06956-4.

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DANIELA LOCATELLI/LUIGI MALNATI/DANIELE F. MARAS (eds), *Storie della prima Parma. Etruschi, Galli, Romani. Le origini della città alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche*. Mostra al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma Palazzo della Pilotta (12 gennaio – 2 giugno 2013). Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2013. XII + 196 pp., figs; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-88-8265-775-8.

JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA (ed.), *The Etruscan World*. London/New York: Routledge, 2013. 1167 pp., figs; 25.5 cm. – ISBN 978-0-415-67308-2.

ANGELEALEA MALGIERI, *La bottega delle immagini parietali I sec. a.C. - I sec. d.C.* Roma: Scienze e Lettere dal 1919 S.r.l., 2013. 144 pp., 3 tables, 75 figs; 24 cm. – 978-88-6687-0357.

BOUTHEINA MARAOUI TELMINI, avec une annexe de Karin Mansel, *Vestiges d'un habitat de l'époque punique moyenne à Bir Massouda (Carthage). Bilan des fouilles dans le sondage 7 et analyse de la céramique*. Gent: Department of Archaeology, Ghent University, 2012. 202 pp., 209 figs; 24 cm (Carthage Studies 6). – ISBN 978078848073/ISSN 1784-343X.

FILIPPO MASINO/PAOLO MINGHETTO/GIORGIO SOBRA (eds), *Restoration and Management of Ancient Theatres in Turkey. Methods, research, results*. Galatina (Le): Congedo editore, 2012. 264 pp., ill., 24 cm. (Università di Salento. Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici "Dinu Adamesteanu". Archeologia e storia 11). – ISBN 978-8867-66026-1.

GIOVANNI MASTRONUZZI, *Il luogo di culto di Monte Papalucio ad Oria, 1. La fase arcaica*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2013. 334 pp., 177 figs; 30 cm (Beni Archeologici-Conoscenza Technologie 12). – ISBN 978-88-7228-695-1.

ANDREAS MEHNERT/GUNDULA MEHNERT/SABINE REINHOLD (eds), *Austausch und Kulturkontakt im Südkaukasus und seinen angrenzenden Regionen in der Spätbronze-/Früh-eisenzeit*. Langenweißbach: Verlag Beier & Beran, 2012. 326 pp., figs; 30 cm (ZAKS 22). – ISBN 978-3-941171-81-7.

LAURENCE MERCURI, *La necropoli occidentale di Castiglione di Ragusa (Sicilia), scavi 1969-1971*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 321 pp., 47 figs, LXXII pls; cm (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Monumenti Antichi LXIX. XV). – ISBN 978-88-7689-273-8/ISSNB 0391-8084.

PAUL G.P. MEYBOOM/ERIC M. MOORMANN, *Le decorazioni dipinte e marmoree della Domus Aurea di Nerone a Roma, 2 vols.* Leuven: Peeters, 2013. Vol. 1 (text) 287 pp. Vol. 2 (illustrations) 190 pp., 142 figs; 27.5 cm (BABESCH Supplement 20). – ISBN 978-90-429-2545-8/ISSN 0165-9367.

NICOLETTA MOMIGLIANO, with contributions by P. Belli, M. Bichler, J. Hilditch. C.J. Knappert, D. Pirrie, M. Power, J.H. Sterba, *Bronze Age Carian Iasos. Structures and Finds from the Area of the Roman Agora (c. 3000-1500BC)*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 266 pp., 168 figs, VIII pls; 24 cm (Missione archeologia italiana di Iasos IV). ISBN 978-88-7689-267-7/ISSN -391-9293.

HEIDE MOMMSEN, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland Band 94, Berlin, Antikensammlung ehemals Antiquarium Band 14, Attische schwarzfigurige Amphoren*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2013. 137 pp., 27 Beilagen, 56 schwarz/weiß + 4 Farbtafeln; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-65335-3.

EMANUELE MURGIA, *Culti e romanizzazione. Resistenze, continuità, trasformazioni*. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2013. XI+495 pp.; 24 cm. (Polymnia: studi di archeologia 4). – ISBN 978-88-8303-478-7

DANILO NATI, *Ceramica attica a figure nere nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia I.1. La Collezione Bruschi Falgari*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 166 pp., CII pls; 24 cm (Archeologia 168). ISBN 978-88-7689-271-4/ISSN -391-9293.

MARIA NICOLETTA PAGLIARDI/MARIA MAGNANI CIANETTI, *Il mosaico di Castel Porziano*, Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 28 pp., figs, XXV Pls; 34 cm (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Monumenti Antichi LXVIII. XIV). – ISBN 978-88-7689-274-5/ISSNB 0391-8084.

ROSELLA PERA (ed.), *Il significato delle immagini. Numismatica, arte, filologia, storia. Atti del secondo incontro internazionale di studio del Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae (Genova, 10-12 novembre 2005)*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2012. 536 pp., LXXXII pls; 24 cm (Serta Antiqua et Mediaevalia XIV). – ISBN 978-88-7689-266-0/ISSN 1590-4210.

ULRIKE PETER/BERNHARD WEISSER (eds), *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaiser in der Renaissance, Akten des internationalen Symposiums Berlin 16.-18. November 2011*. Mainz/Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen in Kommission bei Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. 360 pp., figs; 30 cm (Cyriacus 3). – ISBN 978-3-447-06902-1.

MARCELLA PISANI, *Avvolti dalla morte. Ipotesi di ricostruzione di un rituale di incinerazione a Tebe*. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2013. 221 pp., figs, 47 pls; 31.5 cm (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente XXI). – ISBN 978-960-9559-04-1.

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MANUELA PUDDU, *Cittadini a confronto. I rilievi funerari con figure di politai nell'Asia Minore ellenistica e romana*. Rome: Scienze e Lettere dal 1919 S.r.l., 2013. 188 pp., 10 pls; 24 cm (Collezione archeologica 9). – ISBN 978-88-6687-029-6.

JOSEP ANTON REMOLÀ VALLVERDÚ/JESÚS ACERO PÉREZ (eds), *La gestión de los residuos urbanos en Hispania. Xavier Dupré Raventós (1956-2006), In Memoriam*. Merida: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, 2011. 418 pp., figs; 28 cm (Anejos de ARspA LX). – ISBN 978-84-00-09345-7.

ANGELIKA SCHÖNE-DENKINGER, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland Band 95, Berlin, Antikensammlung ehemals Antiquarium Band 15, Attische rotfigurige und schwarz-gefirnisste Peliken, Loutrophoren und Lebetes Gamikoi*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2014. 82 pp., 25 Textabb., 16 Beilagen, 80 Tafeln; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-66145-7.

GARETH SEARS/PETER KEEGAN/RAY LAURENCE (eds), *Written Space in the Latin West, 200 BC to AD 300*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013. XII+293 pp., figs; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-1-44112-304-6.

ELEFThERIA SERBETI, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Greece, fasc. 12.6, Athens, National Museum, Attic Black-figure and six's Technique Lekythoi*. Athens: Academy of Athens, 2012. 144 pp., 35 figs, 83 pls; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-960-404-243-2/ISSN 1108-3670.

R.R.R. SMITH, *Aphrodisias VI. The Marble Reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion*. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2013. XVI+376 pp., 275 figs, 175 pls; 32 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-4605-4.

NATASCHA SOJC / ALOYS WINTERLING / ULRIKE WULF-RHEIDT (eds), *Palast und Stadt im severischen Rom*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 306 pp., figs+XVI colour pls; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-515-10300-8.

D.C. STEURES, *The Late Roman Cemeteries of Nijmegen. Stray Finds and Excavations 1947-1983*. 2 vols. Nijmegen: Museum Het Valkhof, 2013. pp. 763: Text (vol. 1): 578 pp., figs; Figures (vol. 2): 184 pp. 29 cm.

LÂTIFE SUMMERER (ed.), *Pompeiiopolis I. Eine zwischenbalanz aus der Metropole Paphlagoniens nach fünf Kampagnen (2006-2010)*. Langenweißbach: Verlag Beier & Beran, 2011. 245 pp., pls; 30 cm (ZAKS 21). – ISBN 978-3-941171-63-3.

MARKUS WOLF, *Die Agora von Solunt. Öffentliche Gebäude und öffentliche Räume des Hellenismus im griechischen Westen*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013. 208 pp., 295 figs, 13 pls, 2 maps; 34.5 cm (DAI Rom Sonderschriften Band 16). – ISBN 978-3-89500-726-2.

NINA ZIMMERMANN-ELSEIFY (ed.), *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Deutschland*, Band 93, *Berlin Antikensammlungen ehemals Antiquarium*, Band 13, *Attisch rotfigurige Lekythen*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2013. 83 S., 12 Abb., 17 Beil., 63 Taf.; 32.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-64873-1.